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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

MDCCCXXXV.

JULY——DECEMBER.

62

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. XIV.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ἘΚΛΕ΄ΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1835.

Art. I.—1. *Memoirs of the Council of Trent;* principally derived from Manuscript and unpublished Records, namely, Histories, Diaries, Letters, and other Documents of the leading Actors in that Assembly. With Plates. By the Rev. Joseph Mendham, M.A. 8vo. pp. xxxii. 380. Price 14*s*. London, 1834.

2. *Remarks on the erroneous Opinions entertained respecting the Catholic Religion.* A New Edition. By Henry Howard, Esq. 8vo. pp. 16. London, (*gratis,*) 1829.

THIS volume, the production of a learned Protestant clergyman, exhibits the startling novelty of a Dedication to the Pope; but it is one which will not procure for the Author the favour of his Holiness, or protect his book against being placed in the *Judex Expurgatoricis* of the Court of Rome. We shall gratify the curiosity of our readers by transcribing it.

'To Gregory XVI., Sovereign and Pontiff of Rome, to whom it is competent to attempt the only means, which, if adopted, would be effectual, of exonerating his Church from the continued charge of superstition and idolatry, of perfidy, cruelty, and assumed dominion over secular sovereigns, by calling a council, for the express purpose of condemning and abolishing every enormity which classes itself under those offensive heads; the present Memoirs of a Council, to which, with others, they are principally indebted for their origin or establishment, are not irreverently addressed by one of the best wishers to his temporal and eternal welfare, THE AUTHOR.'

If Mr. Mendham were not much too grave a person to be suspected of intending a joke, we should have supposed that this page of his work was meant in burlesque. The Christian world has seen enough of councils, to know that nothing good is likely

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ever to proceed from them; and as to the present reigning supreme Pontiff, his infallibility would be exerted for no other purpose than the upholding of every enormity of the Papal system. Mr. Mendham has given, in his Appendix, a copy of the original edition of the Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI., obtained, not without difficulty, from Rome; and the contents, he remarks, 'will demonstrate in what form and degree the doctrine defined 'and established by the last (and likely ever to be the last) Ge-'neral Council of the Roman Church, is at this day professed, 'published, and inculcated by the Supreme Head and Organ of 'its Faith; and how far the indulgent, but not eminently sa-'gacious opinion is well founded, that the Faith of Romanists is 'changed or improved; an opinion against which not only the 'whole Papal hierarchy and clergy, but Francis Plowden, and 'Charles Butler, Esqrs., reclaim.' In this Pontifical Manifesto, of which we regret that an English Translation is not given, the worthy successor of the Piuses, and Pauls, and Leos of the darkest ages, thus raves against the sacred rights of liberty of conscience.

'*Atque ex hoc putidissimo* INDIFFERENTISMI *fonte absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia, seu potius deliramentum, asserendam esse ac vindicandam cuilibet* LIBERTATEM CONSCIENTIÆ. *Cui quidem pestilentissimo errori viam sternit plena illa, atque immoderata libertas opinionum, quæ in sacræ, et civilis rei labem late grassatur, dictitantibus per summam impudentiam nonnullis, aliquid ex ea commodi in Religionem promanare. At quæ pejor mors animæ, quam libertas erroris? inquiebat Augustinus.*'*

Again, as to the liberty of the press.

'*Huc spectat deterrima illa, ac numquam satis exsecranda et detestabilis libertas artis librariæ ad scripta quælibet edenda in vulgus, quam tanto convicio audent nonnulli efflagitare ac promovere. Perhorrescimus, Venerabiles Fratres, intuentes, quibus monstris doctrinarum, seu potius quibus errorum portentis obruamur, quæ longe ac late ubique disseminantur ingenti librorum multitudine, libellisque, et scriptis mole quidem exiguis, malitia tamen permagnis, e quibus maledictionem egressam illacrymamur super faciem terræ. Sunt tamen, proh dolor! qui eo impudentiæ abripiantur, ut asserant pugnaciter, hanc*

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* 'From this polluted fountain of "Indifference," flows that absurd and erroneous doctrine, or rather raving, in favour and in defence of "liberty of conscience;" for which most pestilential error, the course is opened by that entire and wild liberty of opinion, which is everywhere attempting the overthrow of religious and civil institutions; and which the unblushing impudence of some has held forth as an advantage to religion. "But what," exclaimed St. Augustine, "what worse death to the soul than freedom in error?"

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errorum colluviem inde prorumpentem satis cumulate compensari ex libro aliquo, qui in hac tanta pravitatum tempestate ad Religionem ac veritatem propugnandum edatur.—Nefas profecto est, omnique jure improbatum, patrari data opera malum certum ac majus, quia spes sit, inde boni aliquid habitum iri. Numquid venena libere spargi, ac publice vendi, comportarique, imo et obbibi debere, sanus quis dixerit, quod remedii quidpiam habeatur, quo qui utuntur, eripi eos ex interitu identidem contingat?

*'Verum longe alia fuit Ecclesiæ disciplina in exscindenda malorum librorum peste vel ab Apostolorum ætate, quos legimus grandem librorum vim publice combussisse.'** p. 367.

This *Scriptural* authority is followed up by references to the decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council and the encyclical letters of former Popes of blessed memory, all condemning the toleration of works containing impure doctrine. The Tridentine Fathers, it is remarked, made this a matter of their chief solicitude, applying as a remedy to this so great evil, that most salutary decree, *de Indice librorum quibus impura doctrina contineretur conficiendo.* We exclaim against the Mohammedan barbarians who made war against libraries and literature; but the Lateran and Tridentine doctors are their rivals in this unintelligent and intolerant zeal.

Waxing warmer as he proceeds, Pope Gregory, in insisting upon the duty of passive obedience to all emperors and kings,

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* 'Hither tends that worst and never sufficiently to be execrated and detested liberty of the press, for the diffusion of all manner of writings, which some so loudly contend for, and so actively promote. We shudder, Venerable Brethren, at the sight of the monstrous doctrines, or rather portentous errors, which crowd upon Us in the shape of numberless volumes and pamphlets, small in size, but big with evils, which stalk forth in every direction, breathing a malediction which we deplore over the face of the earth. Yet are there not wanting, alas! those who carry their effrontery so far, as to persist in maintaining that this amalgamation of errors is sufficiently resisted, if, in this inundation of bad books, a volume now and then issue from the press in favour of religion and of truth. But is it not a crime then, never sufficiently to be reprobated, to commit deliberate and greater evil, merely with the hope of seeing some good arise out of it? Or is that man in his senses, who entrusts poison to every hand, exposes it at every mart, suffers it to be carried about on all occasions, aye, and to become a necessary ingredient of every cup, because an antidote may be afterwards procured which chance may render effective?

'Far other hath been the discipline of the Church, in extirpating this pest of bad books, even as far back as the times of the Apostles, who, we read, committed a great number of books publicly to the flames.'

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thus inveighs against those who, with detestable insolence, contend for popular liberty.

'*Huc sane scelestissima deliramenta, consiliaque conspirarunt Waldensium, Beguardorum, Wiclefistarum, aliorumque hujusmodi filiorum Belial, qui humani generis sordes, ac dedecora fuere, merito idcirco ab Apostolica hac Sede toties anathemate confixi. Nec alia profecto ex causa omnes vires intendunt veteratores isti, nisi ut cum Luthero ovantes gratulari sibi possint, liberos se esse ab omnibus: quod ut facilius celeriusque assequantur, flagitiosiora quælibet audacissime aggrediuntur.*

'*Neque lætiora et Religioni, et Principatui ominari possemus ex eorum votis, qui Ecclesiam a Regno separari, mutuamque Imperii cum Sacerdotio concordiam abrumpi discupiunt. Constat quippe, pertimesci ab impudentissimæ libertatis amatoribus concordiam illam, quæ semper rei et sacræ et civili fausta extitit ac salutaris.*

'*At ad ceteras acerbissimas causas, quibus soliciti sumus, et in communi discrimine dolore quodam præcipuo angimur, accessere consociationes quædam, statique cœtus, quibus, quasi agmine facto cum cujuscumque etiam falsæ religionis ac cultus sectatoribus, simulata quidem in religionem pietate, vere tamen novitatis, seditionumque ubique promovendarum cupidine, libertas omnis generis prædicatur, perturbationes in sacram et civilem rem excitantur, sanctior quælibet auctoritas discerpitur.*'* p. 370.

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* 'These illustrious examples of unshaken subjection to Rulers, necessarily flowing from the ever holy precepts of the Christian Religion, loudly condemn the insolence and impiety of those who, maddening in the free unbridled passion of untamed liberty, leave no stone unturned to break down and destroy the constitution of states, and, under the appearance of liberty, to bring slavery on the people. This was the object of the impious ravings and schemes of the Waldenses, of the Beguardins, of the Wickliffites, and of the other children of Belial, the refuse of human nature and its stain, who were so often and so justly anathematized by the Apostolic See. Nor had they any other object than to triumph with Luther in the boast, "that they were independent of every one;" and to attain this the more easily and readily, they fearlessly waded through every crime.

'Nor can we augur more consoling consequences to religion and to governments, from the zeal of some to separate the Church from the State, and to burst the bond which unites the priesthood to the Empire. For it is clear, that this union is dreaded by the profane lovers of liberty, only because it has never failed to confer prosperity on both.

'But in addition to the other bitter causes of Our solicitude, and of that weight of sorrow which oppresses Us in the midst of so much confusion, come certain associations, and political assemblies, in which, as if a league were struck with the followers of every false religion and form of worship, under a pretended zeal for piety, but in reality urged by the desire of change, and of promoting sedition, liberty of every kind is maintained, revolutions in the state and in religion are fomented, and the sanctity of all authority is torn in pieces.'

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These impotent denunciations against the Protestant churches are very consistently followed up with a deliberate and solemn profession of idolatrous faith in the Virgin, the favourite object of worship in the Church of Anti-Christ, which, it has been remarked, might with more propriety be termed the Marian Church than the Christian.

'*Sed ut omnia hæc prospere ac feliciter eveniant, levemus oculos manusque ad Sanctissimam Virginem* MARIAM, *quæ sola universas hæreses interemit, Nostraque maxima fiducia, imo tota ratio est spei nostræ.*' *

It is true, Jesus Christ has the compliment paid him, in the close of the paragraph, of being *Auctor et Consummator Fidei;* but neither the honour due to him as Mediator, nor the trust which he claims as the Son of God, is ascribed to Our Lord by this Pontifical head of Apostate Christendom; both are given to another. The Mediators invoked are, 'Peter, Prince of the 'Apostles, and his co-apostle Paul.' The Hope and Trust of Pope Gregory is the Virgin Mary.

We must surely consider such a document as an authentic republication of the Roman Catholic faith; and we agree with Mr. Mendham, that it exhibits that faith as neither changed nor improved. If, in any country, Roman Catholics are no longer chargeable with holding the superstitious and abominable tenets taught and prescribed by the Church to which they professedly adhere, we must seek an explanation in other circumstances than any change in Popery itself. It has always been one distinctive feature of superstition, that it allows of an esoteric and a vulgar creed, and presents to those who soar above the implicit credulity of the priest-led multitude, the philosophy of its fables, which gratifies the pride of reason without making any demand upon the faith. Hence, a decent scepticism has always afforded shelter from the grossness of idolatry to men of letters and science, from the days of Socrates down to the time of Julian, and not less so within the pale of nominal Christianity. The esoteric faith of the Romish Church is a refined or concealed deism, which has at all times extensively prevailed among the higher orders of its hierophants. Hence, the liberality of enlightened Romanists is, too often, only the liberalism of unbelief; differing as widely from Christian charity, as does credulity from faith. The Romish Church, in teaching doctrines not merely without evidence, but at variance with it, shuts up its votaries to the alternative of an

* 'But that all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, who alone destroys heresies, who is our greatest hope, yea, the entire ground of our hope.'

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implicit reliance upon her own authority, or a pathless scepticism.

Faith, superstitious belief, and disbelief, are the only three conditions in which the minds of men can, so to speak, subsist. Where true faith or the spiritual perception of revealed truth has not been produced, either the conscience must find repose in a false religion, or must harden itself in irreligion,—in some modification of atheism. All the various systems of belief resolve themselves into one of these;—true religion, based upon faith and a sense of accountableness to God; superstition, based upon fear and accountableness to the priest; and scepticism, accompanied with the notion of irresponsibility. The Romish superstition, in its vulgar form, meets the case of the ignorant, the unintelligent, and those in whom the passions and animal nature preponderate over the reasoning powers. To such persons, it offers a welcome relief from cheerless doubt, a religion soothing to the imagination, and operating as a narcotic upon the conscience. Unregenerate man finds it an easier and pleasanter thing to be saved by a priest, than to depend upon an Invisible Saviour. Priestcraft, therefore, is the effect, rather than the cause of the corruption of true religion; for human nature is the author of its own delusions. Nothing can possibly prevent the springing up or the spread of false religion, where the light of Scriptural truth has not quickened the spiritual principle; and we see in that deposite of the dark ages, Popery, the ultimate form into which the natural superstition of the human mind has a constant tendency to settle. Popery was, in fact, the relapse of society into a masked paganism, which, in all ages and all countries, is the natural religion of mankind, varying only in costume and nomenclature. It borrowed from the ancient idolatry, its altars, its mass, its hagiology, its virgin goddess, its miracles, its purgatory, and its priesthood. Rome is nearly as Pagan now as in the days of Augustus. The religion of Italy, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, and Austria, is genuine Popery; and that of Turkey and Persia is not less Christian.

But, while we fully admit that Popery is what it ever was, it is impossible to deny that there has sprung up, within the pale of the Romish Church, especially in Protestant countries, a religion calling itself the Catholic, and acknowledging the authority of the symbols of the Romish Church, but differing widely indeed from Popery. Not to go back to the times before the Reformation, when a remnant, who had not bowed the knee to Baal, were found witnessing for God in the darkest times, amid the surrounding apostasy, we may refer to the Jansenists of France as affording a striking instance of the phenomenon in question. In our own country, the English Catholic has always differed very characteristically from the genuine Roman Catholic. The

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very soil and climate would seem to have exerted a modifying influence upon the exotic superstition of the South. The pantomime and spectacle of Popery, and its Virgin worship, are far better adapted to the sensual and voluptuous nations of the Mediterranean, than to the phlegmatic and robuster inhabitants of Northern Europe; just as the worship of Krishna and Kali appears unsuited to the temperament of the Tatar tribes north of Imaus. But besides this, the free circulation of knowledge, the character of our political institutions, and the reflex operation of Protestantism, have powerfully contributed to render English Romanism a very different thing from Cisalpine Popery.

With some controvertists, the whole difference is resolved into deception. Not only is every Roman Catholic held responsible for all the errors and abominations of his Church, but his disavowing any of them is represented as either a dishonest pretence, or the result of delusion and ignorance. In acknowledging the infallible authority of the Church, he stands pledged and bound, it may be said, to subscribe to all the doctrines which are clearly taught in its authorized documents. And the attempt to conceal or explain away the points offensive to Protestants, is but a Jesuitical artifice, worthy of a Church which teaches that no faith is to be kept with heretics. Or, if there are Roman Catholics who are deceived by the specious glosses under which the errors of Popery are veiled, they are the dupes of sacerdotal fraud.

Now we must confess that we cannot satisfy ourselves with this summary explanation. In the first place, it is irreconcileable with facts. The Jansenists were neither knaves nor dupes, and yet they openly contended against the doctrines of Popery, while clinging to the false Church. And many of the early reformers were slow in disclaiming allegiance to that authority with which they found themselves brought into collision. It is not less true than strange, that men will give up every doctrine of their Church, before they will renounce the authority that prescribes those doctrines, or forsake the communion in which they have been accustomed to worship. How reluctant were the Nonconformists to leave the bosom of the Church of England, from which they were ejected! And how large a proportion of those who regard themselves as true Church of England men, disavow those very doctrines which constituted the original grounds of Nonconformity! Nay, what Churchman of the present day really holds and observes all that his Church teaches and prescribes, not merely in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Rubric, but in the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, which are still binding on every clergyman, although no part of the law of the land? How unfair would it be thought, to describe, as the belief of each individual member of the Church of England, every point for which the authority of that Church might be cited! Candour and justice

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require, then, that a similar distinction should be allowed, between the public faith of the Church of Rome and the private faith of numbers who are still retained within its communion, though disavowing the grosser errors of its creed.

Secondly, the imputation, applied to bodies or communities, of fraud, hypocrisy, or insincerity, which are personal qualities, will be found, on examination, alike absurd and ungenerous. Dissenters, who are accustomed to be assailed with such aspersions in the gross, ought to be particularly on their guard against countenancing such sweeping charges against persons of other communions. A general conspiracy in hypocrisy is impossible: if it could exist, it must be betrayed. Frauds may be practised as a part of priestcraft, so long as the vulgar can be imposed upon; and an esoteric faith, which it is thought unsafe to divulge, may be held by an initiated few. But, speaking of whole communities, we must admit that no sentiments can be truly held, which are generally and constantly disavowed; that no bodies of men can be suspected of concurring in an insincere and fraudulent disavowal; that hypocrisy cannot be rationally suspected, where there is nothing to be gained by it; and that it is a contradiction, to suppose that men are anxious to propagate doctrines which they repudiate and disclaim.

And, once more, by imputing to all Roman Catholics the gross creed of the papal vulgar, and by refusing to admit their own statements of the doctrines they hold, we not only must wholly fail to convince them of the errors they actually adhere to, but tacitly decline a contest with them upon their own ground. A dangerous concession, that even that refined and modified Romanism, widely as it may differ from genuine Popery, is capable of enduring the test of Scripture or of fair argument! Yet such is the concession which may be thought to be implied in the line of argument usually adopted, which refuses to take cognizance of the received explanations of the Romish tenets.

The Roman Catholic superstition is bad enough in its mildest form; and in that form it is the more dangerous, as being so seductive. Those Protestants who, forming their notions of Popery exclusively from ecclesiastical history, regard it only as a monster to be execrated for its impiety, or feared for its cruelty, are ill prepared to combat the specious arguments with which a dexterous Romish casuist would defend his opinions, or to resist the fascinations with which, to certain minds, the ancient and so called Catholic faith is invested. We have no apprehensions as to the spread of the Romish faith in this country. And yet, the cases of individual conversion which have occasionally taken place among the higher orders, both in England and in Germany, as well as its alleged advance in the United States, might serve to shew that Popery is not without attractions, and that it can at

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times "transform itself into an angel of light." It is as well for us to be aware, too, how the alleged misrepresentations of the Roman Catholic faith by Protestants are made to serve the purpose of an argument against them, and how injuriously they operate. For instance, in a little tract, entitled "Fifty Reasons, or Motives, which induced His Most Serene Highness Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to abjure Lutheranism, and embrace the Roman Catholic Religion," we find the following Considerations.

'CONSIDER. XXIX.—I read several authors, who had written against the Roman religion, and I could not but take notice, how in all their arguments they labour to prove, what Catholics do not deny, but on the contrary allow without any difficulty: but they hardly touch upon those points which Catholics hold for articles of faith. For instance, they will bring you a multitude of texts from scripture, to prove that God only is to be adored, and honoured with divine worship; which Catholics are so far from denying, that they believe it to be a sin of idolatry to pay divine worship to any creature whatever. Again, they cite many places in scripture, which makes honourable mention of marriage; but what is all this to the purpose? Catholics condemn not marriage; so far from it, that they put it in the number of their sacraments. Their doctrine in this particular amounts to no more than what St. Paul taught them, 1 Cor. vii. 38, that *he that giveth his virgin in marriage, doth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage, doth better.* Again they speak much of our Saviour's merits, and of the satisfaction he has offered for our sins. Very good. But what then? Do not Catholics likewise teach, that our Saviour's merits are of infinite value, and that his satisfaction suffices for the sins of the whole world? Must this hinder them from giving ear to the voice of St. Peter, 2d Epist. i. 10, *Brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure by good works:* or to that of St. Paul, Rom. viii. 17, *If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him.* They give us great encomiums on faith. And so do the Catholics. But may they not believe St. James, when he says (chap. ii. 24,) *Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only:* or St. Paul, when he pronounces of himself, (1 Cor. xiii. 2,) *Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.* In fine, our adversaries inveigh most bitterly against the dissolute lives of some of the clergy: but how does this better their cause? Catholics detest it as much as they: but then they admire in the generality of them, that angelical chastity which they preserve both in body and soul.

'CONSIDER. XXX.—I observed not only in these authors, but likewise in the sermons and discourses, both public and private, of other ministers, that their main talent lay in slandering and blackening the Roman Catholic Church. And this alone was enough to persuade me they were but ill provided with arguments against her. For when men in the heat of their disputes fling dirt at their adversaries, it is a certain sign their arguments want an edge. Moreover, calumnies are

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always made up of lies and forgeries: and how is it possible by barefaced lies to come at the truth? Yet this is the very case of the sectaries. For instance, they will have the world to believe that Catholics adore the saints; that they take the Pope for a God; that they put their hopes and confidence more in their own merits and in those of the saints, than in the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and a thousand other stories, without any other foundation, but pure malice, to support them. Now I could not think it rational to ground my faith on palpable lies and calumnies; and for that reason I resolved to inform myself of the truth of things; and having happily found it, I rejected all these new sects, as so many impostures.'

We do not imagine this Tract to be the genuine production of his Serene Highness; although it is certainly that of a very indifferent theologian and not very honest controvertist. The argumentation is contemptible, and is fitted to impose only upon minds already trained to the implicit reception of bold and unsupported assertions. For example, at p. 65, the Duke is made to assert, that the Roman Catholic Church 'is the only religion 'for which all nations renounced, and still in these very days 'renounce, paganism and idolatry.' A palpable falsehood, taken in every way. One of the Fifty Reasons for embracing the Roman Catholic Religion is, that 'the faith of the Roman 'Church was that of St. Paul, as this apostle tells us in his 'Epistle to the Romans, ch. i. 2.'!! Another reason is, that 'all that ever fought against this Church in their separation from 'it, as Arius, Pelagius, Marcion, Macedonius, Mahomet, &c., 'with their followers, burn in the everlasting flames of hell;' and that 'Luther, Calvin, and the like innovators of these latter days, 'were equally arch-heretics; so that to take them for guides, 'were to run a risk of eternal damnation.' A further reason is, that 'the editions of the Augsburg Confession, which the Lu-'therans look upon as the foundation of their religion, vary from 'each other, and very widely differ from the original.' A Lutheran Duke could scarcely have penned this silly misrepresentation, or have confessed that he had 'never been able to learn 'upon what account the Lutherans alone call themselves evan-'gelical, or why the Calvinists style themselves the reformed 'religion.' Were this the case, that he had been unable to inform himself on these heads, he must have been so inexcusably ignorant of the tenets and history of the Lutheran Reformed Churches, as to disqualify him for forming any judgement upon the subject. Once more, we have presented to us, as another reason, that 'the arms of Protestants against the Catholics are 'calumnies, foul language, and barefaced lies, without any one 'solid argument to support the charge.' *Mutato nomine*, this exactly describes the logical weapons which this Tract puts into the mouth of his Serene Highness, Anthony Ulrick, Duke of

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Brunswick. The 'Translator's Preface' is remarkable, however, as recognizing the duty of every man's taking care 'to inform 'himself whether the communion in which he happened to re-'ceive his education be the true Church or not.' This wise Prince is represented as having acted upon this sound principle. He considered, we are told, 'that since every branch of Pro-'testancy pretended to be the purest part of the Reformation, 'and *quarrelled with all the rest as well as with the Church of* 'Rome, which equally condemned them all, he could not answer 'it to his conscience, nor to Jesus Christ, if he acquiesced in the 'dictates of the Lutheran Church, which had nursed him up, 'without taking an impartial view of all persuasions, and exa-'mining them by such *texts of scripture as are intended to in-'form and guide our judgement in the things we are to believe* 'of God and of his Church.

'How any man,' continues the 'Translator,' 'that calls himself a Protestant, can dispense himself from the like enquiry, I cannot understand. It being a first principle of the Reformation, that every Christian is to gather the first articles of his faith, not from the lips of his pastor, but from scripture, by his *private judgement;* that is to say, by the industry of his own enquiries. Now if any one is desirous to comply with his obligation in this particular, this book will present him with a short and easy method of proceeding in this necessary search; and provided he enters upon it with those pious dispositions the author mentions in his preface, it is to be hoped he will reap the like comfort from his labour.' p. iv.

But, if any reader wishes to see how much may be urged by Romish ingenuity in defence of the tenets of Popery, and how plausible the Mystery of Iniquity may be made to appear, we recommend him to procure two or three popular Tracts now lying before us, the titles of which we give below*. The Author of the first of these, Mr. Gother, is stated to have been a Protestant,

* "A Papist Misrepresented and Represented; or a two-fold Character of Popery: the one containing a Sum of the Superstitions, Idolatries, Cruelties, Treacheries, and wicked Principles laid to their Charge: the other laying open that Religion which those termed Papists own and profess, the chief Articles of their Faith, and the principal Grounds and Reasons which attach them to it. Selected from the original of 1683, by the Rev. John Gother. Republished by the late Ven. and R. R. Richard Challoner, D.D. Twenty-sixth edition, (18mo, pp. 106,) London, 1825."

"The Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine, as contained in the Profession of Faith published by Pope Pius IV. By the Ven. and R. R. Richard Challoner, D.D., Bishop of Debra, and Vic. Ap. Thirteenth Edition, (18mo, pp. 82,) London, 1823."

"An Abstract of the Douay Catechism. (24mo. pp. 94,) London, 1824."

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who, after strict examination, finding himself to have been deceived as to the true character of the professed creed of English Catholics, joined the Church what he had heretofore opposed; and to him, Dr. Challoner, with many others, owed their 'choice 'of the Catholic Unity'. The plan of the work is ingenious. In thirty-four Articles, the creed and character of the Papist are set forth, first, in the colours in which they are usually painted by Protestants, and secondly, according to what, 'after 'sixteen years' conversation with men of that communion, in 'hearing their sermons, in being present at their catechising, in 'reading their books, and discoursing with them,' the Author found to be their doctrine. We make no apology for giving a specimen or two of this extensively circulated tract; deeming it of high importance that all who call themselves Protestants, should be aware of the aspect under which they have to deal with Popery in this country.

'§. 1. *Of praying to Images.*—"A papist misrepresented, worships stocks and stones for gods: he takes no notice of the Second Commandment, but, setting up pictures and images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and his other saints, he prays to them, and puts his trust and confidence in them; much like as the heathens did in their wooden gods, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, &c.; and for this reason he erects stately monuments to them in his churches, adorns them sumptuously, burns candles, offers incense, and frequently falls down prostrate before them, and with his eyes fixed upon them, cries out, help me, Mary; assist me, Anthony; remember me, Ignatius."

'A Papist truly represented believes it damnable to worship stocks and stones for gods, to pray to pictures or images of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, or of any other saints, to believe any virtue or divinity in them, or to put any trust or confidence in them. He is expressly taught the contrary to all this by the council of Trent, (Sess. 25,) and his very children are instructed in their catechisms, which are in the hands of all, that they must "by no means pray to pictures or images, because they can neither see, nor hear, nor help them." See Abstract of the Doway Catechism, upon the first Commandment; Abridgement of Christian Doctrine, chap. iv. &c. But what use then does the Papist make of pictures or images of Christ, of the blessed Virgin, or other saints? Why, he keeps them by him, to preserve in his mind the memory of the person represented by them; as people are wont to preserve the memory of their deceased friends by keeping their pictures. He is taught to use them, so as to cast his eyes upon the pictures or images, and thence to raise his heart to the things represented, and there to employ it in meditation, love, and thanksgiving, desire of imitation, &c., as the object requires: as many good Christians, placing a Death's head before them, from the sight of it, take occasion to reflect upon their last end, in order to their better preparing for it; or by seeing Old Time painted with his fore-lock, hour-glass, and scythe, turn their thoughts upon the swiftness of time, and that whosoever neglects the present, is in danger of beginning then to desire to lay

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hold of it when there is no more of it to come. These pictures or images having this advantage, that they inform the mind by one glance of what in reading might require a whole chapter. There being no other difference between them, than that reading represents leisurely, and by degrees; and a picture, all at once. Hence he finds a convenience in saying his prayers with some devout pictures before him, he being no sooner distracted but the sight of these recall his wandering thoughts to the right object; and as certainly brings something good into his mind, as an immodest picture disturbs his heart with filthy thoughts. And because he is sensible that these holy pictures and images represent and bring to his mind such objects as in his heart he loves, honours, and venerates; he cannot but on that account love, honour, and respect the images themselves. As whosoever loves their husband, child, or friend, cannot but have some love and respect for their pictures; whosoever loves and honours his king, will have some honour and regard for his image. Not that he venerates any image or picture, for any virtue or divinity believed to be in them, or for any thing that is to be petitioned of them; but because the honour that is exhibited to them, is referred to those whom they represent. So that it is not properly the image he honours, but Christ and his saints by the images: as it is not properly the images or pictures of kings or other men that we respect or injure; but by their images or pictures we respect or injure the persons themselves. All the veneration therefore he expresses before all images, whether by kneeling, lifting up the eyes, burning candles, incense, &c., it is not at all done for the image, but is wholly referred to the things represented, which he intends to honour by these actions; and how by so doing he breaks the second commandment, he cannot conceive; for he acknowledges only one God, and to him alone gives sovereign honour; and whatsoever respect he shews to a crucifix, picture or image, seems to him no more injurious to any of the commandments, than it is for a Christian to love and honour his neighbour, because he bears the image of God in his soul; to kiss and esteem the bible, because it contains and represents to him God's word; or to love a good preacher, because he reminds him of his duty; all which respects do not at all derogate from God Almighty's honour; but are rather testimonies of our great love and honour of him, since, for his sake, we love and esteem every thing that has any respect or relation to him.

'§. 2. *Of worshipping Saints.*—" The Papist misrepresented makes gods of dead men: such as are departed hence, and are now no more able to hear, or see, or understand his necessities. And though God be so good as to invite all to come to him, and to apply themselves to their only and infinite Mediator Jesus Christ; yet so stupid is he, that, neglecting, and, as it were, passing by both God and his only Son, and all their mercies, he betakes himself to his saints, and there pouring forth his prayers, he considers them as his mediators and redeemers, and expects no blessing, but what is to come to him by their merits, and through their hands; and thus, without scruple or remorse, he robs God of his honour."

'The Papist truly represented believes there is only one God, and that it is a most damnable idolatry to make gods of men, either living

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or dead. His church teaches him indeed, and he believes that it is good and profitable, to desire the intercession of the saints reigning with Christ in heaven; but that they are gods or his redeemer, he is no where taught; but detests all such doctrine. He confesses that we are all redeemed by the blood of Christ alone, and that he is our only Mediator of redemption: but as for mediators of intercession, (that is, such as we may lawfully desire to pray for us,) he does not doubt but it is acceptable to God, we should have many. Moses was such a mediator for the Israelites; Job, for his three friends; Stephen, for his persecutors. The Romans were thus described by St. Paul to be his mediator; so were the Corinthians, so the Ephesians; (Ep. ad. Rom. Cor. Eph.;) so almost every sick man desires the congregation to be his mediators, by remembering him in their prayers. And so the Papist desires the blessed in heaven to be his mediators, that is, that they would pray to God for him. And in this he does not at all neglect coming to God, or rob him of his honour; but, directing all his prayers up to him, and making him the ultimate object of all his petitions, he only desires sometimes the just on earth, sometimes those in heaven, to join their prayers to his, that so the number of petitioners being increased, the petition may find better acceptance in the sight of God. And this is not to make them gods, but only petitioners to God; it is not to make them his redeemers, but only intercessors to his Redeemer; he having no hope of obtaining any thing but of God alone, by and through the merits of Christ; for which he desires the saints in heaven, and good men upon earth, to offer up their prayers with his; the prayers of the just availing much before God. But now, how the saints in heaven know the prayers and necessities of such who address themselves to them, whether by the ministry of angels, or in the vision of God, or by some particular revelation, it is no part of his faith, nor is it much his concern it should be determined. For his part he does not doubt, but that God, who acquainted the prophets with the knowledge of things that were yet to come many hundred years after; that informed Elisha of the King of Syria's councils, though privately resolved on in his bed-chamber, and at a distance, 2 Kings vi. 12., can never want means of letting the saints know the desires of those who beg their intercession here on earth; especially since our Saviour informs us, Luke xiv., that Abraham heard the petition of Dives, who was yet at a greater distance, even in hell; and told him likewise the manner of his living, while as yet on earth. Nay, since it is generally allowed, that even the very devils hear those desperate wretches who call on them, why should we doubt that the saints want this privilege, who, though departed this life, are not so properly dead, as translated from a mortal life to an immortal one; where, enjoying God Almighty, they lose no perfections which they enjoyed while on earth, but possess all in a more eminent manner; having more charity, more knowledge, more interest with God than ever, and becoming like angels, Luke xx. 36. And as these offered up their prayers for Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, Zach. i. 12, so undoubtedly they likewise fall down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints, Apoc. v. 8.

'§. 3. *Of addressing more supplications to the Virgin Mary than to*

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Christ.—"The Papist misrepresented believes the Virgin Mary to be much more powerful in heaven than Christ, and that she can command him to do what she thinks good: and for this he honours her much more than he does her Son, or God the Father; for one prayer he says to God, saying ten to the holy Virgin."

'The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to think the Virgin Mary more powerful in heaven than Christ; or that she can in any thing command him. He honours her indeed, as one that was chosen as the mother of God, and blessed amongst all women; and believes her to be most acceptable to God, in her intercession for us: but owning her still as a creature, and that all she has of excellency is the gift of God, proceeding from his mere goodness. Neither does he at any time say even so much as one prayer to her, but what is directed more particularly to God, because offered up as a thankful memorial of Christ's incarnation, and acknowledgment of the blessedness of Jesus, the fruit of her womb: and thus without imagining there is any more dishonouring of God in his reciting the Angelical Salutation, than in the first pronouncing it by the angel Gabriel and Elizabeth; or that his frequent repetition of it is any more an idle superstition, than it was in David to repeat the same words over twenty-six times in the 126th psalm.'

* * * * * *

'§. 6. *Of merits and good Works.*—"The Papist misrepresented believes Christ's death and passion to be ineffectual, and insignificant, and that he has no dependence upon the merits of his sufferings, or the mercy of God for the obtaining salvation; but that he is to be saved by his own merits. And, for this reason, he is very zealously busy in fasting, in watching, in going in procession, in wearing hair-shirts, and using a thousand such like mortifications; and having done this, he thinks himself not at all beholden to God for his salvation, and that to give him heaven will be no favour; it being now his due upon the account of his meritorious atchievements, without any God-a-mercy to Christ's passion, or his Maker's goodness."

'The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to say that Christ's death and passion is ineffectual and insignificant; and that it is the doctrine of devils to believe, that he has no dependence for his salvation upon the merits of Christ's sufferings, or the mercy of God; but only upon his own merits and good works. It is his faith to believe, that of ourselves we are not sufficient so much as to think a good thought; that the grace by which we are justified, is given us purely gratis upon the account of Christ's merits: moreover, that no man, how just soever, can merit any thing, either in this life, or in that to come, independent of the merits and passion of Jesus Christ; nevertheless, that through the merits of Christ, the good works of a just man, proceeding from grace, are so acceptable to God, that through his goodness and promise they are truly meritorious of eternal life. And this he has learned from the apostle, 2 Tim. iv. 8, where he is taught, that there is a crown of justice, which our Lord, a just judge, will render at the last day; not only to St. Paul, but also to all those that shall have fought a good fight, and consummated their course, kept the faith,

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and loved his coming. Knowing therefore, that at the day of judgment he is to receive according to his works, he endeavours by good works to make his vocation and election sure, 2 Peter i. 10. And in following this counsel, he thinks he no more offends against the fullness of the merits of Christ, or God's mercy, than the apostle does in giving it.

'§. 7. *Of Confession.*—" The Papist misrepresented believes it part of his religion to make gods of men; foolishly thinking they have power to forgive sins. And therefore, as often as he finds his conscience oppressed with the guilt of his offences, he calls for one of his priests; and having run over a catalogue of his sins, he asks of him pardon and forgiveness. And what is most absurd of all, he is so stupid as to believe, that if his ghostly Father, after he has heard all his villanies in his ear, does but pronounce three or four Latin words over his head, his sins are forgiven him, although he had never any thoughts of amendment, or intention to forsake his wickedness."

'The Papist truly represented believes it damnable in any religion to make gods of men. However, he firmly holds, that when Christ, speaking to his apostles, said, John xx. 22,—Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained; he gave them, and their successors, the bishops and priests of the Catholic Church, authority to absolve any truly penitent sinner from his sin. And God having thus given them the ministry of reconciliation, and made them Christ's legates, 2 Cor. v. 18, 19, 20; Christ's ministers, and the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ, 1 Cor. iv.; and given them power that whatsoever they loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven, Matt. xxviii. 18; he undoubtedly believes, that whosoever comes to them making a sincere and humble confession of his sins, with a true repentance and firm purpose of amendment, and a hearty resolution of turning from his evil ways, may from them receive absolution, by the authority given them from heaven; and no doubt but God ratifies above, the sentence pronounced in that tribunal; loosing in heaven whatsoever is thus loosed by them on earth. And that, whosoever comes without the due preparation, without a repentance from the bottom of his heart, and a real intention of forsaking his sins, receives no benefit by the absolution; but adds sin to sin, by a high contempt of God's mercy, and abuse of his sacraments.'

'§. 8. *Of Indulgences.*—" The Papist misrepresented believes that his holy father the Pope can give him leave to commit what sin he pleaseth; especially, if he can make him a present of a round sum of money, he never need doubt of indulgence or pardon for himself and his heirs for ever, for all sorts of crimes or wickedness, he, or any of his posterity, may have convenience of falling into: and having this commission in his pocket, under the Pope's broad seal, he may be confident that Christ will confirm and stand to all that his Vicar upon earth has granted, and not call him to any account for any thing he has done, although he should chance to die without the least remorse of conscience, or repentance for his sins."

'The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to hold, that the Pope, or any other power in heaven or earth, can give him leave to

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commit any sins whatsoever: or that, for any sum of money, he can obtain an indulgence or pardon for sins that are to be committed by him, or his heirs, hereafter. He firmly believes that no sins can be forgiven without a true and hearty repentance: but that still, there is a power in the Church of granting indulgences, by which, as he is taught in his Catechism, nothing more is meant, than a releasing, to such as are truly penitent, of the debt of temporal punishment, which remained due on account of those sins, which, as to the guilt and eternal punishment, had been already remitted by repentance and confession. For we see in the case of King David, 2 Sam. xii. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, that the debt of the temporal punishment is not always remitted, when the guilt of the sin is remitted; and as the Church of God from the beginning was ever convinced of this truth, therefore, besides the hearty repentance and confession which she insisted upon in order for the discharge of the guilt of sin; she also required severe penances, sometimes of three, seven, ten years or more, for the discharge of the debt of the temporal punishment due to divine justice. Now the releasing or moderating for just causes these penalties incurred by sin, is called an indulgence. And the power of granting such indulgences is visibly implied in the promise of the keys, and of binding and loosing made to the pastors of the Church, St. Matt. xvi. 19. And the exercise of this power was frequent in the primitive church; and is even authorized by the example of St. Paul himself, who granted such an indulgence to the incestuous Corinthian, 2 Cor. ii. 10; forgiving, as he says, in the person of Christ; that is, by the power and authority he had received from him. Now the good works usually required for the obtaining indulgences, are prayer, fasting, visiting churches, confession, communion, and alms-deeds: but what money there is given at any time on this account concerns not at all the Pope's coffers, but is by every one given as they please, either to the poor, to the sick, to prisoners, &c., where they judge it most charity. As to the rest, if any abuses have been committed in granting or gaining indulgences, through the fault of some particular persons, these cannot in justice be charged upon the church, to the prejudice of her faith and doctrine; especially, since she has been so careful in the retrenching them; as may be seen by what was done in the council of Trent, *Decreta de Indulgentiis.*' pp. 18—28.

Dr. Challoner's Tract goes over the same ground, and of course gives the same specious representation of the Tridentine Faith. In Chap. iv, 'of the Real Presence and Transubstantiation,' the language of the Church of England is cited as supporting the Catholic doctrine.

'Hence, the Protestants, in their Catechism in the Common Prayer-book, are forced to acknowledge, "that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Now, how that can be *verily and indeed taken and received,* which is not *verily and indeed* there, is a greater mystery than transubstantiation.

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" The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood:
But nonsense never can be understood."
Dryden's Hind and Panther.'

The doctrine of Purgatory is thus vindicated *from Scripture:*

'*How (founded) upon Scripture?*

'Because the scripture in many places assures us, " that God will render to every one according to his works," Ps. lxii. 12. Matt. xvi. 27. Rom. ii. 6. Revel. xxii. 12. Now this would not be true, if there were no such thing as Purgatory; for how would God render to every one according to his works, if such as die in the guilt of any even the least sin, which they have not taken care to blot out by repentance, would nevertheless go straight to heaven?

'*Have you any texts which the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers interpret of Purgatory?*

'Yes, 1 Cor. iii. 13, 14, 15, " Every man's work shall be made manifest. For the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire. And the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon," (that is, upon the foundation, which is Jesus Christ, ver. 11,) " he shall receive a reward. If any man's works shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." From which text it appears, that such as, both in their faith, and in the practice of their lives, have stuck to the foundation, which is Jesus Christ, so as not to forfeit his grace by mortal sin; though they have otherwise been guilty of great imperfections, by building wood, hay, and stubble, (ver. 12,) upon this foundation; it appears, I say, that such as these, according to the apostle, must pass through a fiery trial, at the time that " every man's work shall be made manifest:" which is not till the next life; and that they shall be " saved" indeed, " yet so as by fire," that is, by passing first through Purgatory.

'2dly, Matt. v. 25, " Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him: lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing." Which text St. Cyprian, one of the most ancient Fathers, understands of the prison of Purgatory. Epistle 52. ad Antonianum.

'3dly, Matt. xii. 32, " Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." Which last words plainly imply, that some sins, which are not forgiven in this world, may be forgiven in the world to come; otherwise, why should our Saviour make any mention of forgiveness in the world to come? Now, if there may be forgiveness of sins in the world to come, there must be a purgatory; for in hell, there is no forgiveness, and in heaven, no sin.

'Besides, a middle place is also implied, 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20, where Christ is said, by his spirit, to have gone and " preached to the spirits in prison which some time were disobedient." Which prison

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could be no other than Purgatory; for as to the spirits that were in the prison of hell, Christ did certainly not go to preach to them.

'*How do you ground the belief of Purgatory upon tradition?*

'Because both the Jewish Church long before our Saviour's coming, and the Christian Church from the very beginning in all ages and all nations, have offered prayers and sacrifice for the repose and relief of the faithful departed: as appears in regard to the Jews from 2 Machab. xii. where this practice is approved of, which books of Machabees, the church, says St. Augustine, lib. 18. de Civ. Dei, c. 36, accounts canonical, though the Jews do not. And in regard to the Christian Church, the same is evident from all the Fathers, and the most ancient liturgies. Now such prayers as these evidently imply the belief of a purgatory: for souls in heaven stand in no need of our prayers, and those in hell cannot be bettered by them.' pp. 41—43.

Here, it will be observed, the citation from 2 Macc. xii. is not given under the head of *Scripture* proofs, but under the head of tradition. In all the quotations, Dr. Challoner follows 'the 'common Protestant Bible, for the sake of a great part of' his 'readers that may have been accustomed to it; not designing 'thereby to declare' his 'approbation', much less preference, 'of 'that version'. We cannot forbear to transcribe part of the defence of image-worship.

'*What kind of honour do* Catholics *give to the images of* Christ *and his saints?*

'A relative honour.

'*What do you mean by a relative honour?*

'By a relative honour, I mean an honour which is given to any thing, not for any intrinsic excellence or dignity in the thing itself, but barely for the relation it has to something else; as when the courtiers bow to the chair of state, or Christians to the name of Jesus, which is an image or remembrance of our Saviour to the ear, as the crucifix is to the eye.

'*Have you any instances of this relative honour allowed by* Protestants?

'Yes; in the honour they give to the name of Jesus, to their churches, to the altar, to the Bible, to the symbols of bread and wine in the sacrament. Such also was the honour which the Jews gave to the ark and cherubims, and which Moses and Joshua gave to the land on which they stood, as being "holy ground," Exod. iii. 5, Jos. v. 15, &c.

'*How do you prove that there is a* relative honour *due to the images or pictures of Christ and his saints?*

'From the dictates of common sense and reason, as well as of piety and religion, which teach us to express our love and esteem for the persons whom we honour, by setting a value upon all things that belong to them, or have any relation to them: thus, a loyal subject, a dutiful child, a loving friend, value the pictures of their king, father,

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or friend: and those who make no scruple of abusing the image of Christ, would severely punish the man that would abuse the image of his king.

'*Does your church allow of images of God the Father, or of the Blessed Trinity?*

'Our profession of faith makes no mention of such images as these: yet we do not think them unlawful, provided that they be not understood to bear any likeness or resemblance of the divinity, which cannot be expressed in colours, or represented by any human workmanship. For, as Protestants make no difficulty of painting the Holy Ghost under the figure of a dove, because he appeared so when Christ was baptized, Matt. iii. 16, so we make no difficulty of painting God the Father under the figure of a venerable old man, because he appeared in that manner to the prophet Daniel, vii. 9.' pp. 57, 58.

Our readers will notice in this and the preceding extracts, the dexterous application of the *argumentum ad hominem*, drawn from the language and ceremonies of the Anglican Ritual. In an appendix are given 'the rational inducements to the Catholic 'faith, which, according to Dr. Jeremy Taylor, a learned Pro-'testant prelate, (Lib. of Proph. Sect. 20, p. 249, 250,) may very 'easily persuade persons of much reason and more piety, to re-'tain that which they know to have been the religion of their 'forefathers, and which have had actual possession and seizure of 'men's understandings, before the opposite professions had a 'name.' Jeremy Taylor would seem to have been not very far from being as good a Catholic as Dr. Challoner. And there has always existed a class or school of high-churchmen within the English Church, whose sentiments approximate almost, if not quite as nearly to this modified Popery, as the expositions we have cited do to the grosser creed which forms the actual religion of the millions under the Papal bondage. Compare the doctrines of the Church of England as held and expounded by Thomas Scott and Legh Richmond, with the Church of Englandism of Archbishops Laud and Parker, and the difference will be found almost as wide and essential as between the Popery of Gother and Challoner and Charles Butler, and the Popery of Pope Gregory XVI. and the Austrian or Irish peasantry.

Now, if there be any danger of the revival of Popery in this country, it must be in this milder form, which may be termed the *evangelicalism* of the Romish Church; between which and high-church tenets there has always been a strong affinity. And in this form, as it has not yielded to the force of penal statutes, so neither will it succumb beneath the knock-me-down-arguments of certain polemics, who think that, by pronouncing Popery a damnable heresy, they have settled the business. Archbishop Whately has shewn with equal acuteness and candour, that the errors of

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Romanism, having their origin in human nature, may lurk under Protestant forms *.

The cry of 'No Popery' has ever proceeded from a party the nearest akin to the Papists in their ecclesiastical policy. It is a remarkable fact, that the English Catholics have generally sided with the Tories in politics, discovering as little sympathy with their brethren in Ireland, as was manifested by the Clergy of the Church of England towards the persecuted French Protestants. We hope that it will not be regarded as a breach of candour to say, that Popery is, by a large proportion of the more violent Anti-Catholics, viewed with disfavour and apprehension, *not as error, but as dissent.* When the Papal hierarchy in France was overthrown at the Revolution, the Clergy of the Church of England mourned in sackcloth, and Bishop Horsley echoed the eloquent lamentations of Burke over the fallen power of the Gallican priesthood. How is it that the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood are not fortunate enough to possess the sympathy or respect of the English clergy? Simply because they are placed in an opposite political predicament. In France, Popery was the established religion: in Ireland, it is in hostility to the Church-establishment. This makes all the difference. Hence, the same Government has been found upholding Popery abroad, and proscribing and persecuting it at home; and without any *political* inconsistency. The only heresy in the eyes of political Churchmen or Church and State religionists is—*Dissent.*

We cannot but regard it as a very strong argument against ecclesiastical establishments, that they uniformly tend to create, in the minds of the endowed order, a sympathy, more or less, with the ministers of all other Established Churches, of whatever creed, as having a common cause; and to cut them off from all cordial intercourse with the pious of every non-established communion. This has been strikingly evidenced in the history of the English Church from the time of Elizabeth to the present moment. There is nothing which an Episcopalian more heartily abhors than Presbyterianism, so long as it wears the garb of Dissent; but let it be once politically established, and his animosity is disarmed. We have recently seen English Episcopacy and Scottish Presbyterianism, forgetful of all the blood shed in their ancient feud while struggling for political ascendancy, now that each is the ascendant Church within her own domain, embracing as sisters, and making common cause against those arch heretics, the Voluntaries. If Popery were the Established Religion of Ireland,—nay, were its priesthood but participants in the bounty of the State, like the *Regium Donum* Churches of Ulster,

* See Ecl. Rev. Vol. V., 3d Ser. p. 113.

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we make no doubt that we should hear little more of the No Popery cry in certain quarters. Dissenters would then have cause to look well to themselves, for they might expect to find English Bishops, Scotch Presbyters, and Irish Priests all in holy league against them.

It is not, however, as a political adversary that Popery ought to be viewed by the enlightened Protestant; and the feeling of angry irritation or alarm which it is apt to awaken when regarded in this light, ill agrees with that spirit of faith which becomes the champions of the truth, and the servants of Christ. Why is Popery more to be dreaded, or why should it be encountered more angrily, than Mohammedism or Paganism? Nothing can be more foreign from the genuine zeal of the Christian Missionary, than that fierce and haughty spirit of defiance and invective in which the apostles of Protestant ascendancy have gone forth against Popery. It was not so, that Christianity achieved its triumphs.

But we ought really to beg pardon of Mr. Mendham, for having suffered ourselves to be so long diverted from his curious and interesting Memoirs, which let us more behind the scenes, in the whole transactions of the Council, protracted through twenty-five sessions, than any work which has yet appeared. Of the sources, chiefly manuscript, from which he has derived the information now first communicated, he gives the following account.

'I am in possession of a rather copious collection of manuscript volumes in folio, and of varied but competent bulk, on the subject of the Council of Trent, formerly the property of the Earl of Guilford, and forming a part of his unique and very valuable library, dispersed not many years ago. I purchased the collection, consisting of twenty-eight volumes, from Mr. Thorpe, in 1832. The greater part appear to have constituted a portion of some public or extensive library, or libraries, in different parts of Italy and Venice; the product, not improbably, of the spoliation of the collections of cardinals, or other opulent individuals interested in ecclesiastical matters, during the time in which the French were masters of that portion of the world. This conjecture is confirmed by circumstantial or internal evidence. They are probably none of them originals, but copies, of varying age; and there are among them duplicates of a part or the whole of the separate volumes.' pp. vii., viii.

He then proceeds to describe the voluminous documents thus fortunately obtained. Among those which he reckons of inferior importance, is one which must be regarded as of no slight value; a transcript of Father Paul's History of the Council, in Italian, corrected by Cardinal Pallavicino's history in very extended annotations, written in a hostile spirit; and a private letter from the Cardinal to the Author of the transcript, signed with his auto-

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graph, is attached to an early page of the work. From these ample materials, Mr. Mendham has compiled a continued narrative of the proceedings, which terminated, at length, in giving an authoritative and definite form to the ever-varying and disputed doctrines of the Romish Church. This result, Mr. Mendham regards as, in some respects, a compensating advantage;—but it is an advantage only, we submit, to the polemic.

'The canons and decrees of Trent, with the riveting creed and oath which issued from the authority of the Council, and both expressed, and was sanctioned by its enactments, have at length fortunately bound the Proteus, and fixed him to a figure which he can no longer change. We cannot indeed altogether subscribe to the position, that the Council of Trent erected, what were formerly only questions of the schools, into dogmas of faith. Rome had certainly not a few dogmas of faith before, founded upon the highest and most binding authority, her preceding councils, not to add the constitutions of her chief pontiffs: and while a Nicene council established the worship of images; a Lateran one, transubstantiation, and auricular confession; a Florentine, purgatory and papal supremacy; while her liturgies and offices oblige the participants in them to offer prayers to saints; to implore their intercessions and the application of their merits before God; to deify the Virgin Mary by such appellations and addresses as belong exclusively to divinity; and to adore an equally deified vegetable substance under the manufactured form of the consecrated host;—it must be acknowledged, that matters of belief of no trifling number or ponderosity were hung about the necks of the papal population. Still, there was a great deal remaining, which the Tridentine synod contrived to add to the burthen, both upon itself, and upon all who were to receive it.' pp. xx., xxi.

The Council of Trent may be said to have had its origin in that loud call for a reformation of the Church, which had been heard in the Papal world even before Luther denounced the venal indulgencies issued by Pope Leo X. in 1517. His successor in the pontificate, Adrian VI., shewed some desire to reform his Court; but his design was opposed by Cardinal Soderini, who observed, that to reform the Church, would be to canonize the cause of Luther, which he should unite with the princes of the empire in endeavouring to extirpate. He accordingly sent his Legate to the Diet of Nuremberg, then sitting, 1522, who endeavoured to compromise matters by making the suppression of Lutheranism the condition of the reformation of the Papal Court. This proposal produced the list of grievances presented in the name of the assembled princes, known by the title of *Centum Gravamina*, the authenticity of which, Mr. Mendham shews to be indisputable.

'Adrian, although chiefly intent upon crushing Luther and his doctrine, was, for the attainment of that object, willing to make great sa-

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crifices, and, in order to them, very humble confessions. In one of his instructions to his legate, he commissions him to say:—"We acknowledge that, in this holy see, there have for some years been many abominations, abuses in spirituals, excesses in mandates,—all things, in fine, perverted. Nor is it to be wondered, if the sickness of the head should descend to the members, that of the chief pontiffs to the other inferior prelates. We have all (prelates and ecclesiastics) declined to our own ways; and it has been long that there was none who did good, no not one. Wherefore," &c. Such language was little likely to please any Roman sycophant; and Pallavicino could not well do otherwise than applaud the simplicity of the pontiff at the expense of his prudence.

'The Italian Diarist has noticed and described the contents of the Centum Gravamina in fair proportion. He has specified the various extortions, expensive dispensations, absolutions, indulgences, pecuniary penances, and so forth. But the document is too important to be dismissed in a summary way. Let the reader take any edition of the book into his hand, and peruse only a few of the century of charges which the lay and principal members of a great legislative assembly of the German empire felt themselves impelled to bring against an authority, which they still acknowledged as supreme in spirituals. Let him begin with the third article, on the burthen of papal indulgences, by which money was drawn in profusion from the simple, brought like any other commodity for sale into public market, and, in proportion to the price paid, conferring what the purchaser could not understand otherwise than as a licence to sin; whence all kinds of specified iniquity. Let him read in article vii. what is affirmed of the authorized questors, the stationary preachers of indulgences—their impostures, their extortions. Not to detain himself with the minor, although scandalous impositions respecting ecclesiastic benefices, the Annates, Reservations, Expectative graces, and various assumptions of temporal jurisdiction, let him proceed at once to the lxviith article, where the ecclesiastic judges and officials are charged with aggravating the spiritual penance to such a degree, that laics are induced to purchase immunity with money, which goes no further than the private pocket of the ecclesiastics. Let him, in article lxxiv, read how double fees are imposed upon some for the same offence; and in the two following, the charge of unchastity and profligacy in the lives of the clergy. Article xc. is to much the same purpose; and the next, openly, in the face of the world, and in the ears of his holiness at Rome, like all the rest, declares, that while concubines were allowed to priests on the payment of a certain tax, the same tax was levied upon those who lived continently, because the bishop was in want, and they were at liberty to do otherwise at their option. The xciiid article asserts and exposes the pertinacity with which the vagabond Terminaries and Stationaries, monks and priests, infested sick beds, and the artifices which they used to obtain legacies. The whole, however, of this portentous document ought to be read, to convey an adequate view of the superlative iniquity of the church, as well as court, of Rome, at the time. "The whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint: from the sole of the foot even unto the head, there was no soundness in it; but wounds and bruises, and

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putrifying sores." So the prophet denounced the church and court of Jerusalem; and Rome was not more pure.'

'The friends of real Christianity, which, under present circumstances, necessarily implied substantial and considerable reformation, had little to expect from the ascetic and superstitious virtues of Adrian; and his early removal, whether natural or not, put a termination to all hopes or fears respecting his personal performances in the purification of his church.' pp. 6—9.

In the mean time, the Protestant Reformation lost no ground; and the importunate demands for a reform of some kind within the Church, compelled the new Pope, Paul III., after summoning council to meet at Mantua, to which he cited the excommunicated King of England, to issue a commission for the purpose of examining into the abuses of the Papal court. The Commissioners were Cardinals Contarino, Sadoleto, Carafa, (afterwards Paul IV.,) and Polo (or Pole). Their report was printed in the ensuing year at Rome, under the title: "*Consilium Delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum Prælatorum, de emendanda Ecclesia, S. D. N. D. Paulo Tertio ipso jubente conscriptum, et exhibitum Anno* M.D.XXXVIII." Mr. Mendham has given an abstract of this 'penitential and self-condemnatory document,' which Carafa, one of its authors, when raised to the pontificate, actually placed in the Index of prohibited books! Paul III., however, was disposed to take the matter of the report into consideration; but, on consulting his Cardinals, he was told, that it was not the proper time, as such an act would give occasion of triumph to the Lutherans.

'After two prorogations, the pontiff published a bull to assemble the council at Vicenza, in the Venetian territory, on the 1st of May, 1537; and even sent three legates to open it in the following year. Against this new announcement and location of a council, the king of England published a fresh protestation, dated April 8, 1538. The pope suspended the meeting on the 10th of June, 1539.

'In the mean time, imperial diets were being held; which produced great terror in Rome, lest the temporal sovereigns should take the matter of reformation into their own hands, and assume to themselves the office, which the bishop of Rome regarded as exclusively his own, of interfering with, and regulating, affairs of religion. Between this terror and the antagonist one of being necessitated to call a council, which, if it effected any true and adequate reformation in doctrine or discipline, would bring certain destruction to the whole system of the papacy, the mind of its sovereign was distracted; and the dilemma produced all those vacillating, but almost uniformly corrupt, measures, by which, throughout, the Synod of Trent was characterized.'

'The reader will hereafter discover that it was the main point with Rome, to establish doctrine precisely to such an effect as to crush heresy; that is, the supposed existing form of it at the time, the Lu-

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theran; and the main point of the Emperor was, to let the former rest, and enforce reformation. But reformation was the great dread of the Papacy; and we shall trace the contrivance and intrigues of that power to evade or avoid it.' pp. 14, 15; 29.

These extracts from Mr. Mendham's Introduction, will, we think, render our readers desirous of perusing his Memoirs of the Council itself, which exhibit a laborious collation of all the contemporary documents that throw light upon its proceedings. The Bull of Indiction for the meeting of the council is dated May 22d, 1542; and summoned the council to meet at Trent on the 1st of November following; but this bull, which is prefixed to every edition of the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, was suspended in July 1543; and a new bull was issued, summoning the council for March 15th, 1545. The council was not actually opened, however, till December 13th of that year, being the third Sunday in Advent, in the 12th year of the Pontificate of Paul III. After being continued, from time to time, during eighteen years, it was at last terminated with indecorous precipitation. The French Cardinal (Lorraine) urged a speedy close of the council 'from the necessities of France; and be-'cause it had been determined in a meeting of the king and the 'states, that, if the council did not terminate, *a national council* '*should be called*, the evils of which might easily be anticipated.' His argument was enforced by the illness of the Pope, and the dangers which might be apprehended from his death, or that of the Emperor, while the Council was still existing.

'On the 3d of December, at an early hour, the twenty-fifth and concluding session of the council commenced, and the decrees were published with almost universal consent. The legates, although determined upon closing the council, yet finding it impossible to get through all the business which they had before them, published from the pulpit, that the session would be continued and finished on the next day. After divine service, the legates employed themselves at home in preparing for the transactions of the morrow, and every thing was completed. Among the preparations was the decree of indulgences, to any definition of which Morone was averse, partly because he doubted whether it would not give an occasion of disputation and of protracting matters, and partly thinking it better that so important a subject, presenting so many points of controversy, should be entirely omitted, than that it should be slightly treated. The cardinal of Lorraine, however, with many other prelates, was anxious that some mention should be made of indulgences, lest the error of the heretics should be more confirmed, if they should see that nothing was done about them; and likewise, because this very omission alone might easily be made a pretence for convoking a fresh council. Therefore, on that very night, a decree concerning indulgences was composed; and early the next morning, before the church was opened, the

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ambassadors and very many of the prelates were called together, and before them were read all the decrees which were to be promulgated in the session, together with this of indulgences, respecting which, openly and before all, cardinal Morone professed that he was not satisfied that any thing should be defined. Lorraine, however, Madruccio, all the ambassadors, and other prelates, replied and expressed their approbation of the form then delivered. There were, however, withdrawn from it some words, which expressly prohibited the paying of any certain sum of money for indulgences, not even when what are called suspensions are given; and these words were withdrawn in favour of the count de Luna, because they appeared to be industriously selected to designate the Spanish cruzada.

'On the 4th of December the session was concluded, and at the same time an end was put to the council. There were promulgated on it the following decrees—of Indulgences, of choice of food, of an Index of books, and of a Catechism. We may add, from Servantio, and, indeed, from the decrees themselves, the reformation of the Breviary and Missal. Afterwards were read all the decrees relative to faith, published under Paul III. and Julius III. Assent was then given by the fathers to the question whether they were pleased that the council should close, and the confirmation of it by his holiness be requested; and the chief president dismissed them in peace. The cardinal of Lorraine, justly enough denominated, the French pope, led the concluding acclamations, which ended with three anathemas, which were probably multiplied into three times three, loud and deep.'

pp. 311—313.

After referring to Mr. Charles Butler's panegyric upon this iniquitous Council, Mr. Mendham thus concludes his narrative.

'We are content with the more sober and historical statements to be found in the authorities which have been mainly and almost exclusively cited in the preceding memoirs. And when the reader has perused the testimony of eye-witnesses and parties, of leaders themselves, unexceptionable, and even favourable to their subject as they are, let him honestly say, (without denying considerable exception, but smothered and quenched,) whether, in the whole compass of history, any legislative assembly, the furthest possible remote from religion of any kind or degree, can be pointed out, in which more of exclusively secular motives and objects, more interested policy, more immoral and dishonourable intrigue, more flagrant injustice towards the party devoted to suppression, and more violent and indecorous internal contention were exhibited, than in this professedly religious convocation of all the spiritual wisdom and piety of Christendom, arrogating to itself the peculiar direction of the Holy Spirit, and undertaking to enact and issue laws, both for the defence and guidance of the universal church, and for the correction or condemnation of its enemies.'

p. 323.

The Protestant public are much indebted to the Author of this volume, for the laborious pains which he has taken to illustrate a

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most important chapter of modern ecclesiastical history *. The canons and decrees of this Council still exercise a binding authority over the Roman Catholic world, from which it can be relieved only by the decisions of another general council, repealing the ecclesiastical laws then agreed upon, by an equal authority. A distinction, however, is made by the Catholics themselves, and therefore ought to be kept in view by Protestants, between the decrees of councils defining articles of faith, and those which regard discipline and matters of civil polity. A great portion of the laws of this description enacted by the Council of Trent, have never been generally received. While Spain admitted them entire, France rejected them altogether. For instance, the Council decreed, that the field wherein a duel is fought, shall be forfeited by the owner; a salutary but wholly abortive enactment, which never took effect even in Spain or Belgium.

It has been maintained by high Romish authorities, that 'not 'all things which are even absolutely and simply affirmed in 'councils are decrees of faith,' but only those, the denial of which is adjudged to be heresy, and anathematized †. Dr. Doyle remarks, that the canon of the Council of Trent, re-enacting Confession to the Priest, innovated upon the old custom, by removing the obligation which the Church law before imposed, of more frequent confession, and limiting its observance to once at least in each year. This canon 'relaxed the ancient discipline'; and 'it 'is very possible,' he adds, 'that if a general council were as-'sembled in our days, it might repeal the ecclesiastical law alto-'gether, and leave the Divine law alone to operate upon the 'consciences of men.'‡ In our controversy with the Romanists, it is both just and necessary to distinguish between the legislative acts and the dogmatic decisions of their Church; more especially when Episcopalians make a similar distinction between their own articles of faith and the canons and constitutions still unrepealed, though for the most part fallen into desuetude. After making every due and requisite distinction and allowance, enough remains in the received and acknowledged doctrines of the Romish Church, to justify, not hatred and persecution of its members, but the

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* As a popular History of the Council of Trent, comprising a translation of its decrees, and 'a complete exposure of the imposture of the Papal religion by authorities the most unexceptionable, the most decisive, the most condemning,'—Mr. Mendham strongly recommends "The Text Book of Popery, by J. M. Cramp," 12mo. This honourable testimony to the merit of Mr. Cramp's volume, we transcribe with much pleasure, and regret that we have not before found an opportunity of referring our readers to the work.

† See Doyle on the Catholic Claims, pp. 104—109.

‡ Ib. pp. 261—264.

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most uncompromising opposition to its insidious and perilous perversion of the Christian faith and institutions. But we shall never succeed in weaning the Roman Catholic from his errors, by imputing to him what he does not hold, or by confuting doctrines which he disclaims.

It is surely a great point gained, when, in their popular tracts, Roman Catholics sanction a direct appeal, although it be for the purpose of defending error, to the ultimate rule of faith,—the Holy Scriptures. It is true, that every Catholic will be apt to receive the gloss as of the same authority with the text, and to be confirmed in his opinions by false Scripture. But now that the Scriptures are becoming so generally accessible, it will be found more and more difficult to mislead and fetter the minds of the people by partial and erroneous citations, while sanctioning a deference to the paramount authority of the Word of God. "It is written," was an argument used by the Tempter. "It is written again," was the reply by which he was confounded. Popery, finding itself hard pressed, takes to the letter of Scripture as its stronghold. From this, its last retreat, it must be driven by the general prevalence of those sound principles of Biblical exegesis and criticism, which Protestants themselves have hitherto been slow to adopt, and before which other forms of error besides Popery are destined to give way.

We should be glad to see a refutation of the errors of Popery, that would fairly grapple with them on the ground chosen by the more respectable modern apologists for the Romish faith, and taking their doctrines according to their own shewing. Protestants have been accustomed to deal with Papists too much as political enemies; and, as Dr. Chalmers remarked of the Catholic disabilities, what 'were intended as a line of circumvallation 'around the strongholds of the Protestant faith, in effect have 'been a line of circumvallation around the strongholds of the 'Catholic faith.' The exactions and oppressions which the English and Irish Catholics have endured, have closed every avenue to the truth in their minds; and the theological reasons assigned for excluding them from political privileges, have served but to create political prejudices against theological verities. Among other erroneous opinions entertained respecting the Catholic religion, exposed by the Author of the 'Remarks', is that which relates to the supposed incompatibility of that religion with civil freedom. This notion is combated with considerable force; and our readers will at all events be pleased with the Writer's sound notions of religious liberty.

'The Catholic religion does not in its tenets meddle with forms of Government, and it is unjust to charge it with being inimical to civil liberty. Sir Robert Filmer, in his *Patriarcha*, written in praise of absolute monarchy, directs all his arguments against Catholic writers,

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and charges them with being favourable to republican principles: it is therefore hard to be found fault with in both ways. The argument from facts will appear in favour of the Catholic. Let any one extract from our Constitution what is of Catholic origin; our common law, including the trial by jury, and the law of treason, the internal government of our counties, (where the Sheriffs and the Justices of the Peace were elected till the time of Edward the second,) and our representative system,—and he will see how little remains to the Protestant's share beyond some statutes to enforce the execution of pre-existing laws; and let him consider whether, if we had not been in possession of those rights and privileges before the Reformation, we should have had much chance of obtaining them since. Let him say what was done in favour of liberty when the Protestant religion was in the glow of its zeal, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and James I. If we look to other countries, we find that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, which were limited monarchies in Catholic times, are now absolute; and that nothing has been done in favour of their subjects by any sovereign in Germany who embraced the Reformation. All the Italian Republics were Catholic; the most democratic Cantons in Switzerland, which have in our days been the most strenuous defenders of their liberties, are so. St. Marino is so, and Genoa and Ragusa would still be free, if we had not aided in preventing it. Protestants in the great Catholic States have been completely restored to all civil rights; and if it be true that the influence of the Catholic clergy is so great, we must infer that they have been liberal on those occasions, nor have we heard that they offered any opposition to these concessions: it would undoubtedly be very desirable for the Catholic here to experience the same liberality or forbearance.

'But, notwithstanding this argument from facts, in which the balance appears to be in favour of the Catholic, it would be both unjust and absurd to attribute a predilection to despotic sway to any description of Christians: all take different parts according to circumstances and events, independently of their religious tenets. We believe that the love of liberty is planted in every cultivated mind and every honest breast; for who likes oppression when it is brought home? If the Catholic, in the time of the Stuarts, was more favourable to monarchy, it was because he was so oppressed by the laws enacted by the popular party, that absolute monarchy would, to him, have been comparative freedom. Every description of Christians, if they follow the precepts they are taught, will be good themselves, and just and charitable to others. Our Saviour has expressly distinguished the civil power from the duties of religion, by declaring that his kingdom is not of this world, and by giving this distinction the force of precept, ordering us to give to Cæsar what is his due, and to God what appertains to him. And it is very clear that the Christian religion itself is based, in fact, on the principle of religious liberty; for if religious liberty is not a civil right, then were all the persecutions of the first Christians morally justifiable, and the Christians were bad subjects. Every class of Christians may therefore consistently and without scruple maintain, that the right of every individual to religious liberty should be un-

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shackled by worldly power;—and every Government should consider that it has not the power to alter the mind of an individual, and make him believe or disbelieve any tenet, as he himself has not that control over it, and that to require that which is impossible must be an unjustifiable act of tyranny.'

'The exclusiveness of our doctrine!' exclaims the late Dr. Doyle,—'where has this produced disturbance and confusion 'under just and equal laws? Is it in Hungary, is it throughout 'Germany, is it in Switzerland, is it in France, is it in Canada, is 'it in Maryland, is it in the dominions of the King of Prussia, 'or of Hanover, or in any of those States where civil and reli-'gious liberty are established? No; *it is a dominant creed*, no 'matter of what sect or Church, when conflicting with a people, 'which produces disorder, penalties, and crime. Only take away 'restrictions from religious belief,—let no man suffer on account 'of his faith, and you extinguish in those who are exalted, pride 'with a spirit of domination; and you take from the more hum-'ble the zeal of suffering for justice sake; you also remove from 'prejudice and passion the very food on which they live, and 'convert numberless hypocrites into sincere Christians.'* These are just sentiments, come they from what quarter they may; nor ought it to be forgotten, that the founder of the first colony which offered an asylum to the persecuted of all persuasions, with a full equality of civil rights, was an Irish Roman Catholic nobleman. In an age of bigotry, Lord Baltimore was distinguished by his liberal opinions; and though a member of the most intolerant church, was the steady friend of religious freedom, while the Puritans of New England, and the Episcopalians of Virginia, were exhibiting the sad spectacle of mutual intolerance.

Art. II. *Memoir of the late Rev. Joseph Hughes, A.M., one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* By John Leifchild. 8vo, pp. xx., 498. London, 1835.

OF an individual who, during between twenty and thirty years, occupied so prominent a situation in the religious world as one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society,—an institution with which his existence seemed identified, and in the origination of which he had a very principal share,—the public will naturally have looked for some biographical memorial; and the perusal of this volume will leave an impression on the mind of every reader, that the office of friendship could not have been committed to more judicious hands. A narrative, written

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* Doyle on the Catholic Claims, p. 202.

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by himself, extending through the first fifteen years of his life, and which was found among Mr. Hughes's papers, together with the letters interspersed through the volume, imparts to the memoir, to a certain extent, the interest of auto-biography. It has been, Mr. Leifchild says, his aim, 'to make the deceased speak as much 'as possible through the medium of his own writings,' and to afford by this means 'those glimpses of his interior character tc 'which the outward events of his life were chiefly indebted for 'their importance, as leading to or resulting from its formation.' Religious biography must always derive its chief interest from the portraiture of character, and the development of its internal structure. At the same time, there are particulars relating to the history of religious bodies, and the interior state of society, minute but very material and instructive facts, for the knowledge and preservation of which we are almost entirely indebted to the records of the biographer.

Joseph Hughes was born in London, Jan. 1, 1769. His father was a native of Wales, his mother of Lancaster. Their circumstances were humble, but they experienced and exemplified the scriptural axiom, that "godliness with contentment is great gain." They were attendants upon the ministry of the celebrated George Whitfield, in Tottenham Court Chapel. Six of their children had died before the birth of Joseph, who seemed likely to follow them; but, by the timely expedient of placing him under the care of a nurse on Enfield Chase, his constitution was invigorated, though he seems to have continued delicate; and this physical feebleness no doubt contributed to give to his manners in childhood, that unnatural gravity which seems to have been injuriously cherished as a supposed indication of a wisdom and seriousness above his years. We must transcribe Mr. Leifchild's judicious remarks upon this subject.

'When the shew of religious sentiment is both exuberant and precocious, special care should be taken by christian instructors lest forms should be substituted for principles; lest the beautiful simplicity of a tender age should be corrupted by an unnatural austerity, and the pupil be tempted by the desire of applause to pursue a forced and feigned course, too likely to issue in an abandonment, in riper years, of all that was good along with what was evil, in the professions of early life. . . . . It was well for Joseph Hughes that he escaped the dangers attendant both upon that stimulation of the religious emotions to which he was so early subjected and the chilling influence of an unseemly gravity. . . . . He was himself, in after life, deeply sensible of the pernicious influences to which he had been exposed, and of the perils which, by the grace of God, he escaped even in childhood.'

pp. 11, 12.

His early piety, though not in proportion to his seriousness of manner and meditative taste, appears to have been genuine; and

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'the seed of divine truth,' to use his own words, 'sown by a 'father's hand with so much care, and watched over by his eye 'with such fond expectation,' had taken root in his heart, so as to counteract in a great measure the injurious tendency of the fond admiration bestowed upon his precocious displays. 'My prevailing 'judgement is,' says Mr. Hughes, in reviewing these circumstances towards the close of his life, 'that God did thus early set upon 'me indelible marks of merciful appropriation.' His father did not live to witness the result. He died in 1779, when Joseph had scarcely reached his tenth year, leaving his widow with a dependent family of five children. A short time before his decease, Joseph had left home, in order to be placed as a pupil in the family of Mr. Smalley, minister of a Presbyterian congregation at Darwen in Lancashire. He was met by Mr. Smalley at Manchester, who accosted him by saying: 'Joseph, you have lost one father; you shall find in me *another*.' Kind words, implying, however, much more than he was qualified or able to fulfil. Mr. Smalley was a well educated, amiable, and well-meaning man; but he belonged to that class of Presbyterians who may be placed at the extreme verge of spiritual vegetation, in the frigid zone of Christianity. 'As a theologian, he belonged to the school of 'Doddridge, or rather of Job Orton; but, in consequence of his 'intimacy with Dr. Barnes of Manchester, and men of a similar 'stamp, the Independents of the county all but adjudged him to 'the class of Arians.' To one practice of my 'otherwise exem-'plary tutor,' says Mr. Hughes, 'I can never refer without re-'gret;' that of reading the newspapers during the interval between the morning and afternoon services of the Sabbath, as well as after tea in the evening! And he gives an affecting account of the state of this minister's family at that period.

'"Beneath his own roof he had little to cheer him. His daughter died at mature age; his sons imitated none of his better qualities. The younger fell into intemperate habits, from which I fear he never recovered; thus imitating his unhappy mother, and taking advantage of his father's resemblance to the lamented, though venerated Eli. His eldest son, a youth of imposing appearance and promising abilities, entered the Daventry Academy, of which the excellent Mr. Robins conducted the theological department. In devoting a son, not vicious perhaps, but apparently *unrenewed*, to the sacred office, my venerated tutor fell into a practice lamentably common in every Christian land, and which had crept into the class of Protestant Dissenters. The consequence in this case might be held up as a terrific warning. He was disappointed not only in his son, but, if I mistake not, in almost every candidate for the ministry, who sought and obtained his patronage."' pp. 17, 18.

Young Hughes remained at Darwen not quite two years! His literary progress under the tuition of Mr. Smalley was inconsiderable; and it is not surprising that in his religious feelings he de-

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generated. Towards the close of 1780, Mr. Smalley's increasing infirmities incapacitating him for the exertions of a tutor, he was transferred to the Free School at Rivington in the same county, then under a Mr. Norcross. This pedagogue was the precise reverse of his first tutor,—rigorous, vehement, and melancholic; and the circumstances in which young Hughes was here placed, were not more favourable to his moral and religious improvement than they had been at Darwen. He boarded in the house of one Jonathan Kershaw, a Presbyterian, who had an Episcopalian for his wife, and a Quaker for his only son!! Several of the scholars were his fellow inmates.

'"Neither the chapel belonging to the establishment,"' continues Mr. Hughes's own narrative, '"nor that belonging to the Dissenters, was favoured with an evangelical ministry; spiritual death reigned in our family, and in all the surrounding families, with slight exceptions. To be a Christian indeed, subjected to the charge of methodism; and to incur that charge was to be branded as a compost of hypocrisy and folly. At the distance of two miles lived and preached Mr. Redmayne, quite high enough as a Calvinist, and observably illiterate. My mother, when visiting the neighbourhood, heard him, and so far approved his discourses, as well as the stream of his conversation and acknowledged character, as to recommend my going to his chapel. But I found that he was stigmatized, and it was seldom that I resorted to his chapel"'.*

Nothing could well be more unfavourable to the growth of piety, than the circumstances in which young Hughes was here placed. 'I witnessed,' he says, 'as vile and mischievous profligacy as I had done at Darwen.' 'No ascendant spirit stood near in the form of an associate, to open and recommend a high moral course.' The literary advantages of the school were also 'greatly circumscribed.' On arriving at the last year of his continuance at school, he exhibited, to use his own words, 'a mass of inconsistencies,—a character that might well have given rise to opposite prognostications. Humanly speaking, deliverance or destruction depended on the scenes and connexions with which I was *thenceforward* to be familiar.' How many thousands of amiable, well-disposed, and promising youths are continually being destroyed by what is called Education,—which means, a process by which a little Latin and Greek are acquired, at the cost of moral contamination, the hardening of the conscience, and the deadening of the best sensibilities of the youthful heart

In the summer of 1784, young Hughes returned to London after an absence of six years; and he found that the friends who

* Independent ministers in that county were then comparatively few, and fewer still were academically educated. The present number of Independent congregations in Lancashire is upwards of ninety.

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had patronised him had already considered it as a settled point, that he was to devote himself to the Christian ministry. 'Too 'much reliance had been placed by them on early appearances; 'and it was felt by him, that a grievous disappointment would be 'inflicted upon them, were he to decide upon a secular profession.' Ill chosen as had been the tutelage and training to which he had been consigned, it would seem that this education was bestowed upon him with a special view to his becoming a minister. Mr. Hughes was probably aware of this; for we find him, while at school, uniting with a class-mate in composing a sermon. It may be that a knowledge of the intentions of his friends operated beneficially as a moral restraint. It is evident too, that he never cast off the fear of God, and that his conscience was even scrupulously tender, although he had little or no pleasure in religious services, religion not having taken hold of his affections. In acceding, however, to the wishes and plans of others, he was not, he says, thwarting his own. Yet was he 'lamentably deficient in 'those high-toned principles and strong emotions which became' his 'situation and prospects'.

'"Human influence, it is to be feared, wrought on me more than that which is divine. Into the religious sentiments I then embraced, and which I have never in the main forsaken, I glided imperceptibly and without a conflict. My mind was ductile, and might, in another connexion, have glided into opposite sentiments, having up to that period been almost a stranger to the points mooted among theologians, though perhaps preserving an obscure relish for the strain to which I was accustomed from my earliest years."'

This ingenuous confession, it must be recollected, is the decision of Mr. Hughes's severe and rigorous judgement in riper years. 'It is not to be supposed,' his Biographer remarks, 'from 'the high-toned piety and shrewd discernment of the parties to 'whose judgement his case was submitted, that they would unani-'mously have decided in favour of the future course he was to 'pursue, had there not been about him undoubted marks of ge-'nuine piety, uprightness of intention, and determination to excel.' We are ready to admit this in the case of Mr. Hughes, injudicious as was the conduct of these friends; but it is certain that parties as pious and as discerning have often made great mistakes in encouraging the chosen objects of their patronage to enter the ministry, unwilling to have their designs frustrated, or to abandon the hopes raised by the individual, when an impartial judgement would have led to an opposite decision. A young man who finds himself destined by his friends for the sacred profession, with no other course open to him, is placed in circumstances of a very trying nature. If he is of an easy temper, there is no small danger of his assuming his own fitness for the office, or, if he has any scruples on that head, of his throwing off the responsibility

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upon his advisers, and becoming the professional religionist in his feelings. If he be of a more independent and aspiring mind, he may revolt against the service to which he is compelled to devote himself, as intolerable drudgery. Too many individuals have been driven into the ministry by circumstances, who might seem to have made choice of it. On the other hand, the anxiety to guard against this evil, may have led parents into the opposite extreme, of not shaping the education of their children with any view to their future course of life, and suffering it to be determined by chance what profession or trade they may afterwards fall into. Surely education ought not to be without design, although the result ought to be viewed as contingent. In Mr. Hughes's case, the double mistake seems to have been committed, of predetermining his future profession, and educating him into unfitness for it. Happily, his early impressions were never obliterated, and a special Providence watched over the widow's son. 'God did not utterly forsake me at Rivington,' is his pious remark; and to the secret tuition of the Divine Spirit, the preservation of the spark that had been kindled in his infant mind, must be attributed.

Mr. Hughes's father, though a member of Tottenham-court chapel, was a Baptist in judgement; and his mother was a member of the church in Eagle-street, then under the pastoral care of Dr. Gifford. 'I am not sure,' he says, 'that I was provided with more solid reasons for joining a similar connexion.' He was baptized by his friend and patron, Dr. Stennett, pastor of the Baptist church in Little Wild Street, and 'a Sabbatarian close-'communionist.' An interesting portrait of this truly good man is supplied by Mr. Hughes himself.

'"He had received a respectable education, and was, I believe, the completest gentleman in the whole denomination of Baptists. Indeed, his manners were courtly, a kind of heir-loom well conveyed from his father and grandfather, who had moved more than himself within the precincts of royalty. The effects of the French revolution on the minds of many warm theorists in England excited his apprehensions and displeasure; especially when he traced them in the circle of those whom he had been accustomed to regard as Christian friends. His congregation was rather select than numerous. His sermons, which he usually read, were judicious, clear, unaffected, and practically evangelical; while his soft and for the most part plaintive delivery exemplified Quintilian's *cantus obscurior* in a way which added much to the interest of all that he uttered.

'"He resided, during the latter part of his life, at Muswell Hill, where his friends, in succession, formed many an admiring and delightful levee, welcomed by one who was uniformly hospitable, pious, and entertaining. Among his frequent guests, was the celebrated John Howard, whom I have often seen in attendance on his ministry, and with whom I should have often been a fellow communicant, had the church in Wild Street admitted Pædobaptists to the sacramental

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table. The texture of Dr. Stennett's understanding, like that of his heart, was sound. But he might have said,

> *" Sectantem lenia nervi*
> *Deficiunt animique."*

' " He had but a modicum of imagination, nor did he pretend to be original or profound. Yet what he published on ' Personal Religion,' and on ' The Parable of the Sower,' affords a specimen of talents adapted to convey sacred instructions in a correct, neat, and engaging style. On the whole, he eminently adorned his profession, and when he died, left a chasm in the connection which has never been filled up.

' " He belonged to the Trust founded by Dr. John Ward, formerly one of the Gresham College Professors, who bequeathed a sum for the maintenance and education of two persons, chosen, not exclusively, but by preference, from among the Baptists, and who were to be taught, if requisite, first in some English seminary; ultimately, however, in a northern college, and to be succeeded from time to time by the same number, according as suitable candidates might apply. The determination might be to the pursuits either of a preacher or a tutor. Provision is made in the will for continuing to the students, the first year after completing their studies, the allowance assigned any one year previously." ' pp. 33—35.

By the advice and influence of his friends, Mr. Hughes, in the course of a few months after his public profession of religion, was placed as a theological student, upon Dr. Ward's trust, in the Baptist Academy at Broadmead, Bristol, then under the presidency of Dr. Caleb Evans. That academy, notwithstanding the high respectability of the tutors *, was at that time and for many years afterwards, deficient, both in its literary and its theological departments, in system and in stimulants.

' " Slender," says Mr. Hughes, " as was my own stock of erudition upon joining the academic groupe at Bristol, I found only two individuals, during a three years' residence, whose classical attainments were superior to my own. This had the unhappy effect of slackening my application, so that I quitted the place without any material improvement. Not having completed my sixteenth year at the commencement of my course, and having been little conversant with men calculated to unfold and invigorate the intellect, I could not but exhibit and feel a mortifying disparity between myself and the majority of my new associates. The freedom and fullness, in particular, which marked the devotional addresses of Mr. Hinton, when taking his turn at family prayer, astonished and at the same time depressed me. My embarrassment on those occasions was generally apparent and most grievous. To any thing in the shape of a disquisition I was con-

* Before quitting Bristol for Scotland, Mr. Hughes enjoyed the advantage of hearing, as Dr. Evans's assistant in the ministry, Robert Hall, who also took part in the tuition of the students. See Eclectic Review, Vol. IX., 3d Series, p. 194.

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sciously unequal; and my themes indicated a common and barren mind. I was, however, just capable of relishing bold and beautiful sentiments, though apt to confound a gaudy with a good style. In consequence of being so much younger than the majority of those around me, I was rarely complimented with the kind notice which invites a person to take part in a critical conference, though it were the humble part of a mere listener. Hinton and Kinghorn were men in age and in understanding, while in both I was but a boy."' pp. 39, 40.

And a boy who peculiarly stood in need of fostering encouragement, to invigorate and develop the powers he actually possessed.

The autobiographical sketch which Mr. Hughes left behind him, terminates at this point; and the chief materials of the ensuing narrative have been derived from letters and a miscellaneous diary in which he recorded most of the engagements and important occurrences of his life. In Oct. 1787, he left Bristol for Aberdeen, to prosecute his studies in King's College, where Robert Hall had completed his education, and taken his degree of master of arts, three years before. Mr. Hughes's conduct during the whole period of his residence in Scotland, appears to have been in the highest degree consistent and exemplary; and though humiliating confessions of neglect and idleness occur in his journal, they are disproved by the registry of the authors he read, and the severity of the rules by which he bound himself. For the pursuits of mathematical science, he had no taste; but, for the beauties of Greek and Roman literature, he had a keen relish, and he continued through life to retain his fondness for the ancient classics, especially the philosophical works of Cicero. To this circumstance may be ascribed, in part, that 'fastidious-'ness of diction' for which he afterwards became so remarkable. The minute attention which he evinced, from this early period, to accuracy and propriety of expression, characterised his later efforts; and often led him to sacrifice perspicuity and force to the elegant indirectness which he had learned from the Roman orator.

Whether from 'the slenderness of his means, from previous 'habits, or from a conscientious feeling,' does not appear, but Mr. Hughes is stated to have practised at Aberdeen an abstemiousness in his diet, which operated injuriously on his health and the tone of his mind. A spirit of dejection pervades his diary; and it would seem that he felt discouraged at finding himself continually thwarted or unsuccessful in his resolutions and attempts to arrive at eminence, or to realize his own ideas of excellence. In April 1789, he re-visited England. On the voyage, notwithstanding sea-sickness, we find him engaged on board in preaching to some soldiers and the crew, and in reading to the passengers. During his stay in the metropolis, he first

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heard the Rev. Mr. Jay, of Bath, then a very young man, and 'became so enamoured' of his preaching, as to attend exclusively upon his ministry during the term of Mr. Jay's residence in London. In company with his friend Mr. Holloway, the engraver, Mr. Hughes visited a sunday-school while he was in England, and was so struck with the scene, that he resolved to form something like it upon his return to the North. Nor had he been long in Aberdeen before he put in practice this resolution. He gathered a group of children, formed rules for their instruction on the sabbath, and indefatigably persevered in acting upon them. Along with the children, whose numbers continually increased, the parents were invited to attend, and strangers were admitted as visitors.

'These increased at length to the number of between two and three hundred; and a kind of sermon was addressed to the whole, generally by our friend, at the close of the school. The spectacle was so far novel at that time and place as to excite marked attention. Whispers were circulated respecting him and his motives, for this imagined assumption in the introduction of new modes of usefulness. Some insinuated that he was secretly paid for his labour; in reference to which he says: "Blessed be God, I can imprecate ruin upon myself, if I ever once thought of pecuniary advantage. Let my labour be as free as the Gospel?" It was the very motto he adopted afterwards for his conduct on a much larger and more splendid scale. So tenacious was he at this time of this principle, that, when one of the poor mothers of the children offered him, from the overflowing gratitude of her heart, a few peats as a recompense, he persisted, to her great pain and mortification, in the stedfast refusal. Indeed, his own savings appear to have been devoted to the purchase of books for the use of his scholars. . . . . His farewell of the children for the recess was accompanied with lamentation and weeping on the part both of them and their parents, and, on his own, with grateful thanksgivings and tender regrets.' pp. 73, 4.

This benevolent and disinterested effort on the part of the young student, must be viewed as a very characteristic indication of the qualities by which Mr. Hughes was afterwards to be distinguished: a quiet zeal, steady perseverance, condescension to the young, kindness to the poor, and unimpeachable purity of motive in his labours of love, were prominent traits in his character. In March, 1790, Mr. Hughes took his degree of M.A. He remained at Aberdeen till the close of the autumn, and then proceeded to Edinburgh, where he spent a session. He subsequently returned to Aberdeen, where he had formed some strong attachments of friendship, and remained there for five months. In 1791, he returned to London, and, after preaching 'a *trial* '*sermon*' before the pastor and members of the church at Wild Street, was unanimously 'called to the work of the ministry,'

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agreeably to the custom of the denomination to which he belonged. Not many months afterwards, a vacancy occurred in the office of classical tutor in the Broadmead Academy; and, young as he was, Mr. Hughes was invited to fill that responsible station. He accepted it, but apparently as only a temporary arrangement. In a letter written soon after his arrival at Bristol, he says:—

'"The unsettled state of affairs at Bristol called me away sooner than I either wished or expected. Scarcely had I seen my friends, when I was snatched from their society. . . . . I am quite ignorant as to the time I may stay here. One thing I can say, that I never sought the situation for myself, nor commissioned or encouraged friends to do so for me. God has led me hither by his providence; here would I remain while he sees fit; hence would I cheerfully remove at his command."' pp. 108, 9.

Dr. Evans died in the following August; and Mr. Hughes, besides discharging his office as tutor, continued to occupy the pulpit at Broadmead during the remainder of that year and nearly the whole of the next. In Dec. 1792, he received and accepted an invitation to become assistant minister to the Rev. J. Ryland, who had just been chosen to take the pastoral charge of the Broadmead church. Shortly afterwards, he married the lady to whom he had been long attached, and who survives as his widow. His residence at Bristol was not destined, however, to be permanent. In 1794, in consequence of a difference which appears to have arisen between Mr. Ryland and himself, the effect of jealousies for which their relative position and want of congeniality of taste may easily account, Mr. Hughes found himself unjustly and treacherously displaced from both the offices he held. 'A 'petty misunderstanding,' he says to a correspondent, 'such as a 'five minutes' interview between Mr. Ryland and myself might 'have cleared up, has occasioned my removal.' The pen of his friend and one of his first pupils, the Rev. John Foster, author of the "Essays," has supplied the following recollections of his preaching and mental characteristics at this period of his life.

'"He had great mental activity, quickness of apprehension, and discriminate perception. He had considerable ambition of intellectual superiority, but less, I think, for any purpose of ostentation than for the pleasure of mental liberty and power. He was apt, like other young men, to be somewhat dazzled by the magniloquent style in writing, but at the same time always justly appreciated plain good sense, whether in books, sermons, or conversation. A defect of simplicity and obvious *directness* in his own writing and preaching, was, I think, not a little owing to his admiration at the time in question (and I suppose an earlier one) of certain writers of the eloquent class whose style was somewhat stilted—too artificial and rhetorical. His preaching, as a young man, was often very animated, rather unmethodical and diffuse, and extremely rapid; in this last respect in perfect con-

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trast to his pulpit exercises towards the close of life. His temperament was what is called mercurial;—lively, hasty, earnest, versatile, and variable. He was kind and candid, yielding the sympathies of friendship, warm in its feelings, and prompt in its appropriate offices; free from acrimonious and resentful feelings, and from those minor perversities of temper or whim, which, without being regarded as great faults, are very annoying in social life. There is nothing I retain a stronger impression of, than the proofs he habitually manifested of a sincere and firmly established piety, which so attempered his youthful vivacity, as to restrain it in its gayest indulgencies and sallies from degenerating into an irreligious, or in any other way offensive levity. I can remember, that in hours when we gave the greatest social indulgence to our youthful spirits, he would fall on serious observations and reflections, in the unforced and easy manner which indicated the prevalence of serious interest in his mind. The hold which the great and vital principles of religion had upon him, was not slackened by his indecision, his incompleteness of theological system respecting secondary points of doctrine. His public discourses were too little in obvious and studied conformity to any established model, to be acceptable to a considerable portion of his hearers. In addition, his voice would sometimes, independently of his will, and almost of his consciousness, take and retain through the whole service a pitch above its natural tone. But I think that he was oftener in possession of his natural voice."' pp. 145—147.

From Bristol, Mr. Hughes removed, in July 1796, to the village of Battersea, near London, having accepted an invitation to become the minister of the chapel there, with a salary, contributed chiefly by the liberality of the proprietors of the edifice, which exceeded what he had derived from both his offices at Bristol. Here he continued till death. The situation was in many respects happily adapted to him. It brought him into contact and familiar intercourse with many valued and eminent friends, capable of appreciating his excellence; and it favoured his gradual advance into those more public stations in which his zeal and his talents found the widest scope for usefulness. Among other advantages, it led to a renewal of his acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce, who then resided at Clapham, and whose warm friendship he continued to enjoy unabated to the end of their lives. 'A few weeks only separated them in their ascent to 'brighter scenes; Mr. Hughes being confined by his last illness 'at the time of Mr. Wilberforce's decease.'

'It soon became necessary,' continues his Biographer, 'to enlarge the place of worship, for the accommodation of more attendants. These were principally of a highly respectable class; persons capable of appreciating the learning, taste, and elegance of the preacher and the pastor. His preparation at this time for the pulpit was most assiduous. He wrote, to the extent of about eight or ten pages, most of his sermons, and, in rather a careful manner, deposited what he had

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written in his memory *. Not, however, without leaving himself at liberty to make alterations of expression, or to pursue any excursion of thought which presented itself at the time of delivery. In composition, he was most fastidious, and has been known to occupy a whole forenoon in modelling and remodelling the first sentence. One who was then a resident under his roof declares, that the changes his composition underwent were sometimes so slight as to be scarcely perceptible, when repeated in its amended form. Still he persevered till he had pleased his own mind; and when this was once done at the commencement, he would proceed, with a rapidity which strikingly contrasted with his former hesitancy, to the close. But though the result was such as to attract select audiences, and obtain for him some reputation as a preacher among the more elevated circles, there was still that want of point, directness, and force, in his public ministrations, that kept him from exerting any influence *on the mass*, and prevented him from ever becoming a favourite with the middle and lower orders.

'"The cause of religion at Battersea," says a correspondent, "now greatly flourished. His ministry was much blessed at this time and for several years afterwards. He was by far the most popular minister in the vicinity: many from considerable distances attended, and it was thought quite a *treat* by members and hearers of other congregations, to go occasionally to Battersea to hear Mr. Hughes." The place was then in its palmy state;—alas! how altered since! Out of the pulpit, he was most assiduously attentive to his auditors; and though he would not, from the general benevolence and amenity of his nature, be guilty of neglecting the poor, yet all his feelings and associations led him greatly to prefer the society and converse of the more refined and educated.' pp. 166—168.

His active zeal was not, however, to be circumscribed within the narrow circle of his pastoral labours. In 1799, in conjunction with the venerable Mr. Bowden of Tooting, he formed the Surrey Mission Society, the object of which is to supply the neglected villages of the county with Christian instruction, by the instrumentality of itinerant missionaries. In the following year, he assisted in the formation of the Religious Tract Society, of which he was chosen the secretary; an office which he continued to hold till his death, during a period of thirty-four years. The first account of the plan of this admirable society was drawn up by

* He would seem to have deviated, in this respect, from the plan upon which he commenced his public ministry. In a letter written soon after his settling at Bristol, he says: 'I must just inform you that I make very little use of notes, and find hitherto great freedom in preaching; yet I assure you I am as far from *committing sermons to memory* as from reading them. This is a slavish practice—I cannot endure it. Yet I study my subjects as much as if I wrote them, at least some times.' (p. 107.) It does not appear that his preaching increased in attraction as it became more elaborate.

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him, together with an address, in which, Mr. Leifchild remarks, 'there occurs the very principle on which another and still more 'magnificent institution was subsequently to be built; a prin-'ciple of conciliation, by way of securing the co-operation of 'Christians of all denominations in the circulation of pure 'truth.' Several of the early tracts were also contributed by his pen. At a meeting of a Committee of this Society, on the 7th of December, 1802, the conversation took place which originated the subsequent movements in forming the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Rev. Mr. Charles, of Bala, had been expatiating on the dearth of Bibles in the language of the Principality, and urging upon the attention of the meeting the desirableness of providing a more adequate supply. The thought was suggested—'Surely a society might be formed for the purpose; '—and if for Wales, why not also for the empire—for *the world?*' That this thought, expressed nearly in these terms, was first uttered by the lips of Mr. Hughes, is not only in accordance with the general recollection, sanctioned by his own admission; but the minutes of the meeting, revised by himself, record that, *at the suggestion of the Secretary*, the subject was deemed deserving of attention, and was to be taken into consideration at the next meeting. He was accordingly requested by the Chairman to imbody his sentiments in a written address, to be read to them at a future meeting specially convened. This address, after receiving some few emendations, was ordered to be printed. It was entitled, "The Excellence of the Holy Scriptures an argument for their more general dispersion at home and abroad;" and was sent forth early in 1803, without a name, and without preface. As containing the seminal principle of the Institution, it might of itself sufficiently establish the claim of the writer to be regarded as the primary instrument of originating it. 'His Essay,' remarks one of the few surviving members of that memorable committee*, 'which he matured with his best powers, became the 'Appeal, on behalf of the Scriptures, to all who professed to receive 'them as a Divine Revelation, which at length roused them to a 'sense of their duty, and brought together agents in fulfilling it 'which no cause had before been able to combine. The *principle* 'indeed had been acknowledged, and to a small extent already 'acted upon; but, till the Bible Society arose, it was unknown in 'the world *how far* it is possible for Christians conscientiously 'to retain their distinctive tenets and titles, while they unite their 'efforts in discharging a common obligation paramount to them 'all. No appeal to "*the Churches*," since the days of Inspira-'tion, has, probably, produced co-extensive good. His endurance

* W. Alers Hankey, Esq., in a letter given in the Appendix.

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'of labour equalled his zeal, and bore him up till the cause tri-'umphed. My judgement bids me declare that Joseph Hughes 'was the man whom the Head of the Christian Church raised up 'instrumentally to confer upon it and the world the greatest 'blessing that these last days have received.'

The first public meeting for the purpose of forming the Society, took place on March 7, 1804, the venerable Granville Sharp in the Chair. The letter from which we take the above extract, contains a highly interesting account of this important meeting, which opened under very discouraging appearances. The business had commenced when the Rev. John Owen entered the room; whether to support or to oppose the undertaking, was not known. He had attended at the persuasion of (we believe) his friend the Rev. Josiah Pratt, and came, as he used pleasantly to say, 'to see what you Dissenters were about.' 'It was not till 'Steinkopff told us, in his affecting manner and broken English, 'of the distresses of Germany,' he said, 'that my heart was 'moved.' Then he arose, and, by his natural and powerful eloquence, gave an impulse to the meeting which materially contributed to its successful result. He consented to be associated as joint secretary to the new Institution, with the Baptist minister and the amiable Lutheran clergyman; and never were three colleagues more happily adapted, by their oneness of heart and diversity of gift and temperament, to concur in harmoniously carrying forward the cause to which they so disinterestedly devoted themselves. For nearly twenty years, the three-fold cord remained unbroken.

As we are not tracing the history of that Institution with which Mr. Hughes's life became henceforth identified, we must very briefly advert to the prominent circumstances of his subsequent career. Early in 1812, the diploma of Doctor of Divinity was transmitted to him from the University of Providence, Rhode Island; and in 1821, the same honour was conferred upon him by Yale College, Connecticut. In both instances, he respectfully but firmly declined the honour, and carefully concealed the fact. In 1822, he was bereaved of his friend and colleague, Mr. Owen, who had, as well as himself, gratuitously laboured in the service of the Society to which they had consecrated their best energies, and which, by its gradually increasing importance and extent, came at length to absorb almost the whole of their time. The difficulty of finding a clergyman, as successor to Mr. Owen, who could make a similar sacrifice, and the injustice of requiring it, led the committee to decide upon annexing a salary to the vacant office; and of course, the three secretaries could but be placed on the same footing. Of Mr. Hughes's reluctance to accept of any salary, the following private memorandum will furnish the most honourable and satisfactory evidence. It is dated August, 1823.

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'Memorandum. "At the last annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that paragraph in the report which recommended that three hundred pounds a year should be paid to each of the secretaries, was received with peculiar marks of approbation.

'"When the proposal to connect a salary with the office was made, at a meeting of the committee several years ago, the secretaries interposed with a strong expression of their desire to have the subject at once and finally dismissed. They did not object to the principle in its general application. But considering that they were numbered with the founders of the society—that they had long served it without a pecuniary recompense—that they had thus preserved both themselves and the cause from imputations which, however unfounded, would probably have been incurred—that their labours brought with them a succession of intense delights—and that the recollection of having been gratuitous agents from the original establishment of such a society to the close of their exertions and their lives would be far more satisfactory than the receipt of the largest emoluments—they felt anxious that a measure in itself correct, expedient, and ultimately indispensable, might not be acted upon till they were called to sleep with their fathers.

'"In agreeing, after the repeated avowal of these sentiments, to accept a salary, I defer, not to my circumstances (which are more than adequate to my wants), nor to my independent feelings (which continue adverse), but to the delicate crisis at which the Society has arrived, and the importunity grounded on that crisis by the Society's most judicious and impartial friends.

'"In order to prove the sincerity of this statement, to express my gratitude to Him who has manifested so much mercy in my behalf, and to render my life additionally subservient to the welfare of mankind, I *have deliberately resolved to appropriate the whole of what I may receive from this source to the relief of such private cases and the support of such public institutions as shall appear most deserving of my attention and encouragement.*

'"It is also my request to those who may be intrusted with the distribution of my property after my death, that any sum which the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society may owe me on the score of salary, and also of incidental expenses, may be equally divided among the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, and the Bristol Education Society.

'"May God forgive the defects and the positive evil which his eye discerns in the spirit with which I present the offering, and grant me the ability and the disposition to accomplish without the least reserve, the design which with all humility and gratitude I would thus express, and to which I now subscribe my unworthy name.

'"Joseph Hughes."'

This document requires no comment. His bounty was faithfully, liberally, and unostentatiously distributed: its extent, as his ability increased through the kindness of his friends and his own savings, will never be known. Mr. Hughes, says his brother secretary of the Tract Society, 'was not only liberal to his poor.

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'brethren, but he was most anxious to save their feelings, and to 'hide himself from their view. There was a lovely delicacy in 'his benevolence.'

In 1825—1827 occurred that unhappy controversy relating to the distribution of the Apocryphal books as included in foreign editions of the Scriptures, which threatened at one time to cripple the usefulness of the Bible Society. The open opposition which the Institution had encountered from professed enemies, its secretaries and committee had been prepared for; but now, for the first time, dissonance prevailed at their own Board, and the treachery of false friends was leagued to the unscrupulous violence of public censors. Mr. Hughes speaks of this era in the history of the Society, as 'dishonoured by a virulent and reckless strain, scarcely 'paralleled in the annals of modern theological warfare.' One of the most disinterested and benevolent of men found himself stigmatized by a sanctimonious calumniator as a venal hireling of the Society. The disquietude which he suffered was less, however, on account of any aspersions cast upon his own character, than as these atrocious calumnies might injure the Institution itself. His meekness shone throughout this severe trial, but his firmness was not equal to the occasion, and his health suffered from the long protracted anxiety and agitation which this controversy occasioned.

But the heaviest calamity was yet behind. In 1827, he lost his eldest son, under circumstances the most harrowing to parental feelings. His resignation under this fearful stroke was exemplary, but he never recovered from the effects of it upon his bodily frame.

No immediate indication, however, of any marked alteration in his health preceded the attack which, early in July 1833, arrested his progress in a journey through Wales on account of the Bible Society. A complaint in his right foot, of long continuance, having been painfully aggravated by his movements, suddenly assumed an alarming appearance, and the medical opinions of the case precluded all hope of recovery. After lingering till the 3d of October, during which his patience and heavenly-mindedness were 'perfected', he expired at length without a struggle in the sixty-fifth year of his age*.

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* The following notice of his decease appeared in the Patriot of Oct. 9th.

'We have to record in our Paper of this day, the not unexpected removal to his rest, of the universally esteemed co-Secretary to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Rev. Joseph Hughes. For several weeks he had been languishing under the effects of a topical complaint, which admitted of very slender hope of recovery, except by the doubtful means of a surgical operation, which, in the state of his constitution, threatened to prove fatal. Under these circumstances,

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Mr. Leifchild has devoted a concluding chapter to a candid and impartial review of Mr. Hughes's character and writings.

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our venerated Friend, with serene fortitude and calm submission, awaited the approach of the appointed time when his change should come. He expired on Thursday evening, (Oct. 3d,) in the 65th year of his age.

'To Mr. Hughes, more than to any other individual, the British and Foreign Bible Society owes its origin. That feature of the Institution which constitutes its distinguishing excellency, *the disencumbered simplicity of its object*, by which the plan of combination was rendered practicable to an extent to which no previous plan had ever been carried,—he had the merit of conceiving and embodying in his first suggestion; although he did not venture to anticipate the great national combination and international union which have grown out of his modest scheme, so as to render the British and Foreign Bible Society, with all its affiliated and kindred institutions, the most magnificent enterprise of this or any other age, since apostolic times. Mr. Hughes's original plan received, we believe, some modification from the counsel of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, who acted for a short time with his esteemed friend as provisional secretary, and did not retire till he had obtained the consent of the late Rev. John Owen, to undertake the office. All parties, however, were ever ready to disclaim any merit in founding the Institution, which, in its dimensions and results, so far exceeded all their anticipations as to lead them to recognize a Divine hand, as well in its origin as in its progress, and to say, "Not unto us, but unto thy name give glory." Yet, now that the honoured Father of the Institution is gone beyond the reach of human applause, it seems due to his memory to record, that to his pen was entrusted the drawing up of the original prospectus; and to his catholic spirit, exemplary prudence, conciliatory deportment, amiable disposition, and devout character, the Society has been incalculably indebted for having triumphed over the peculiar difficulties which beset the early years of its existence.

'If the Institution did not emanate full-grown from his mind, it harmonized most completely with his character, and he entered so fully into the object as to live in it and for it. For nineteen years he laboured in its service gratuitously, in connexion with his beloved colleagues, Mr. Owen and Dr. Steinkopff. And it is well known that his own interests had no influence in overcoming his reluctance to accept of a salary, when that measure of justice was forced upon his consent. Never was a man more admirably adapted to the peculiar duties of the post he was called to occupy. Platform-speaking, when Mr. Hughes first appeared as the advocate of the infant Society, was a very different thing from what it has since become; and the correct diction, quiet elegance, and often felicitous turns of the Dissenting Secretary's addresses, were listened to with unwonted applause and respect. They contrasted not unpleasingly with Mr. Owen's more impetuous, and dazzling, and irregular sallies. As public meetings

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For this, as well as the interesting materials of the appendix, we must refer our readers to the volume itself. We deem it almost needless to repeat the opinion which we have already intimated, and which we are persuaded the public voice will sanction, of the judicious and competent manner in which the much respected Biographer has discharged his office. In the name of all who knew and revered the man of God whose character he has portrayed, we tender him our best thanks for this interesting and instructive memorial.

Art. III.—1. *Umrisse zu Schiller's Lied von der Glocke* . . . . . *Outlines to Schiller's Song of the Bell.* By Moritz Retzsch. Forty-three Plates. Stuttgard and Tubingen, 1833.

2. Retzsch's *Outlines to Shakspeare.* Second Series. Macbeth. Thirteen Plates. Leipsic, 1833.

THOSE of our readers who take any interest in the Arts, may justly charge us with a blameable omission, in not having taken an earlier opportunity of devoting a few paragraphs to a critical examination of the graphic works of Moritz Retzsch; an artist enthusiastically admired by his countrymen, and nearly as popular in foreign countries as in his father-land. If, in this admiration and popularity, there be somewhat, on the one hand, of easy and unenquiring acquiescence, and, on the other, of national prepossession, there will yet remain, after the severest criticism has been applied to these spirited and stimulating productions, an ample justification of the high praise which has been lavished on his illustrations of Goëthe and Schiller: we shall presently assign our reasons for not including in the same category, his designs from Shakspeare. With the view, then, to repairing our omission, we have placed these titles at the head of the present article, as the representatives of his entire works, so far as we have made acquaintance with them; and we shall endeavour, within brief space, to put our readers in possession of a sufficient and intelligible description of the complete series.

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have multiplied, and demanded a larger theatre, the palled taste of the public has called for a more stimulating style of address than formerly. But those who can recollect the earlier anniversaries of the Bible Societies, will perhaps incline to think, that they have not been exceeded in genuine interest, and in the hallowed feeling which they excited, by the more crowded anniversaries of subsequent years. To have been identified with such an Institution for nearly thirty years, and to have grown venerable in its service, yet without surviving the physical and mental energies required for usefulness, must be regarded as an enviable distinction.'

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But, before we enter on this more pleasant part of our task, we must dispose of a piece of criticism that lies awkwardly in our way, though, after all, the fault is very likely to be in our prepossessions, rather than in the thing which has annoyed us. The Editor of the Shakspeare series has suggested a singularly (as we think) ill-judged and inappropriate comparison in the following high-sounding sentence, which would be deprived of half its richness, by transfusion into a different language, and of which the import will be made sufficiently apparent to the English reader by our subsequent comments.

'*An Retzsch,*' quoth Herr Fleischer, '*als Skizzist, besitzen wir denselben Meister, welchen England in seinem einzigen* FLAXMAN *ehrt, und beide stehen, gleich unübertroffen, auf der höchsten Stufe dieses Kunstfaches sich in ihrer individuellen Kraft einander gegenüber.*'

This may be all very well from an editorial critic, speaking, by special retainer, through the trumpet of a publisher; but we do not allow in any respect the legitimacy of the comparison; it holds neither in kind nor in degree. We cannot consent for one moment to place Retzsch '*over-against*' Flaxman, inasmuch as they are not only of schools entirely separate, but of very different grades in their respective departments. The distinction would probably be taken as between the romantic and the classic divisions of art; and while Retzsch might be considered as ranging through the various modifications of the domestic and the imaginative, Flaxman would be cited as eminent for the forcible expression of the simple and severe, though not unfrequently touching on sublimity and grace. Such a classification, however, although it may be sufficiently correct for general purposes, is founded on a sort of criticism that is, at best, of indefinite character or of doubtful accuracy, and, in the present instance especially, must be rejected as altogether vague and incomplete. The men, in fact, start from differing points, pursue paths widely diverging, and keep in view objects essentially distinct both in character and elevation. The German is a shrewd observer, and manages with great skill the materials which he has diligently and discriminately collected. How admirable his adaptations are, may be learnt from his Forgemen in the Fridolin, and his Monks at Ophelia's grave. These countenances he picked up at the beer-house and the smithy, the fair and the market; but their use and application are his own: with probably no greater alteration of feature than might give the expression of malice, ferocity, or savage glee, he has grafted on physiognomies most vacant and common-place, a character not more original and appalling, than intensely true. Flaxman, on the other hand, applies himself more to generals than to particulars; he rarely individualizes, but, treading in the steps of the great masters of older and bet-

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ter days, keeps steadily in sight those loftier elements which constitute, in the creed and terminology of artists, the *beau ideal*; —a phrase of which the affectation is not redeemed by any special felicity of definition or appropriation, though it is now scarcely worth while to disturb what has obtained a universal currency. Although Flaxman has shewn great mastery in the mechanism of expression, still, it is not his strong point: in this particular, the fiends in his Dante, and the fine adaptation of the antique mask in his personification of the Eschylean Eumenides, may be taken as illustrating at once his skill and the limits of his power. Of the ability with which he could manage and carry out to an indefinite extent, materials of extreme simplicity, we have evidence in the ever varying attitudes and positions of the constantly recurring forms of Virgil and Dante,—never violent, never exaggerated, but always maintaining their characteristic severity. In the grouping and distribution of his figures, we know of no modern master who has surpassed him; it was, in fact, here that his peculiar talent was displayed; and we should, if delivering a detailed judgement on his distinctive qualities as an artist, fix on this as his marking excellence. In single and detached forms, he might have successful competitors; but, in relievo, he was unrivalled by any of his own time. On this point, however, we are of course to be considered as only expressing an individual opinion; and we now quit the subject with a reiteration of our protest against all such comparisons as that with which we have just been dealing.

The first, so far as our knowledge extends, and by far the most original of Retzsch's productions, was the series of twenty-six designs from Goëthe's Faust. Independently of the great talent manifested in these outlines, the choice of the subject was every way a lucky hit. With all its splendid poetry and, let it be permitted us to add, with all its grossness snd impiety, the strange and wayward fancies of that powerful but overpraised drama, were frequently of so subtile and unconsecutive a character, as to elude the skill of the most practised riddle-guessers, and most thoroughly to bewilder the simplicity of common readers. Just when inquisitiveness was at the highest, and expectation at the lowest, Retzsch stept forward with his practical and luminous comment; presenting with consummate ability, in an intelligible concatenation, the principal scenes and characters of his original, without those enigmatical combinations or those yet more unaccountable incoherencies which seemed to have been flung forth in reckless and mocking mood, to vex the general curiosity. In Goëthe, there is succession with imperfect connexion; in Retzsch, there are, or seem to be, both; and thus, although the designs cannot give form and visibility to the finer indications of the drama, they furnish a sort of clew on which the mass of readers

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may be content to hang the *hors d'œuvre* of the original. It is no part of our present business to take up the office of commentators on Goëthe, or we think that we could clear away many of the difficulties which seem to beset his puzzling 'Tragedy,' by a simple reference to some half dozen passages in Falk's memoir, as edited with consummate ability by Mrs. Austin, the very queen of translators; and to his primary design, plainly intimated in his own *Vorspiel:*—the very persons of that prelude, the manager, the poet, and the comic actor, form a sort of explanatory heading to the brilliant medley that follows.

We must not, however, forget that it is no part of our proper business to turn out the contents of Goëthe's 'Walpurgis-sack', and we resume our reference to the Faust as interpreted and expressed by Retzsch. Nothing can exceed the spirit and skill with which he has seized the marking points of the story; nor could even Hogarth go beyond him in the dexterity with which he tells his tale through the medium of the crayon. His conception of the dæmon was a *ben trovato* that Retzsch himself has never since equalled. The hard, sarcastic features, the compact and sinewy frame, and the grotesque touches about the dress, are in admirable harmony; and the changes of expression which pass over the countenance of Mephistopheles, are most skilfully expressed. But we have no wish to be more minute respecting this work, since, with all its talent, it is to be mentioned more in regret than in admiration, as the artist has not avoided either the impiety or the indecency of the original. We pass on to other of Retzsch's productions of more general interest and of unexceptionable execution.

The 'Fridolin', from Schiller's *Gang nach den Eisenhammer*, is a beautiful series of eight plates, which we may venture to describe without undue encroachment on assigned limits. The first represents the interior of a castle with the lady and the 'pious page,' the latter reverently saluting his lady's hand, extended in sign of favour, while the villain '*Jager*' eyes 'them askance with jealous leer malign,' and the baron, from the *terre-plein* of an opposite rampart, looks carelessly on. In the next, a bustling and well managed scene, in the outer ward of the castle, of horses, dogs, crossbowmen, and falconers, the huntsman insinuates his 'leprous distilment' into the ear of the baron, a fine knightly figure, whose fierce attitude and stern glance menace fearful visitation to the guiltless page, who is seen, attending his mistress, on the esplanade of a distant tower. The third plate shows the '*Graf*', splendidly mounted, at the door of the forge, and two demoniacal-looking wretches greedily listening to his bloody orders.

> 'The first whom I shall send from home
> To greet you and to ask

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If ye've obeyed your master well,
Him seize, and throw in yonder hell;
The flaming furnace be his grave;
I would not see again the slave.'

On this dark errand Fridolin is despatched; and the fourth plate represents him taking the orders of his mistress before setting out. The cradle groupe in this design is pleasingly disposed; the nurse adjusting the drapery is graceful and natural. The countess recommends him to enter a church which stands on his route, and to offer up a prayer for her sick child. The next subject is the interior of the sacred edifice, with the priest at mass, and the young page doing the duty of acolyte. Retzsch excels in church interiors, and this is very good, though not equal to that in Faust, with its characteristic decorations and its Albert Durer groupes. The sixth plate is Retzsch's master-piece. The page's pious delay has saved him. Eager to ascertain the success of his machinations, the villain of the tale in the mean time visits the forge, and being the *first* to ask the fatal question, is instantly seized by the workmen and forced into the furnace. Nothing can be finer than this groupe. The overpowering strength with which the brawny ruffians master every limb and every effort of the struggling wretch, is admirably expressed, while the various attitudes and countenances of the standers-by are in perfect keeping with the subject. In the next scene Fridolin arrives, and the savage glee with which the actors in the preceding point to the fearful evidences of their triumph, is forcibly delineated. The last design exhibits the baron introducing to his wife the unharmed page. Great, however, as are the excellences of this series, and expressively as the story may be told, there are some obvious defects which may also be traced, more or less distinctly, through the other works of the same artist. His female countenances are too prevalently insipid, and the same defect frequently extends itself to his young men and his heroes.

Schiller's 'Fight with the Dragon', as our readers are probably aware, a poetic version of the legend which assigns this knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, the victory over an enormous monster, of which the original description answers more to the griffin than to the dragon. The same general criticism will apply to this as to the former series. The story is most distinctly told; the warrior is, in two or three instances, a noble figure; in others, he is of a more commonplace character: his drapery and attitude when leaning over a rocky mound, to make himself familiar with the structure of the dragon sleeping in his den, are both natural and spirited in a very high degree. The armour-smith's forge and workshop where the false dragon is in process of construction; the castle-yard where the knight trains his horse and dogs to the strange conflict; and the village-scene

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where he first hears of the monster's ravages, are all excellently compassed. His dragon we cannot say that we much admire: it has neither grace nor dignity, though it is sufficiently ugly, and quite as good as the average of such inventions. He has, however, only two paws, and is a mere reptile, whereas the original legend gives him four effective claws, and two auxiliary wings, wherewith he made a wondrous flapping as he rushed along. The two council-scenes, where the grand-master first expels the good knight from the order, and then restores him, are full of incident: the repetition of the same figures in the same places, but with the altered attitude and expression suited to the change of circumstances, has a powerful effect of verisimilitude.

The outlines to Schiller's lively effusion—*Pegasus im Joche*—are full of spirit. The bearing of the noble animal under the successive stages of his degradation, is boldly and expressively marked. In the collar, the shafts, the plough, wing-tied or free, even in the 'lowest depths', amid the filth and foul tenantry of a cow-house, the fire of his eye is not quenched, nor do his indignant struggles for freedom cease.

The beautiful and beautifully illustrated 'Song of the Bell', demands from us a sacrifice of space which we are unable to afford. Our article has already grown upon our hands beyond anticipation, and we have matter before us that will not be overlooked. The original is one of those compositions in which Schiller excelled, blending powerful description with emphatic application; he passes through the vicissitudes of domestic and social life, in singular but most skilfully managed accompaniment to the successive processes of bell-casting. Into the deep moral pathos which pervades this noble poem, Retzsch has, in a kindred spirit, as deeply entered; and if any painter should need a lesson in the art of identifying himself with his author, we cannot give him better advice, than in the recommendation to study together these designs and their original.

Successful, however, as Retzsch has been, while illustrating the great poets of his own country, and popular as may be his recent efforts to give express and visible form to the magical combinations of one incomparably greater, we shall not attempt to conceal or modify our opinion, that, in the attempt to grapple with the strength of Shakspeare, he has fairly broken down. Before the majesty of that unrivalled intellect, his genius is rebuked. He displays infinite skill in his scenic management, in the disposition of his groupes, and occasionally in the conception and discrimination of character, but he seems hardly ever to get below the mere surface: he is like a river navigator, feeling for the bottom with a boat-hook, rather than a venturous seaman heaving the deep-sea-line in the broad ocean. He can master the fantastic *diablerie* of Goëthe, or adapt himself to the vigorous

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simplicity and 'material sublime' of Schiller, but he is foiled by the intensity and universality of Shakspeare.

Retzsch has hitherto illustrated only two of the great master's works; Hamlet and Macbeth. The first is, in our opinion, decidedly the best; it presents, on the whole, an interesting series of sketches, with much of vigour and of beauty, drawing freely on the rich resources of art, and, though without ever rising into its higher regions, exhibiting fairly what it is capable of effecting in the hands of a skilful artist. The characters best understood are those of the Queen and Polonius. Perhaps the former has too little of the 'glory of regality' about her: she is somewhat too much of the mere matron, and not enough of the high-born dame, but her characteristic expression is admirably seized and preserved. Retzsch felt that he had not a Lady Macbeth under his pencil, but a weak, misguided woman, amiable amid her frailties, and capable of better feelings, and he has kept throughout to this pervading element. In the closet-scene, her horror at the catastrophe of poor Polonius, so mortally given to eavesdropping, and so ignominiously spitted as a rat behind the arras, is well discriminated from the awe-struck anxiety with which she watches Hamlet's countenance at the entrance of his father's ghost. Polonius is expressively rendered as a mean-looking, prying, bustling personage, but rather too palpably deficient in gentlemanly aspect and bearing for so courtly an office as that of lord-chamberlain.

The ghost is but an insipid sort of apparition, with nothing spirit-like about him, excepting attenuation of outline, and an indication of misty transparency by the faint marking of objects which a body perfectly opake would entirely intercept. No majesty of port, no loftiness of aspect, none of the fiery sweep or commanding energy of movement and attitude which give such striking effect to Fuseli's wild and original, but very *unshakspearian* ghost, distinguish that unearthly vision as called up by Retzsch. Hamlet himself will hardly pass for a successful personification. 'He's fat and scant of breath'—more fat than beseems a ghost-seer and a prince. His physiognomy lacks significance; it is neither 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,' nor marked with the loftier lines of intellect and feeling. In his general and more quiet movements, he is graceful enough, but his action in the more stirring scenes is languid and ineffective: the fencing match is strangely wanting in energy. Ophelia is a fair representation of the love-sick damsel: if she does not come conspicuously forward, she at least groupes well with more expressive figures. Laertes shews well in his traveller's dress, but he retains it too long; we find him, amid all the various circumstances of his appearance, still in his journeying habiliments, and he fights the sword-play with Hamlet, in boots and spurs. This may seem small criticism, but

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it is strictly applicable to Retzsch, much of whose attraction depends upon the dexterous management of his accessories, and who is, to do him justice, usually *point-device* in these matters. In fact, the good points of this work are, with the exceptions we have stated, mainly beauties of detail, and a highly successful handling of subordinate characters. In the most complicated groupes the business is effectively carrying on, while, amid the general movement, individual character is never sacrificed. In the first scene, where the usurper pours the poison upon his sleeping brother, a striking, if not quite legitimate effect is produced by representing all the details of the picture as wakened into preternatural life by that fearful violation of Nature's most sacred law. The unveiled eye of the statue of justice; the spider descending by a long-spun thread upon the butterfly amid the flowers; the grotesque head on the door-post eyeing the murderer askance—these things may not be strictly defensible in the appeal to high and severe principle, but they are wonderfully impressive.

We have already intimated our preference of Retzsch's Hamlet to his Macbeth. In the latter, the hero himself seems but inadequately conceived; and this primary failure is but imperfectly retrieved by success in other instances. We are aware how difficult it is to give distinct expression to the subtile inflections of character as touched by Shakspeare; but we cannot even say that the first bold and indefinite sketch is adequately given by Retzsch. The Scottish chief, brave, able, and ambitious, of high military bearing, dignified, yet courteous in demeanour, is made, in these Outlines, to enact the part of a melodramatic hero, striding, starting, staring in the most approved attitudes of stage prescription. His posture and the disposition of his drapery in the dagger-scene are affectedly theatrical; and in the chamber, while sternly grappling with the dying king, his hair stands systematically erect around his scared countenance, like the horrent snakes of Medusa's head, or the sun's gilt rays on a sign-board. His kingly figure in the closing exhibitions is better, and the last fight is full of spirit and energy, though we do not quite understand the spectrology of the picture: indeed, the immaterialism of Retzsch does not seem in these sketches to be particularly good;—the bawling goblins, whether *lares*, *larvæ*, or *lemures*, in the assassination scene, are but an awkward attempt to give bodily shape to sounds and sensations. The effort may be courageous, and the execution ingenious, but the mysterious and the appalling have melted away in the process.

Neither has Retzsch succeeded, to our mind, in his portraiture of Macbeth's imperious dame. She is represented as a well-draped, lady-like sort of dame, somewhat insipid in countenance, and neither in action nor in expression exhibiting any of that de-

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cided and commanding character so fearfully brought out in the original. In truth, the artist seems to have shrunk from a resolute encounter with this difficult part of his subject, and to have passed by some of the most interesting situations, and best adapted for the crayon: those, for instance, where Lady Macbeth gives to her husband the first dark suggestion of her bloody purpose—'*and when goes hence?*' and where she taunts him with his irresolution—'*infirm of purpose!*' He has, indeed, attempted the sleep-walking scene, but altogether without success: the side view of a figure with staring eye, flowing drapery, unbound hair, and an attitude which is neither striding, sliding, nor starting, but an unmeaning compound of all three, gives no idea of that terrible personification of dream-haunted guilt.

The witches are more like Thessalian *sagæ* than the hell-bought beldames of Scottish sorcery. They have been at pains with their toilet, and their garments float in classic style, 'mocking the air with idle state,' or hang in monumental folds. They are draped and attitudinized for effect; the enchantresses of a ballet, not the 'foul and midnight hags' of Shakspeare. Some of their appendages, however, are ably managed: in the incantation scene, the general disturbance among the hideous shapes and crawling things, the gnomes and imps of Hecate's cave, at the intrusion of Macbeth, is skilfully worked up: the cat on the witch's shoulder is in a towering passion. Hecate herself is a failure, an unsuccessful attempt to blend the classical and the romantic.

The assassination of Banquo is a sort of companion to the furnace business in Fridolin. The attitude and action of the ruffian who masters Banquo's sword-arm are excellent, and scarcely less so that of the murderer who plunges the dagger in the chieftain's breast.

With a mere reference to the recently published, but not particularly interesting 'Fancies' of this spirited Designer, we pass on to a closing remark or two on some of his peculiarities which have not been specially noticed in the preceding criticisms. In his own way, Retzsch is learned: he every now and then exhibits a touch of Durer and Cranach, with an occasional imitation of Spranger and Goltzius, in his skilful adaptations of the garb and grouping of the old German school. The furniture, costume, and domestic habits of the olden time are often introduced with correctness and good effect; and he frequently produces considerable impression by the repetition of a scene either with different persons, or with the same individuals in varied occupation. His action is, in general, good, though in principle theatrical; and his exhibition of his subject shows, as we have already intimated, his admirable tact in telling a story to the eye. But we must quit a subject which has already occupied a larger space than we

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had intended, with the expression of a wish, that we may frequently have to greet Moritz Retzsch as a pictorial illustrator of the great poets of his own country:—out of that circle his wand, though not broken, is less potent.

Art. IV.—1. *Memoirs of American Missionaries.* With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Gavin Struthers. And a Dissertation on the Consolations of a Missionary. By the Rev. Levi Parsons. 18mo. pp. xlvii., 219. Glasgow, 1834.

2. *North American Review.* No. LXXXVII., April, 1835, Article, *Life of G. D. Boardman.*

THE American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in the year 1810. It owes its origin to four members of the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, who, having devoted themselves to the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen, sought advice of their fathers in the ministry as to the best mode of accomplishing their design. This occasioned the appointment of the Board. It was not, however, deemed at all practicable to raise funds in the United States, sufficient to warrant the sending out of these four young men as missionaries without some foreign guarantee. One of the first steps taken by the Board, therefore, was to depute one of them to come to England, to ascertain whether he and his brethren could be supported for a time, if necessary, by the London Missionary Society.

Meanwhile, an effort was made at home by the Board, which met with an unexpected degree of success; and in 1812, five missionaries embarked for India at the expense of the American Churches. They have since been followed by no fewer than EIGHTY preachers of the Gospel, sent out by the same Board, besides physicians, printers, and other assistants. Fifteen distinct missions have been established, including fifty missionary stations; and the total number of labourers, male and female, now in foreign service, and dependent on funds placed at the disposal of the Board, is 235.

The Board is composed of 66 clergymen and laymen, belonging to the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Dutch Reformed Churches in the following proportions: Presbyterians, 31; Congregationalists, 28; Dutch Reformed, 7. The missions class under four heads—the Mediterranean, the East Indies, the Islands of the Pacific, and the North American Indians.

The interesting little collection of memoirs from which we extract these brief details, has been compiled and published under the superintendence of the Missionary Society in connexion with the

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Andover Theological Institution. It comprises, besides the Introductory matter, short notices of forty-two missionaries, among whom are several whose names have become familiar to English readers; as Gordon Hall; A. Judson; Samuel Newell; Levi Parsons; Pliny Fisk; Jonas King; Isaac Bird; and the joint Authors of the Researches in Armenia. Some of the number have entered into rest; but the greater part are still enduring the burden and heat of the day. The volume is well adapted to awaken feelings of Christian sympathy, and to stimulate to holy emulation; and we cordially recommend it as a very suitable volume for all our vestry libraries.

Our immediate object, however, in the present article, is to introduce to the notice of our readers, a very touching and peculiarly interesting piece of missionary biography not contained in this collection, nor, so far as we are aware, hitherto printed in this country. We are indebted for an account of the volume itself* to an article in the last Number of the North American Review; and in the following pages, we shall take the liberty of borrowing very freely from that Article, which, if our limits would permit, we should make no scruple in transferring entire to our pages; feeling assured that our readers would thank us for doing so, and that we should have the free permission of our Contemporary on the other side of the great water.

George Dana Boardman was born at Livermore, Maine, Feb. 8, 1801. His father is a Baptist clergyman, who survives him. He was a feeble and studious boy, ardently devoted to the pursuit of knowledge; sometimes concealing bodily illness in order to get to school, and always securing the esteem of his teachers by his proficiency. At the age of sixteen, he became a teacher in a village school; and at eighteen, he entered the collegiate institution at Waterville in his native State. During his collegiate course, he became truly pious, and under the influence of the Spirit of God, consecrated himself to the service of religion. In July 1820, he was baptized on the public profession of his faith. Not long afterwards, his thoughts and feelings were turned to the subject of missions to the heathen. The condition of the Western Indians at first engaged his meditations; but in 1822, his mind was especially directed, by the death of the Rev. Mr. Colman, to the Burmese Mission; and to his great delight, on offering his services to the Missionary Board, Burmah was assigned to him as the field of his future labours.

In June 1823, Mr. Boardman was sent to the Theological Seminary at Andover, to complete his preparatory qualifications

* Memoir of George Dana Boardman, late Missionary to Burmah. Boston, 1834.

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for the work to which he had devoted himself; where he remained, with occasional interruptions, till the Spring of 1825. A young lady of Salem, zealously attached, like himself, to the missionary cause, consented to unite her fortunes to his, and they were married a short time previous to embarking for India. On the 16th of July, they sailed for Calcutta. On arriving there, they found the American mission in Burmah broken up, in consequence of the war then raging between the British and the Burmese, so that it was impossible to proceed at once to their original destination. They accordingly resolved to take up their abode with Mr. and Mrs. Wade, (who had been compelled to seek shelter within British jurisdiction,) at Chitpore, near Calcutta, and there to prosecute the study of the Burmese language till the close of the war. During the twenty months which Mr. Boardman passed in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, besides studying the language, he preached continually to congregations of English residents and English and American sailors; and by communion with elder missionaries of greater experience, prepared himself for his approaching labours. At length, the termination of the war was announced, and the hearts of all the friends to Missions were filled with joy on learning the safety of Dr. Price and Mr. and Mrs. Judson, who had been held prisoners in Ava, and over whose fate, for two years, an impenetrable cloud had rested. It was not, however, till March 1827, that Mr. Boardman found himself able to enter upon his long-cherished enterprise. He met Mr. Judson at Amherst, the newly built capital of the territories ceded to Great Britain by the Burmese emperor at the termination of the war; situated near the mouth of the Martaban river, about twenty-five miles below the city of Maulmein. This place had been surveyed and laid out, under the direction of Mr. Judson, by British engineers; and in an incredibly brief period had become a city of many thousand inhabitants *. 'In India, the building of a house requires but a few 'hours' labour, and the population fluctuates strangely from place 'to place. It is necessary only to make a clearing in the jungle, 'and erect barracks for a few soldiers, and, as water rushes at 'once into hollows scooped in the damp sea-sand, so do the

* If this site had been well chosen, it would be, we believe, the first instance of such good fortune. Calcutta, Madras, and almost every city founded by English colonists, are badly situated; and Amherst would seem not to be an exception, since we find it afterwards stated, that the population was rapidly decreasing, and flowing into Maulmein. There is always a strong presumption against the eligibility of a site not pre-occupied by a native town; and it is dangerous to act in despite of it.

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'swarming natives of India crowd by thousands into the clearing, 'and create a city.' On consultation with Mr. Judson and Mr. Wade, it was determined that two mission stations should be commenced; one by Mr. Wade at Amherst, another by Mr. Boardman in Maulmein, between which Mr. Judson was to divide his care. Mr. and Mrs. Boardman accordingly proceeded, on the 28th of May, to Maulmein, the native population of which was at that time supposed to amount to 20,000. One year before, it was a thick jungle, without an inhabitant! On the western bank of the river which separates the British and Burmese territories, opposite to Maulmein, stands the deserted city of Martaban; now the lurking-place of hordes of robbers, who are continually crossing over at night for the sake of plunder. Mr. Boardman had not been a month at Maulmein, before he received a nocturnal visit from these marauders, who seem to rival the *Decoits* of Bengal in dexterity; and they carried off every portable article of value. After this robbery, a guard of two sepoys was stationed in his house. But they were exposed to other dangers. The silence of midnight was almost constantly broken by the howling of wild beasts; and one evening, Mrs. Wade narrowly escaped being carried off by a tiger, in crossing their little garden.

At Maulmein, Mr. Boardman, who had now acquired a tolerable knowledge of the language, devoted his time to the reception and instruction of those natives who were curious to learn of the foreign teacher what he had come so far to teach. He was continually surrounded by these inquirers. In October, he was joined by Mr. and Mrs. Wade and Mr. Judson, from Amherst, which was fast losing its population. Before the close of the year, two schools, one for each sex, had been established, and two places of worship erected, in which Mr. Wade and Mr. Judson were daily employed either in proclaiming the truths of the Gospel or in distributing tracts. Three native converts were baptized in the course of a few months, and several more were candidates for baptism; so that the labours of the Missionaries were not unattended with success.

On the 8th of March, 1828, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were threatened with destruction from a new and unanticipated source of danger. Just as they were lighting their evening lamps, they heard 'the noise of a mighty rushing wind' approaching, and, on going to the door, discovered that the whole range of hills eastward was enveloped in flames, which, with the roaring sound of a hurricane, rapidly spread through the thick and dry grass and undergrowth of the jungle, toward their bamboo cottage. As the fire flew on the wings of the wind from point to point, it seemed that nothing could rescue the house from its fury. Mr. and Mrs. B. hastily packed up a few valuable articles, and prepared to retreat

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from the devouring element. Their regret at being thus driven from their home was accompanied with a fear lest their path should be beset with the tigers, leopards, and other wild beasts, which were expelled from their usual haunts by the flames. The fire continued to advance till within a few feet of the houses, when providentially the wind ceased, and its progress was arrested. 'Thus we are again preserved,' says Mrs. B., 'when no human arm could have saved us!' The feelings of a *husband* were on this occasion associated with the love of a *father*.

Twenty-one days after this occurrence, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were once more without a home, pilgrims and wanderers. In accordance with the plans adopted by the Missionary Board at home, it was resolved that a new station should be established at Tavoy, the capital of another of the ceded provinces, lying at the head of the peninsula which separates the Bay of Bengal from the Gulf of Siam. To this city, it was deemed advisable to send Mr. Boardman; and as duty seemed to require his consent, he gave it cheerfully, though at no small sacrifice of feeling, as he had become attached to Maulmein and the little band of scholars and converts collected there, and was now, moreover, to be parted from his beloved colleagues. On arriving at Tavoy with Mrs. Boardman and his infant daughter, he was kindly received by Mr. Burney, the British commissioner; and within ten days, he was quietly settled in a new home, and had begun to preach in Burmese to curious crowds of the worshippers of Gaudama Boodha. But it afterwards appeared that he was brought hither by Divine Providence, as an instrument of communicating the glad tidings to a race of outcasts, upon whom even the Burmese themselves look down with contempt, although with very questionable claims to any moral superiority.

Soon after Mr. Boardman was established in Tavoy, he was brought into contact with 'the Karens', a race quite distinct from the inhabitants of the plains, and of whom, hitherto, little or nothing has been known. They are referred to by Col. Symes and other travellers under the name of Carayn or Karians, and have been supposed to be, like the Puharrees of Bengal and the Bheels of Guzerat, an aboriginal race of mountaineers, who have receded before more martial intruders. Recent inquiry has, however, detected among this despised race, the existence of a traditional literature, and the unquestionable traces of ancient civilization; and what is highly remarkable, their traditions would seem, with high probability, to identify them with some scattered portion of the Hebrew family. The existence of two distinct races of Jews in the Indian Peninsula, renders this fact by no means incredible; and the following particulars, which we give on the authority and in the language of the writer in the American Journal, render it

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difficult to resist the conviction, that these backwoodsmen of the wild hills of Burmah are indeed a straggling branch of the stem of Israel.

'The Karens are a wild and ignorant race of men, scattered in prodigious numbers over all the wilds of Aracan, Burmah, Martaban, Tavoy, Mergui, Siam and other countries. They live in places almost inaccessible to any but themselves and the wild beasts,—differing most essentially from the other inhabitants of the above-named countries, with a peculiar physiognomy, a peculiar language, peculiar mental and moral qualities and characteristics. They had no written language, and of course no literature, until Mr. Wade, one of the missionaries of the American Baptist Board, reduced their language to writing. But they abound in curious traditions, handed down from generation to generation, in the form of both prose and poetry. Amongst other traditional stories is this:—that when some superior being was dispensing written languages and books, to the various nations of the earth, a surly dog came along and drove away the Karens, and carried off their books. Because of their singular habits, their ignorance and want of written language, they are called *Wild-men* by the Burmans. Mr. Boardman supposed that they were atheists,—but incorrectly; for although we find among them few traces of religious belief, it is evident from the tradition just related, and from the discoveries of Mr. Mason, a missionary now amongst them, that they have a tolerably clear conception of a Supreme Being. They are not, however, idolaters. Their simplicity of life may be learned from the short inventory of the chattels and personal property which constitute their domestic wealth. These are, a box of betel made of bamboo, a little rice, a basket, a cup, two pots, a spinning-wheel, a knife, an axe, a mat, a few buckets, and a moveable fire-place. This is their whole array of valuables. They manufacture an intoxicating liquor, and are much addicted to intemperance. Too idle and effeminate to be quarrelsome, they are peaceful and mild in their disposition and habits, and being persecuted and trampled on by their haughty neighbours, they are driven together by community of suffering, and attached by brotherhood in misfortune.

'A more extended notice should be given to those circumstances which have led to the conjecture that the Karens are of Jewish original.

'At the request of the English commissioner, Mr. Mason, who had been much amongst the Karens, communicated to him the following results of his observation and inquiry in regard to them. Their countenance is decidedly Jewish; the beard is worn long by many of them; and their dress, differing from that of surrounding nations, is precisely like that of the Hebrews, both in texture,

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fashion, and mode of wearing. But it is their remarkable traditions which most strikingly indicate an affinity with, if not a descent from, the Hebrew race.

'These traditions have been preserved, like the poems of Ossian, by fond memories delighting to revive the recollections of former glory and prosperity;—repeated by grandsires at eventide to their listening descendants, and sung by mourners over the graves of their elders.

'They believe in a God, who is denominated Kū-tsa, or great Lord,—and Yu-wah, or Jehovah. That this last word is identical with the Hebrew Jehovah, seems very probable. We know not how the original word in Hebrew was pronounced. The Greek writers spelt it thus, IAΩ. With the Masoretic pointing, and dropping the middle syllable, as Bishops Hare and Lowth both do, we have the Karen word Yu-wah. Like the Jews, the Karens regard this word as sacred, and fear to utter it. They repeat a verse containing this sentiment:—

'"God created us in ancient time,
And has a perfect knowledge of all things:
Call him not Yu-wah, but call him Pū;—(great ancestor;)
When men call his name, he hears!"

'With regard to God's attributes, their belief is thus expressed:—

'"God is unchangeable and eternal:
He was in the beginning of the world:
The life of God is endless:
A succession of words does not measure it."

'They believe in the existence of heavenly beings, who have never sinned, and who are the angels, or messengers, of Deity. The following beautiful verse is a part of one of their old poems:—

'"The sons of heaven are holy,
They sit by the seat of God:
The sons of heaven are righteous,
They dwell together with God,
They lean against his silver seat."

'*Satan*, or a sinful and fallen angel, enters into their company of supernatural beings. The following stanza might be mistaken for the production of David, or Isaiah:—

'"Satan in days of old was holy,
But he transgressed God's law:
Satan of old was righteous,
But he departed from the law of God,
And God drove him away."

'Another of their traditional relics, in the prosaic form, is

thus expressed: "Oh children and grand-children! in the beginning, God, to try man, whether he would or would not observe his commands, created the tree of death and the tree of life; saying, concerning the tree of death, 'eat not of it!' He wished to see whether man believed. Not believing, he ate of the fruit of the tree of death; and the tree of life God hid. Because the tree of life has been hidden, men have died ever since that time." The Karens say, that Satan tempted woman to eat the forbidden fruit of the tree of death.

'They also believe that woman was made from the rib of man. The dispersion at Babel is thus described:—

'"Men were all brethren:
They spoke the language of God:
But they disbelieved the language of God,
And became enemies to each other.
Because they disbelieved God,
Their language was divided:
God gave them commands,
But they believed him not,
And divisions ensued."—

And the ultimate fate of the earth, to which frequent allusions are made in their poetry, they say, will be destruction by fire.

'Their religious code embraces the following scriptural duties:—viz. love to God, prayer, repentance, abstinence from idolatry, honour to parents, which last is thus declared:—

'"Respect and reverence your father and mother; for, when you were small, they did not suffer so much as a moscheto to bite you. To sin against your parents is a heinous crime."—

'It also includes love to others,—alms-giving,—universal benevolence, — love to enemies, — patience and humility; — and, like the Scripture, it forbids murder, robbery, theft, adultery, lying, profanity, idleness, covetousness, avarice, intemperance, anger and revenge. The following precept seems to have been drawn fresh from the sermon of Christ on the Mount:—"Oh children and grand-children! if a person strike you on the face, he does not strike you on the face; he only strikes on the floor: therefore, if a person strike you on one cheek, give him the other to strike."

'Respecting their own nation, the Karens, say that God formerly loved it above all others, but that on account of its sins he punished it, and reduced its inhabitants to their present condition. "But," say they, "God will again have mercy on us: God will save us again." "Oh children and grand-children! the Karen will yet dwell in the city with the golden palace;—

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the Karen king will yet appear, and when he arrives, there will be happiness.

' " Good persons, the good,
Shall go to the silver city :
Righteous persons shall go
To the new town,—the new city ! "

' " When the Karen king arrives,
There will be only one monarch :
When the Karen king comes,
Rich and poor will not exist ! "

' " When the Karen king arrives,
Every thing will be happy :
When the Karen king arrives,
The beasts will be happy :
When Karens have a king,
Lions and leopards will lose their savageness ! "

'Abundance of quotations from their unwritten literature might be made to illustrate the similarity which exists between the Karens and the Jews, and to shew that they are a most remarkable race of men. But enough has been already laid before our readers, to excite curiosity, and direct the attention of philosophic as well as religious inquirers to this hitherto unknown race.

'Such being their character, condition, and religious notions, it cannot surprise us that, when they heard of the religion of Jesus Christ from Mr. Boardman, they were ready to admire and embrace it. Immediately after his arrival in Tavoy, he was visited by some of the neighbouring Karen tribes, who were able to converse in the Burman tongue, and who listened with the simplicity and candour of children to his conversation, and displayed so great a willingness to adopt Christianity, that he was led to question their sincerity. He could not readily believe that a people so barbarous, so far removed from all Christian countries, and who seemed to him wholly irreligious, were sincerely gratified to learn the story of the Gospel, and adopt the religion of Jesus. To us, who now know more about them, it seems by no means strange that they were thus affected.

'The few Karens who first called on Mr. B. soon returned to their mountain fastnesses, and circulated the thrilling news that a teacher, from a strange and far distant land, had come to preach a new religion,—a religion that told of one God, of a Saviour, of a pure and peaceful and holy life, of love to God and love to man, of an immortality, and of a heaven of blessedness. The glad tidings ran, like fire upon the mountains, from village to village, and was every where hailed as the dawning

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of a long expected day,—the day when the poor Karens should once more have a national faith,—a religion answering to the traditions of their fathers.

'From far distant hills, and remote valleys and forests, Karen inquirers flocked to Tavoy, and thronging around *the teacher*, hung upon his lips, and eagerly listened to his instructions, and manifested child-like pleasure and credulity in receiving as true all his assertions. Mr. Boardman was amazed;—he knew not what to believe or think. They urged him to come up into their wild hills, and visit them; and promised that he should be welcomed as a messenger of joy. They told him many singular stories, and among others this;—that more than ten years before, a man in a strange dress came among them, and preached a strange doctrine, and left among them a book in a strange language, which he ordered them to worship, telling them also, that there was but one living and true God. After he went away, they remembered and believed his words; they appointed a priest to take charge of the sacred volume, of which they did not know even the language; and they continued, in defiance of severe persecution by the Burmans, to obey their unknown teacher, and worship the book and the one living and true God.

'Mr. Boardman's curiosity was aroused: he requested them to bring and shew to him this sacred book; and they readily promised to do so. Their compliance was delayed first by the sickness of the person who acted as priest or guardian of the mysterious volume, and next by the floods which in the rainy season of the year completely cut off the city of Tavoy from the Karen villages. It was not till September that they succeeded in gratifying Mr. Boardman's wishes. Early in September, on returning home one day from his house of public worship (zayat), he found his dwelling thronged with Karens, who informed him that the teacher had arrived with THE BOOK, the much venerated book. He called them up and inquired what they wished;—when the teacher came forward, and thus replied.—"*My Lord*, your humble servants have come from the wilderness to lay at your lordship's feet a certain book, and to inquire of your lordship whether it is good or bad, true or false. We, Karens, your humble servants, are an ignorant race of people; we have no books, no written language; we know nothing of God or his law. When this book was given us, we were charged to worship it, which we have done for twelve years. But we know nothing of its contents, not so much as in what language it is written. We have heard of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and are persuaded of its truth, and we wish to know if this book contains the doctrine of that Gospel. We are persuaded that your lordship can easily settle that question, and

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teach us the true way of becoming happy." Mr. B. requested them to shew the book, when the old man opened a large basket, and having removed fold after fold of wrappers, he handed out an old tattered duodecimo volume;—it was an English copy of the *Prayer Book and Psalter!* For twelve years had this little work been made an object of ignorant worship.

'The deified book, through the politeness of the Baptist Missionary Board, now lies before the writer of this article. It is covered with coarse, blue, cotton cloth, and wrapped about with a long strip of muslin, white, striped, and rudely embroidered. The volume has lost both its covers, and several of the outside pages at each end; but fortunately the title-page to the Psalms, towards the close, is in good preservation. The gilding of the leaves is only partially injured. It is a pleasing and singular fact, that, in its present condition, the volume commences with the collect for *The Epiphany, or the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles.* The title-page to the Psalms reads thus:—

'"The whole Book of Psalms, collected into English Metre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others; conferred with the Hebrew; set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, of all the people together, before and after morning and evening prayer; and also before and after sermons; and moreover in private houses, for their godly solace and comfort; laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend only to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth. Oxford; &c. &c. MDCCCVI."

'Within the leaves we find, in the writing of Mr. Boardman himself, the following short account. "This book of Common Prayer, with the Psalms, was, for about twelve years, an object of religious veneration to a company of wild men (Karens) in the province of Tavoy. They knew nothing of its contents,—not even in what language it was composed,—but, as they were taught by the person who gave it them, they paid it an ignorant but supreme worship, till, hearing of our arrival in Tavoy, they brought it forward and presented it to me, accepting in its stead a version of a part of the Psalms in the Burman language, which they partially understand. Some of them have since embraced the Gospel, and are desirous of being baptized. The book is now forwarded to America, to be deposited in the Museum of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. *Tavoy, March 25th*, 1829."

'It were vain to conjecture how this little book found its way into the heart of the Tavoy forest, where it was found, as never book before was seen, elevated into an object of religious adoration. But one cannot help wondering whether it was left with

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the Karens by a really pious Englishman, its owner, whose instructions were misunderstood, or by some profane scoffer, who was willing to try the experiment of furnishing a barbarous tribe with an object of sacred respect, and left his prayer-book as the first thing that came to hand for the purpose. We scarcely hope to see the mystery solved.

'We are ahead of our story, to which we will now return. Mr. Boardman established a school immediately after his arrival in Tavoy, and pursued the same course of public teaching as at Maulmein; and, as at that place, so here also, he attracted great curiosity, and was resorted to by great numbers, until he became an object of suspicion to the priesthood. This numerous body, which in Tavoy alone amounted to at least two hundred, soon found, like the shrine-makers of Ephesus, that the new religion was likely to make sad work with their ancient power, consideration, and wealth; and *of course* could not avoid cherishing towards the teacher of it a spirit of enmity and revenge. We say *of course*, for the religion of Guadama or Boodh, does not teach its disciples to return benefit for injury,—good for evil. But however unpleasant might be the aspect of their angry countenances, and the sound of their unfriendly voices, no real and open danger could be apprehended from the priests under the sway of the British Government; so that, although their timid disciples might, by the frowns of these ministers of iniquity, be frightened from Mr. Boardman's zayat, yet Mr. and Mrs. Boardman themselves had nothing to apprehend.

'Soon after their arrival in Tavoy, a Karen, named Ko-thah-byoo, who had become a Christian in Maulmein, and removed with Mr. B., was baptized. Moved by the desire of extending to his countrymen in Tavoy the gospel-light, he started, immediately after his baptism, on an excursion among the distant Karen settlements; and with him went many joyful members of these rude tribes. Three excursions of this kind did he make, each one of longer duration than the last, before Mr. Boardman himself complied with the oft repeated request of the Karens to come himself among them. Roused by the strange message which was thus brought among them, these simple-hearted people travelled many days' journey to converse with the American Teacher, and, on their return, spread still more widely the moving story, so that, in more than one vast province of India, the Karens were excited to inquiry.

'The year 1828 passed away, without Mr. Boardman's having yielded to the Karen call. Meantime he had been labouring day and night with a zeal of exhausting ardour, and a consuming industry. His labours had been crowned with the establishment of a native church, consisting of four members, and of a flourish-

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ing school. One of his baptismal scenes is so finely sketched by his pen, that we cannot deny our readers the pleasure of its perusal.

'"Having previously examined Moung-Bo and Kee-Keang, the two persons who applied for baptism last month, we could not, consistently with our feelings of duty, defer their case any longer, and this day has been fixed on for administering the ordinance. Accordingly, after worship, a little band of us, passing through that part of the town most sacred to Guadama, bent our way among Pagodas, temples, and Kyoungs,—alike unheeded and unheeding,—and entering the high Pagoda road, we passed on till we came to the baptismal tank. Near the tank, was a tall Pagoda, pointing its gilded summit to the skies. It being Burman as well as Christian worship day, the multitude were gathered around to pay their devotions to the gilded shrine. In that tank, under the shadow of that Pagoda, and in sight of their former companions, who now gazed with mingled astonishment and malice, the two young disciples solemnly renounced their vain idols, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ, by a public profession of his name. Oh! it was a joyful and memorable occasion. Some of the heavenly host, I doubt not, gazed on the sight with approbation; and He who promised to be in the midst of two or three assembled in his name, was, I trust, in the midst of us."'

'Mr. B. had devised an extensive and excellent plan of school instruction for the province of Tavoy, which now promises, in the hands of the Missionary Board, to become productive of abundant good. His labours had been rendered more arduous by the fact, that the dialect of the Burmese, spoken in Tavoy, differed widely from that which he had previously learned at Calcutta and Maulmein, so that while teaching his scholars, preaching to his hearers, engaged in building zayats and houses, contriving plans of operation, performing the domestic duties of husband and parent, and corresponding with friends in America, he was obliged to prosecute the study of Tavoyan-Burmese.

'These multiplied duties, pursued in that urgent spirit which characterized this good man, so wore upon his feeble system, that in December of this year, (1828,) he was attacked with one of the most alarming symptoms of consumption,—a copious expectoration of blood. This circumstance was enough to remind Mr. Boardman that his tenure on life was feeble and uncertain,—but not enough to damp his zeal. He regarded it as a warning to "work while the day lasted."

On the 5th of February, 1829, he left his wife and family for the purpose of making his long projected visit to the Karens. He was accompanied by two Karens, two of the largest boys from his school, and a Malabar cook. They started at 9 o'clock, A.M. and travelled till 5 P.M., but proceeded only eighteen miles. It was the hottest season of the year; the road was a

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winding foot-path, traversing cultivated fields, and uncultivated hills and valleys, and thick, tangled, and lofty bamboo jungles. They suffered from the burning heat, and were completely drenched by an unexpected shower of rain, which overtook them in an uninhabited spot, and beat upon them furiously. They were obliged to encamp in the open wilderness,—where they were again wet through by a storm that lasted till midnight.

'On the 6th they rose early, feeling grateful that they had not fallen a prey to the tigers, wild elephants, or other savage animals which haunt these forests. Their road this day lay over rough cliffs and precipices, across large streams, and along the rugged banks of mountain torrents. They slept in the hut of a hospitable Karen.

'On the 7th they met messengers from a Karen village, who came out to receive them with a warm and Christian-like hospitality, which cheered Mr. Boardman's heart. At three o'clock they reached the village, found a large house prepared for them, and were literally overwhelmed with presents of provisions and fruits. The faces of the villagers beamed with delight, and they exclaimed, "ah, you have come *at last*; we have long wanted to see you!" Mr. Boardman, notwithstanding his fatigue, preached to the natives who assembled this evening, and again he delivered three sermons on the day following. On the 9th he delivered several sermons, and spent the day (Sunday) in a manner to himself most delightful. As he intended to depart early next morning, nearly half the congregation remained in the zayat all night, so as to bid him farewell.

'On the 10th and 11th he preached in other villages, where, as before, he found attentive and eager listeners.

'On the 12th he travelled through the most difficult paths under circumstances of great discomfort; and at night, after going to bed, he was for the third time deluged with a rain so powerful that it penetrated the bamboo roof, and soaked through all his clothing, and drenched his baggage.

'On the 13th he returned to Tavoy,—having travelled more than a hundred miles, and preached *seventeen* sermons within the space of nine days, besides being exposed to the fury of storms in unsheltered places. By this journey Mr. Boardman was convinced that his doubts as to the sincerity of the Karen character were unjust. The hospitalities which he received, the joy created by his presence among the villagers, the earnest attention bestowed upon his preaching, were enough to satisfy him that the Karens were prepared to adopt his religion and become Christians.

'On his return to Tavoy, his feelings were severely tried by discovering that some of the native members of his church had been guilty of gross misconduct, and were disgracing their pro-

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fession. Family trouble was soon added to his afflictions, by the illness of his wife. In May, he was obliged by her feebleness of health to abandon his labours for a time, for the purpose of giving her the benefit of a voyage. A fortnight's vacation restored her strength and spirits, and he returned to Tavoy.

'In July, Mr. and Mrs. Boardman were called upon to mourn the death of their eldest child. "Our anxieties about her," says the weeping father, "are now over; but Oh! how affection still clings to her, and often sets her ruddy, beauteous form before our eyes!" At the same time their only surviving child was apparently at the point of death,—so that, while laying Sarah in her grave, they trembled at the probability of soon depositing George by her side. But he was spared.

'During this month, Mr. Boardman prepared a record of the various afflictions by which his soul had been tried within the year: these were, three successive losses of property by shipwreck; the apostasy of several of his church; two attacks of hemorrhage on the lungs; the illness of his wife, the death of one child, and the alarming illness of the other. "It grieves me," said he, "to think that I was so sinful as to need such afflictions!"

'On Sunday morning, August 9th, our friends were roused from their sleep by the ringing of alarm bells, discharges of musketry, and the cries of their pupils, "master, teacher, Tavoy rebels." They rose in great alarm, and found that the city was in open revolt, and bullets were whistling around their heads. The rebel forces soon compelled them to desert their house, which stood without the city gates, and to take refuge within the walls. The English forces were small and feeble, and under the pressure of an immense host of insurgents, every moment becoming more numerous and violent, they were obliged in a few hours to evacuate the city, and retreat to the wharf. To this place, a wooden building of six rooms, were carried the arms and other military stores; and therein were huddled all the sepoys with their baggage, and hundreds of European women and children, all looking for protection to the English. In these narrow quarters, surrounded by casks of gunpowder, which were exposed to constant danger of explosion,—cut off from all communication with any other place,—poorly furnished with provisions, and exhausted by fatigue and the diseases of the rainy season, the wretched Europeans awaited their approaching fate. Meantime the work of destruction went rapidly forward in the city, and fire and sword made terrible havoc. On Thursday morning an assault was made at day-break upon the wharf, by a party of five hundred insurgents, who set fire to several neighbouring houses and vessels. Providentially, a violent rain prevented the spread of the flames; and still more fortunately, a British steamer hove

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in sight, bringing succour to the desponding garrison at the wharf. The steam vessel, after taking the females on board, returned for reinforcements to Maulmein. On Saturday an attack was made upon the town by the British, and the walls were again brought into their possession. On Sunday the city was completely restored to quiet, and the European inhabitants freed from all danger. Mr. Boardman describes the scene presented on his return within the walls, as one of utter and awful havoc and desolation. Everything destructible had been destroyed. His own house was "cut to pieces," its contents burnt, or broken, or carried off,—and nothing but a few fragments left to indicate his fate. But his wife and child were safe at Maulmein; his own life was preserved; and none of his church or scholars had been concerned in, or injured by, the insurrection;—his strongest feeling, therefore, was *gratitude*. In about a month he and his family were once more at Tavoy, as though nothing had occurred.

'To increase that pleasure which he had derived from a short visit at Maulmein with Messrs. Judson and Wade, he now found that his fate had been an object of intense interest to the Karens, and that his safety was a subject of devout thankfulness. These "wild-men" flocked around him from the remotest corners of Tavoy, in great numbers; and one old man of threescore and five years had traversed mountains, rocks, hills and streams, a distance of fifty miles, to solicit baptism.

'Encouraged by increasing attention among the natives, he now commenced a course of itinerary preaching in the scattered villages of Tavoy; visiting three or four of these villages each week, and teaching both publicly and from house to house. It is impossible for us to form adequate notions of the arduousness of this mode of labour, in the burning climate of India. Within two months he visited nearly thirty villages in this manner, being almost universally received willingly and with pleasure, though sometimes treated with unkindness. The Karen village Ts'heik-koo, the one in which he first preached in February, became wholly Christian in its character, paying a sacred regard to the Sabbath, and in other respects conforming to Christian customs and institutions. The schools became more full and flourishing than ever,—the church increased in numbers, and a delightful prosperity seemed destined to follow the short reign of confusion and danger.

'Early in 1830, Mr. Boardman's constitution began rapidly to break down under his enormous burden of care and labour;—and the voice of approaching death was heard in his consumptive cough. Mrs. Boardman was also reduced to the very point of death by disease, and the whole system of Missionary operations was for several weeks suspended, while Mr. B. attended, as he thought, to the wants of his dying wife. "What will become of

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my poor child," thought he; "what will become of the schools, of the poor native women,—and what will become of *me*, if she die?" On her recovery his thankfulness knew no bounds;—his letters are eloquent in their utterance of joy and praise.

'There are but few incidents to relate as occurring within the year 1830. Mrs. Boardman's health compelled her to leave Tavoy and go to Maulmein, where she and her husband were once more obliged to mourn over the death of a child,—an infant son. Mr. B. made a third and long excursion among the Karens, on the hills of Tavoy, where the Gospel was hailed as indeed glad tidings. By advice of his missionary brethren, he passed a few months in Maulmein;—but, their plan not being carried into full effect, he returned to the Tavoy station. At the close of the year, the Tavoy church included thirty-one native members,—of whom eighteen Karens were baptized at once, in November. Mr. Boardman's health was now wretchedly bad,—and it was manifest to all, that he had but a brief period of labour or of life before him. But his heart beat joyfully even in prospect of death,—and his spirits rose in anticipation of his heavenly rest.

'The last record which has reached America, in Mr. Boardman's hand-writing, is dated January 1, 1831, and is an entry in his Journal. It announces the expected addition of one or two missionaries to the Tavoy station,—and of several Karens to the church.

'On the 23d of January, Rev. Mr. Mason and wife arrived at Tavoy, from America. They arrived in time to accompany Mr. Boardman in his last tour among the Karens, and to witness his death.

'Mr. Mason perceived on his arrival, that Boardman was "a dying man;" but as his heart was fixed on visiting the Karen villages once more, no objection was made to the journey,—although he was too much debilitated to walk. He was carried by his faithful Karens on a cot-bed the whole distance of a three days' journey, accompanied by Mr. Mason, and by his own affectionate wife, who would not remain behind. The journey was commenced on the 31st of January.

'On arriving at the zayat which had been prepared for his reception, the Karen converts who were anxious to be baptized came in for examination, and the worthy Missionary, reclining on his couch, devoted his failing breath to the agreeable duty. Of more than fifty who applied, thirty-four were deemed fit subjects of baptism. When the hour of performing this ceremony arrived, Mr. Boardman, at his own request, was carried to the water-side, though so weak that he could scarcely breathe without the use of the fan and smelling-bottle. His great desire was to behold the administration of the ordinance,—and he said that he could then die with the exclamation of Simeon on his lips,—"Lord, now

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lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!" His emotions were almost too powerful for his frame. He afterwards addressed a few words to the natives around him, and offered a short prayer. The party attempted the following day to return;—they were overtaken by a violent shower of rain;—the dying man was again drenched with wet among those hills, where he had so often before been exposed to tempest;—he survived the night, but died at noon of February 12th, in the arms of the Karen attendants, who were bearing him homeward. The sorrow of wife and friends, who shall describe? The hand of God was recognised even through the cloud of death, and the grief of those who lamented the removal of a faithful servant in the midst of his labours, was assuaged by the reflection, that he had "entered into the joy of his Lord."

'The whole Christian world were Boardman's mourners. The whole Karen nation wept bitterly over his grave. The station at Tavoy is now occupied by faithful Missionaries,—and the blessings of Christianity are rapidly spreading over that province;—but Boardman is still unforgotten;—*his* name, who first preached salvation to the poor *wildmen*, is now whispered by hundreds of grateful voices at the even-tide circle of friends, and at the altar of simple and pure devotion.

'The following Epitaph is intended to be inscribed on Boardman's tomb.

'Sacred to the memory of George D. Boardman, American Missionary to Burmah. Born Feb. 8, 1801,—Died Feb. 11, 1831. *His Epitaph is written in the adjoining forests.* Ask in the Christian villages of yonder mountains—Who taught you to abandon the worship of demons?—Who raised you from vice to morality?—Who brought you your Bibles, your Sabbaths, and your words of prayer? Let the reply be his Eulogy! *A cruce corona.*'

Art. V.—*Geology in* 1835; a Popular Sketch of the Progress, leading Features, and latest Discoveries of this rising Science. By John Lawrance. 12mo. pp. 139. Price 4*s*. London, 1835.

WE have, of late, been engaged in examining a rather extended series of elementary works on geological science, with the intention of laying before our readers a somewhat comprehensive view of the more facile and effective methods of gaining a satisfactory insight into its principles and their application. Among these publications we have found the volume which now lies before us; but although, like them, it is addressed to those who may be, as yet, uninformed on that interesting subject, it seems

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to present itself under a different aspect, and to occupy ground so far peculiar, as to demand a distinct and previous, though necessarily brief recommendation.

Having been delivered in the form of lectures addressed, it should seem, to a mixed auditory, this well-written 'Sketch' has taken a direction varying both from a simply rudimental course, and from a minute or strictly consecutive detail. It is, in fact, a preliminary essay on the history, range, and characteristic phenomena of geological science, a large and luminous preface to an extensive subject; a judicious attempt either to prepare the learner for an intelligent and successful prosecution of his studies, or to furnish the more general student with a clear and discriminating bird's-eye view of a scene too wide-spreading and too intricate for exhibition in mere perspective. The free and self-stimulated researches of ripened intellect are to be conducted on different principles from the enforced studies of early pupilage; and we can imagine nothing more beneficial to a mind exercised in the application of its powers, and entering on a new field of inquiry, than to commence it by laying in a stock of results, clearly defined, fairly compacted, and expressed in a style essentially attractive, and carefully cleared of mere technicalities. The previous mastering—a pleasant and easy task—of such a popular digest as that before us, would greatly facilitate, in all its stages, the acquisition of scientific geology. We are sorry that we must confine ourselves to this general description, but our limits are defined, and we must repress, for the present, all inclination to pursue the subject. Of Mr. Lawrance's style and manner, one specimen, taken without the slightest attempt at favourable selection, but referring to important and much agitated questions, must be sufficient.

'"If there be any fact well established in geology," says the great Cuvier in his admirable '*Discours Preliminaire*', "it is this; that the surface of our globe has suffered a great and sudden revolution, the period of which cannot be dated farther back than five or six thousand years. This revolution has, on the one hand, engulphed and caused to disappear the countries formerly inhabited by men and the animal species at present least known; and on the other hand, has laid bare the bottom of the vast ocean; thus converting its channel into the now habitable earth." Cuvier was not predisposed to arrive at this conclusion; his testimony, therefore, is not to be despised. But the evidence is irresistible. The geologist who had never heard of Noah or the writings of Moses, would inevitably be driven to the same conclusion.

'Those who argue with Mr. Lyall, that all the modifications of the earth's surface have been produced by the slow but gradual operation of causes now in action, can never get over the proofs of this universal cataclysm; in comparison with which all the revolutions and convulsions of modern times dwindle into insignificance. Great and aw-

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ful, however, as are these effects, when measured by the contracted span of our ideas, they are as nothing when considered with reference to the globe,—the vast mass of matter upon which they occur, and insignificant in fact, compared with the mighty *bouleversemens* which have prostrated the high hills, and reared 'ocean's caves' into mountains such as those which produced the shelly summit of Snowdon, and buried in the dark profundity of the earth the beautiful vegetation of its surface.'

The volume is illustrated by well chosen wood engravings.

Art. VI.—*The Fossil Flora of Great Britain;* or, Figures and Descriptions of the Vegetable Remains found in a Fossil State in this Country. By John Lindley and William Hutton. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. li. 218. Plates 79. London, 1831—3.

THE study of geology, like that of most fashionable sciences, may be pursued at marvellously small expense of time and labour. Nothing can be easier than to acquire the simple elements of mineralogy, and to become familiar with the more obvious phenomena and the less complicated generalizations of geological science; nor are we at all disposed to discourage this rudimental acquisition, considered either as an important auxiliary to general reading, or as enabling the possessor even of this small stock of knowledge, to avail himself advantageously of circumstances and situations, where his means of observation might otherwise be tantalizing to himself, and unprofitable to others. There are seasons and localities when it is desirable to know how to pick up pebbles with discrimination; and an easily obtained acquaintance with the common varieties of rock, may sometimes enable an observer to ascertain facts of the highest scientific nature, where he must otherwise waste his opportunities in vague and unavailable description. But all this, and much more than this, will give but small aid towards a clear and comprehensive view of a science which deals, not accidentally but essentially, with the vast and the minute; which ascends from the analysis of the air we breathe, and of the dust that rises in the breeze, to the laws which regulate the construction of the 'great globe itself,' and to the mighty revolutions which have fitted it, successively, for a primeval solitude of rank and gloomy vegetation —for an abode of 'all monstrous, all prodigious things,' creatures strange and enormous, baffling every conclusion drawn from the forms and systems that surround us—for the place where *mind* was to display its dominating power, to fulfil the conditions of its moral being, and to unfold the elements of its immortality.

No one can fairly congratulate himself on having obtained a satisfactory knowledge of the principles of geology, who has not given attention to the characters, distribution, and geological suc-

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cession of the organic remains which distinguish the different strata of the globe. Yet is this knowledge by no means of easy acquisition to that very large class of general students, which is excluded by circumstances or by situation from the use of an extensive collection. To the residents in some of our more important towns, well supplied museums are freely opened, but this indispensable advantage is unattainable by the far greater number who dwell in less favoured localities. Description is but an imperfect substitute for inspection; and, although drawings or engravings might supply the absence of specimens, there is not, so far as we know, any readily accessible work of this kind on a comprehensive plan. There are distinct publications, illustrative of various departments, highly meritorious indeed, but of prohibitory expense; and few greater services could be rendered to the great and increasing body of enquirers, than by the publication of manuals, well illustrated by xylographic diagrams, of the three departments of fossil remains—plants, shells, and animals. In the mean time, the admirably conducted publication, now in our hands, although of a more costly kind than that which we have just recommended, has been most seasonably undertaken by men, thoroughly fitted for their task, by sound and extensive knowledge of their subject both practically and in theory. And it is, in truth, a subject demanding no small portion of skill and experience for its adequate treatment.

'Fossil Botany is beset with difficulties of a peculiar character. The materials that the enquirer has to work upon, are not only disfigured by those accidents to which all fossil remains are exposed in common, but they are also those which would, in recent vegetation, be considered of the smallest degree of importance. There is, in most cases, an almost total want of that evidence by which the Botanist is guided in the examination of recent plants; and not only the total destruction of the parts of fructification, and of the internal organization of the stem, but what contributes still more to the perplexity of the subject, a frequent separation of one part from another, of leaves from branches, of branches from trunks, and, if fructification be present, of even it from the parts of the plant on which it grew, so that no man can tell how to collect the fragments that remain into a perfect whole. For it must be remembered, that it is not in Botany as in Zoology, where a skilful anatomist has no difficulty in combining the scattered bones of a broken skeleton. In Botany, on the contrary, the component parts of both foliage and fructification are often so much alike in outline, which is all that the Fossil Botanist can judge from, as to indicate almost nothing when separated from each other, and from the axis to which they appertain. It is only by the various combinations of these parts that the genera and species of plants are to be recognized, and it is precisely these combinations that in fossils are destroyed.'

Much, however, has been of late effected by skilful and per-

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severing experimentalists in despite of all these difficulties. Mr. Witham has given a new aspect to some of the most inaccessible of these peculiarities, by subjecting to microscopic observation, very thin plates of various fossils; and the investigations of Sternberg, Buckland, and Brongniart, have extended and systematized the science. But it should always, in these matters, be kept in mind, that, with all deference to great names, the humblest student may be enabled by activity and vigilance to throw light on the most difficult inquiries. Geology, in all its departments, is emphatically a science of observation, calling eye, foot, and hand into constant exertion, and every one who wishes well to its interests, may serve it, perhaps essentially, by keeping what is familiarly called a sharp look out. The fragments of a quarry, the *ejecta* of a mine or a tunnel, the refuse of a coal-pit, the debris of a precipice, the accumulations of the strand, may furnish unexpected illustrations or suggest new trains of exploration. That singular fossil, *Polyporites Bowmanni*, was found among the rubbish at the mouth of a Welsh coal-mine.

Art. VII. 1. *The Second Address of the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, held at the Congregational Library. London, May 12th, 15th and 16th, 1835. To the Ministers and Churches of the same Faith and Order throughout the Empire. 12mo, pp. 16. 8vo, 3*d*. 12mo, 1*d*. London, 1835.

2. *The Scriptural Unity of the Protestant Churches exhibited in their published Confessions.* 12mo, pp. xx. 123. Dublin, 1835.

THIS Second Address, or Yearly Epistle of the Congregational Union, has for its main topic, the enforcement of 'a 'scriptural purity of communion' on the churches, and, 'as in-'timately connected with it, a faithful administration of scrip-'tural discipline.' Much depends, it is remarked, on the qualifications of those who are received to the privileges of the church.

'It is our acknowledged conviction, that they only who have embraced the Saviour, and have tasted that he is gracious, are entitled to Christian fellowship, or qualified for its duties and enjoyments. The admission of those who are strangers to the power of the gospel is in every way injurious. It is disastrous most frequently to the individuals themselves; having a tendency to quiet the conscience, and to deceive with unfounded hopes of salvation: and a serious evil to the church which receives them; being the sure means of lowering its spiritual character. We are plainly bound in kindness to them, as well as in faithfulness to the cause of God, to withhold encouragement from such as give no evidence of genuine piety, or are actuated by improper motives. Repentance towards God, and faith towards the

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Lord Jesus Christ, are the only indispensable qualifications required. They are the proper foundation of mutual confidence, without which fellowship is but a name. On the scriptural evidence of these, often associated with great diffidence and timidity, we should rejoice to hold out a cordial welcome to our Christian fellowship and love. In seeking such evidences, we plead for the employment of no painful inquisitorial process; the establishment of no harsh and, to some, impossible requirement; nothing that ought to offend the delicacy or repel the approaches of the most timid. Let the existence of true piety be only ascertained, in the judgment of charity, and we are satisfied. We deem it of great importance to abide by these scriptural requirements. Every departure from them is dangerous, whether it proceed from causes in themselves evil, or from a mistaken sense of duty. It will deteriorate the character of the church by the admission of persons who have no sympathy with the grand objects of its institution. It will place in jeopardy the spirituality and efficiency of the entire body, by the almost certain infusion and ultimate prevalence of a worldly spirit, which will imperceptibly neutralize the privileges, and disincline to the duties, which communion involves. The elements of discord will be introduced, where agreement should reign; edification will soon be lost sight of, or cease to be practicable; and the very intention of the institution will be perverted and abused. To this cause, we suspect that much of the contention which occasionally prevails in our churches, often eagerly exaggerated by those who do not understand us, is to be attributed. Where a healthy state of spiritual feeling exists, the differences which arise amongst brethren may easily be accommodated. It is only when selfishness, passion, and worldliness take part in the strife, that confusion and every evil work follow. We introduce and foster these elements, when the requirements of Scripture are dispensed with, and a wide and open entrance to church privilege, irrespective of spiritual qualifications, is allowed. It is admitted, that even with the greatest prudence and circumspection, hypocrites and deceivers will unawares creep in; but this is no reason why we should directly and systematically provide for the increase of these evils—why we should invite hypocrisy and encourage deception, by a careless, and still more by an indiscriminate, admission to Christian fellowship. Keeping equally aloof from harsh and unnecessary restrictions, and from a lax and injurious course of proceeding, let us adhere to the directions of the Sure Testimony. Duty, interest, and experience combine to enforce this recommendation upon us. Selecting precious materials, living stones, in the building of the Lord's temple, we shall be recompensed for our labour in the increasing spirituality and peace of our churches now, and in the permanency of our work. It shall abide, for the day shall declare it, when the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is.

'Intimately connected with this subject, permit us to urge the necessity of a faithful administration of scriptural discipline. This is indispensable to the continued prosperity of our churches; though we fear that, in some quarters, it is not sufficiently understood. The ability of any church to accomplish the objects for which it exists, very much depends on the earnest desire for spiritual improvement evinced

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by each member, and the consequent character imparted to the whole body; the combination of sympathy, watchfulness, and prayer, directed towards the increase of every holy attainment and Christian grace. In such healthful circumstances, there will readily be found every needful encouragement and assistance, amidst the trials and difficulties of our spiritual course, and those self-denying habits which the service of the gospel demands. When, however, from any cause, the character of the church suffers, when it declines in piety, even without any departure from sound doctrine—a very possible case—the very end of fellowship will be endangered. It will be of little avail to boast of our scriptural constitution, when, in consequence of an allowed and growing indifference to divine things, the objects which it contemplates have been neglected or forgotten. We shall only the more effectually bring it into disrepute, and increase the contempt with which the entire subject is too generally regarded. We mention this, to remind you, that the form and constitution of the church, however scriptural and well adapted as a means, must fail in the furtherance of holiness, if its laws be not faithfully administered, and the end of its creation be not steadily kept in view and perseveringly prosecuted, in the spirit of meekness and love. The constitution of the church is not designed to supply living principles, or to supersede, by a power inherent in itself, the necessity of their diligent cultivation, but merely to furnish facilities and aids for their increase in strength and development in action. One system may be superior to another in affording such facilities, but the best will prove worthless, without the presence and influence of that Spirit which ought to animate it, and can alone secure its intended results. Whatever, then, injures the spiritual character of the church, in the extent to which it is suffered to prevail, defeats its designs. Every church is perpetually exposed to injury. Offences must come. Christians may be seduced by temptation, and fall into sin. The hypocritical may gradually throw off their mask, and become manifestly indifferent to the interests of religion, or make open shipwreck of faith and a good conscience. The continuance of allowed sin, in the purest community, will slowly, but surely, impair its character, and ultimately corrupt it. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. Some will be emboldened to similar transgressions, and coming habitually into contact with sin unrebuked, the consciences of all will lose their tenderness. As the infection spreads, the standard of Christian character will be practically and permanently lowered: confidence will be destroyed; and, instead of being mutually serviceable to each other's faith and holiness, and a centre from which emanates a healthful moral influence on the surrounding ungodliness, they will speedily become a confederacy for evil. These disastrous effects may not be immediately discernible, but they may be forming and working out by a strong under-current of infection, which eludes observation, until accidental circumstances reveal them. The intention of scriptural discipline is to furnish a corrective to these evils, and when employed with faithfulness and impartiality, is calculated to exert a salutary influence upon every one concerned in its administration. In witnessing the promptitude and affection with which offenders are rebuked and admonished, or the obstinate reluctantly excluded, when they will not

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be reclaimed; all are taught to fear sin, are excited to watchfulness, and receive a fresh impulse, bearing them onward in their course of obedience. Without the protection which discipline affords, we have no security against the introduction of evils, which tend to disturb the peace and impair the prosperity of our churches.' pp. 5—7.

So far as our knowledge extends, we should not have conceived that the Churches embraced by this Union were generally chargeable with a neglect or relaxation of religious discipline; nor is this meant to be implied, perhaps, in the above admonitory remarks. We should not, however, be surprised to find them cited by the Author of "Essays on the Church," or by some honest controvertist of the same stamp, as a confession on the part of the Dissenters themselves, that the importance of a faithful administration of scriptural discipline is not generally understood among them; whence it will be an easy jump to the conclusion, that our discipline is not more effective than that of the Church of England itself. Against such misconceptions and misrepresentations it may be difficult to guard; but we could have wished that some *caveat* had been entered against the uncandid inference. It is stated, indeed, that 'many of our 'churches can bear a willing testimony to the speedy check 'which discipline gives to incipient evils;' and it is certain, therefore, that the discipline contended for is neither chimerical nor theoretical, but exists in practice, and may be universally realized.

The subject of discipline is a very important, but a very delicate one, and requires a much more distinct exposition than can be looked for in such an address. That discipline is not the act of those to whom the superintendence of the church belongs, but of the entire body, is a position which seems to us to require some little qualification. If the word discipline is understood simply of the public expulsion or suspension of a member, it is most fit that no individuals should be intrusted with such a power, in virtue of their office, irrespective of the concurrence of the body. But we have been accustomed to understand discipline as mainly consisting in that pastoral superintendence, which, when effectively exercised, will often supersede, by private admonition, the necessity for ulterior proceeding. In cases of open sin, there can be no doubt as to the proper mode of proceeding; but church censures have not in all cases been levelled against offences involving any moral turpitude, and much must depend upon the constitution of the court. We venture to think that there exists no real difference of sentiment on this head between the writer of the Address and ourselves; but we are anxious that such a document should not be open to misconstruction. The all-important subject of parental responsibility is subsequently adverted to, and the duty of pastors to pay especial

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attention to the young. We should be glad to see this topic more fully treated in a future address. Upon the whole, we cordially recommend this Address to the serious perusal of our readers.

We have been led to notice, in immediate connexion with this Address, the second publication, of which we have given the title, because it contains, appended to the more ancient symbols, the Declaration of Faith recently published by the Congregational Churches of England and Wales, and adopted by their brethren of Scotland and Ireland. The other contents of the volume are, the twenty-eight Articles of the Irish Church, agreed on by the Convocation held in Dublin in 1615; the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; and the Westminster Confession of Faith, adopted by the Church of Scotland, as well as by the Synod of Ulster, the United Secession synods in Scotland and Ireland, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of America. The object of the Compiler is sufficiently indicated by the title; but we transcribe with pleasure from the Preface, the further explanation of its excellent design.

'The writer is not one of those who can discover nothing but what is evil in the general church at the present day; nor does he love to dwell on the less fascinating features of her members; nor is he a gloomy alarmist, who can foresee nothing but desolation and woe. But with fervent thanksgivings to God, for what He has done and is doing for His Church, and in full faith of the certain bestowment of all that He has promised, he would hold up existing evils to the view of the Brethren, that they may be excited to humiliation, watchfulness, and prayer.

'It has been thought that it might, through the blessing of God, aid in effecting this object, were the attention of Christians directed to their essential oneness in all the grand characteristics of their common Christianity; and to the views of those who, in these countries, have been instrumental in the plantation and establishment among us of the Gospel, with its privileges and blessings. Their views of divine truth were essentially the same with those of the servants of God in every preceding period: for, while error is multiform and variable, truth is one and immutable. "Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways, and see; and ask for the old paths, where is the good way: and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

'With this design the following little work has been undertaken. It consists of the summaries of faith and practice, originally framed by those who were instrumental, under God, in giving to these lands all that is valuable in their religious,—and even their civil privileges; and which are still held by the great body of professed believers. That, in all their leading outlines, they are founded upon "the apostles and prophets," will be obvious from a careful and candid examination of the passages of Scripture appended as proofs of the statements they contain. That they are in substance the same with those formulas employed by the churches—immediately subsequent to the Apostolic

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age, and prior to the rise of "the great apostasy"—for asserting the truth and condemning error, might be easily shown. And when the glorious Reformation took place, and, to use the language of Milton,—"Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon;"—when Luther, and the rest of the glorious band of his coadjutors and followers, swept away the errors and superstitions wherewith the fair face of the church had been covered and deformed, and adopted the plan which had been employed before, for exhibiting truth and condemning error, that both might be contrasted with the infallible oracles of God, by publishing the Augsburg, Helvetic, and other "Confessions"—as theirs were in substance identical with those of the church in her purest times, so are these which follow, in all vital points, the same with theirs. No infallibility, nor even authority, is claimed for them on account of the men who compiled them,—however learned, eminent, and holy many of them were; they would, themselves, have been the very first to disclaim all such pretensions, and to say, "Be ye followers of us," *in so far as* "we are of Christ." "To the law and to the testimony." But to every sober-minded Christian it must be satisfactory to find that, amid all the changes in outward circumstances, and all the varieties of forms and rites,—in every age the faith and the practice of the church has been identical; and it must teach such persons to cling to and contend for these, instead of attaching undue importance to modes and opinions that have been constantly varying.

'The practice of exhibiting what the church has conceived to be the truth, and condemning the errors which, from time to time, were broached and propagated by its enemies, has been adopted from the beginning; and still prevails. With the view of showing, still further, the harmony which exists among those who "hold the Head," even under the most diverse forms of ecclesiastical polity,—to the more anciently published creeds adopted in these countries, is added "The Declaration of the Congregational Churches."

'That "Confessions," like other things, may be abused,—on the one hand, by being *enforced* upon unwilling consciences by the fear of loss or the hope of emolument,—and on the other *adopted*, hypocritically, from sinister designs, by unprincipled individuals,—is at once admitted; but that, when properly used, they are important and warrantable, is by the common practice of all the orthodox churches admitted and sanctioned. They evince the sense in which Scripture is understood,—exhibit the union of the friends of truth, in the assertion of its principles and testifying against corruptions,—and lay the foundation for harmony, in the "walking together" of those who are thus "agreed."' pp. vii—x.

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Art. VIII. 1. *The Church its own Enemy,* being an Answer to the Pamphlets of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers. Particularly to his Aspersions on the Town Council of Edinburgh. Second Edition, corrected. By Adam Black. 8vo., pp. 60. Edinburgh, 1835.

2. *Statement relative to Church Accommodation in Scotland:* in Answer to the Representations in the Circular of the Moderator of the General Assembly, &c. By the Scottish Central Board for Vindicating the Rights of Dissenters. Third Edition, with an Appendix. 8vo., pp. 24. Edinburgh, 1835.

MOST truly is the Church—if we must give that name to an ecclesiastical establishment intended to secure a monopoly to a portion of the Church,—its own enemy; and most apposite in its application is the proverb which Mr. Black places upon his title page: "Every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands." The infatuation of the upholders of the Church and State policy is extreme, and looks, we had almost said, like judicial blindness. Is it not pitiable to find such men as Dr. Chalmers, the sworn enemy of all compulsory payments for the support of the poor, coming forward as the champion of compulsory payments for the maintenance of the ministers of his own sect, and calling upon the Government for fresh grants of the public money, in order to outbuild and outbid the voluntaries, who have outstripped the state Church in providing for the spiritual wants of the people? We honestly confess that we have read Mr. Black's clear and triumphant exposure of the Doctor's unaccountable blunders and unwarrantable aspersions with astonishment. Never was a charge more triumphantly refuted than that which Dr. Chalmers brought against the Town Council. We have not room to go into the subject, but we strongly recommend our readers to obtain Mr. Black's pamphlet, which, though relating chiefly to a local dispute, furnishes a very strong case against the very principle of Establishments. We must make room for the following paragraph.

'The Church (of Scotland) has long since lost its hold on the affections and confidence of the common people; that class which Dr. Chalmers is so anxious to recall to its communion. Give them sittings in the Established churches cheap or altogether free, they will not return. Time was when the inhabitants looked up to their ministers as their counsellors and defenders, but that was when the ministers were not the instruments of the court, or a court faction, but defenders against the corruption and the Church Establishment of the court. The people have long had to contemplate the ministers of the Establishment, not only subject but obsequious to the government that supported them; and during the reign of terror, when despotic go-

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vernments trenched upon the liberties of the subject, they had ground to believe that the clergy sympathized with their overbearing rulers, and encouraged them in all their despotic measures; and in the late tremendous struggle between a nation determined to assert its rights, and an aristocracy resolute in withholding them, the clergy, with a few exceptions, have thrown their influence into the scale of corruption, and ranged themselves against the people. Even to the present hour, the ministers of the Establishment gave their votes and their influence in favour of men whom the common people almost universally consider as the enemies of their rights and liberties.

'In regard to religious matters, they have not failed to remark the indifference which, with some bright exceptions, the Establishment has manifested, and the supercilious refusal of many of its ministers to co-operate with ministers and members of other denominations, for the advancement of objects of a benevolent and religious nature: they remember the disfavour which they at first showed to Sabbath schools, —the refusal of many of them to join with Christians of Dissenting communions in the Bible Society,—the coldness and dislike with which the Establishment regarded missonary exertions, till after standing all the day idle for very shame, they at last felt compelled to enter upon the work at the eleventh hour, and then in how feeble a way! A facetious minister of the Church used to say, that the Church of Scotland's Mission put him in mind of a "clocking hen wi' ae bird;" while the poor and small body of Baptists have their missionaries widely spread among the heathen. I need not again refer to the state and conduct of the Church in the Highlands and destitute districts, nor to the undue superiority which the churchmen assume over other denominations of Christians. And when they see, coupled with this, the wealthy members of chapels of ease petitioning Parliament for State endowments, that they may throw their own burden on others, their alienation from the Church is confirmed, and their opposition strengthened.' pp. 47, 48.

In no point of view does the conduct of the Anti-Voluntaries appear so dishonourable, so irreconcileably at variance with candour or Christian integrity, as in the delusive statements put forth with regard to the want of Church accommodation. The palpable unfairness of these statements is demonstrated in the second of these pamphlets by a series of statistical tables, which entirely demolish the pretence upon which the application for new churches is grounded. For instance, in sixteen of the places referred to in the Circular of the Assembly's Committee, it is shewn, that instead of the alleged deficiency of church room, stated at 159,444, there is a real surplus of 35,653, according to the principle of calculation laid down by Dr. Cleland! The table attached to the Circular

'keeps entirely out of view, the accommodation provided by Dissenters of different denominations, and takes up the extravagant position, that whatever may be their religious opinions, accommodation connected with the Establishment, sufficient for the *whole* population,

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ought to be provided out of the public funds. In consequence of this omission, and by overrating the quantity of church accommodation required, the deficiency is made to appear enormous; for it will be seen from the remarks and table, afterwards given, that in the places which have been selected, while the Establishment has only provided, in both Churches and Chapels of Ease, 113,026; Dissenters, acting on the voluntary system, have provided 141,770 sittings; and it is also of importance to remark, that of the above 141,770 sittings, upwards of 130,000 are provided by evangelical Dissenters, who, it will not be denied, teach the great doctrines of the Gospel at least as purely and diligently as the clergy of the Establishment. Unless, therefore, in soliciting aid from government, the object is entirely sectarian, and with a view to proselyting from the ranks of Dissenters, this large supply cannot be disregarded.'

But that the object *is* sectarian there can be no doubt; for the existence of the Church accommodation provided by Dissenters is the provocative to the exertions now making to furnish *cheaper* seats in the Churches of the Establishment, and thus to bribe the attendance of the poorer classes. But will Parliament suffer itself to be imposed upon by such fraudulent statements, or lend itself to this desperate effort to recover lost ground from the Dissenters at the public expense! We cannot believe it.

Art. IX.—*Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin.* Fifth Edition, 18mo. (with Portrait and Vignette.) London, 1835.

WE are pleased to see a fifth edition of this delightful piece of biography; and in this attractive and elegant shape, it will form a very engaging present, fit to range among the Amethysts and Amulets and Keepsakes of the Boudoir or Library-table;—or, what were better still, to displace some volume of less intrinsic value. The Memoirs of Neff would form an excellent companion volume.

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Art. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In a few days will be published, Ministerial Solicitude and Fidelity, a Farewell Sermon addressed to the Congregation of Holland Chapel, North Brixton, June 21st, 1835. With a brief History of the Author's connexion with that Place of Worship. By John Styles, D.D.

Shortly will be published, in two vols. small 8vo, Greece and the Levant; or Diary of a Summer's Excursion in 1834. With Epistolary Supplements. By the Rev. Richard Burgess, B.D., of St. John's College, Cambridge, Author of "The Topography and Antiquities of Rome."

In the press, in one small Volume, foolscap octavo, Roman-British Coins; or, Coins of the Romans, struck in and relating to the Province of Britain. Popularly illustrated and explained. By J. Y. Akerman, F.S.A., author of "A descriptive Catalogue of rare and unedited Roman Coins." This work will contain an accurate description of every Roman Coin having relation to Britain, and also an account of those, which were minted in this country during the dominion of the Romans. It will be illustrated by numerous plates on steel and wood.

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Art. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Lives of Eminent Roman Catholic Missionaries. By John Carne, Esq. Neatly bound in cloth, 6s. Forming a Continuation of "Carne's Lives of Eminent Missionaries." 2 vols., price 12s.

Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh. Edited by his Son, Robert James Mackintosh, Esq. In 2 vols. 8vo, with Portraits.

HISTORY.

Life and Times of William III., King of England, and Stadtholder of Holland. By the Hon. Arthur Trevor, M.P. M.A., Christ Church, Oxford, &c. Vol. I. 8vo.

Illustrations of the History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Translated from the German of Frederick Von Raumer, by Lord Francis Egerton, M.P. In 2 vols. post 8vo, price 21s.

German Historical Anthology. By Adolphus Bernays, Ph. Dr. Fcap. 8vo, 7s. cloth lettered.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Specimens of the Table Talk of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Esq. In 2 vols. fcap. 8vo, with a Portrait, 15s.

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POETRY.

The Lyrical Poems of Dante, including the Vita Nuovo and Convito. Translated by Charles Lyell, Esq., of Kinnordy. With the Italian Text on the page opposite the Translation. Post 8vo, 12s.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Colonization of South Australia. By R. Torrens, Esq., F.R.S., Chairman of the Colonization Commission for South Australia. 8vo, 12s.

The Origin of Universities and Academical Degrees. By Henry Malden, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor of Greek in the University of London. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. cloth.

Statement of the Provision for the Poor, and the Condition of the Labouring Classes, in a considerable portion of America and Europe. By Nassau W. Senior, Esq. Being the Preface to the Foreign Communications contained in the Appendix to the Poor Law Report, 8vo.

THEOLOGY.

Ten Discourses on the Principal Events in the Life and Character of Moses. By the Rev. M. Anderson, M.A., late of St. John's, Cambridge, and Minister of East Dulwich Chapel, Camberwell. 12mo, 6s.

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Travels in Ethiopia, above the Second Cataract of the Nile; exhibiting the State of that Country and its various Inhabitants, under the Dominion of Mohammed Ali; and illustrating the Antiquities, Arts, and History of the Ancient Kingdom of Meroe. By G. A. Hoskins, Esq. With a Map, and 90 Illustrations, 2l. 12s. 6d. cloth.

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A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Syria, &c. By M. de Lamartine. In 3 vols. sm. 8vo. With a Portrait of the Author.

Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America, from April 1833 to October 1834. By E. S. Abdy, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. 3 vols. post 8vo, 30s.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For AUGUST, 1835.

Art. I.—1. *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America,* from April 1833, to October 1834. By E. S. Abdy, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. In three Volumes. large 12mo. pp. 1248. London, 1835.

2. *Penitentiaries* (*United States*). Report of William Crawford, Esq., on the Penitentiaries of the United States, addressed to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11 August, 1834. folio, pp. 229.

MR. ABDY left England for America, in company with Mr. Crawford, who had been sent out by our Government to inspect the prisons of the United States. His own attention was naturally directed to the subject of Prison Discipline, and he inspected all the principal Penitentiaries. On this account, we have placed together our Traveller's Journal and the Official Report of Mr. Crawford.

The most interesting light in which America can be viewed, is that of a grand experiment in political economy. The young Republic entered upon her career amid all the lights of the latter part of the eighteenth century; she has been left undisturbed by foreign danger or external pressure in organizing her institutions; she has neither been incumbered by the relics of feudalism, nor embarrassed with a redundant population; there has been a clear field for working out the plans of her legislators and philosophers: nothing, therefore, can be more deserving of attention than the results so far as hitherto developed. England has a peculiar interest in them, because the American Government is, with all its dissimilarity, the genuine production of British constitutional principles: it is, in fact, little more than a modification of the British Colonial system, with an Elective Governor General in-

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stead of one dependent upon the Crown of the old country. Were the West India Islands to unite in successful revolt, and, having joined in a federal compact, to elect a President and general Congress, there would be a repetition of the American Republic. The institutions of America are all our own, modified by circumstances, or pushed a little to the extreme. What is more, a large proportion of the existing population has been received direct from these Islands by constant emigration; and America is building prisons to receive English convicts and Irish paupers. To England also she owes her first steps in that career of national crime, which, if not speedily checked and retraced, will, as surely as there is a righteous Judge, "who executeth judgement for the oppressed," entail upon these haughty republicans a fearful retribution.

'The Americans,' says Capt. Basil Hall, 'are perpetually 'taunting England with having entailed slavery upon their coun-'try.' This is, after all, but the taunt of guilt to its tempter. England has repented of her sin, and, by a splendid sacrifice, has justified the sincerity of her wish to exterminate a system so abhorrent from the spirit of her laws and institutions. But the people of England have never been to any considerable extent a party to either the abominations of the slave-trade, or the toleration of slavery itself. The West India interest of this country, though strong in commercial wealth, and protected by the whole influence of the Crown, embraces but a small section of the community: and out of that sphere of sordid mercantile interest, the national feeling has been uncorrupt. The laws of this country never recognised slavery as the legal condition of a British subject, of whatever colour; and it required only an appeal to the laws to decide, (in the case of the negro Somerset, in 1772,) that the claim of property in man could not be substantiated upon the British soil. On touching the English shores, the negro is under the protection of the same laws as the native Englishman, and the slave becomes at once a free man. No subject of the British Crown can be dealed with as a criminal, till he has been adjudged to be such; and the law knows nothing of personal bondage, except as the punishment of crime. Thus there is a privilege attaching to the condition of a British subject, which does not belong to the native of the free republican States of America; and the beneficent fiction which makes the Crown, as the sovereign proprietor, the equal protector of all classes of its subjects, throws a lustre around the constitutional monarchy of these realms, that is wholly wanting to the jealous and tyrannical republicanism which condemns every coloured native to the degradation of a servile caste, and denies to a sixth of the population the common rights of humanity.

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'Among the twelve millions who make up our census,' an American writer does not blush to say, 'two millions are sepa-'rated from the possessors of the soil, by birth, by *the brand of* 'indelible ignominy, by prejudices mutual, deep, incurable. Be-'nevolence seems to overlook them. Patriotism forgets them. 'In every part of the United States, there is a broad and impass-'able line of demarcation between every man who has *one drop* 'of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the com-'munity. The bar, the pulpit, and our legislative halls are shut 'to them by the irresistible force of public sentiment. No talents, 'however great, no piety, however pure and devoted, no patriot-'ism, however ardent, can secure their admission. The Soodra 'is not further separated from the Brahmin, in regard to all his 'privileges, than the negro is from the white man, by the preju-'dices which result from the difference made between them by 'the God of nature.' * That is, from the difference in the colour of the skin, which, in the case of many a mulatto, approaches so near to the complexion of the American Brahmin as to be with difficulty discriminated. The licentiousness which is the fruit of slavery, and the hypocrisy of the plea set up for the treatment of the coloured freemen, are attested by the same living evidence. 'Talk of the barriers of nature,' exclaims Mr. Garrison with honest indignation, 'when the land swarms with living refutations 'of the statement!'

'Though I had heard much,' says Mr. Abdy, 'before I left 'England, about the aristocrasy of the skin, which so disgrace-'fully distinguishes the new from the old world †, I was not pre-'pared to find that America had borrowed from Asia her de-'grading system of castes, and that the western world was di-'vided into Brahmins and Pariahs.'

'That a people, not otherwise inferior to the rest of mankind, in justice, religion, or kind-heartedness, should condemn nearly one-fifth of their fellow-citizens, without pity, without remorse, and without a trial, to contempt and obloquy, for no reason but that of the strongest, and no crime but that of colour, is one of those anomalies which the history of every age and country—to the shame of human nature—exhibits; but which the history of no age and of no country exhibits in more preposterous contradiction to the spirit of the times, the advancement of intelligence, and the spread of Christianity. Alarmed at the increasing numbers of this insulted race, and foreseeing, with the instinctive acuteness of cruelty, in their advancing intelligence, a demand for social rights and the efforts of commercial competition, the

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* African Repository, *passim*. See Ecl. Rev. 3d Series, Vol. IX. pp. 147, 148.

† This is not true of the southern peninsula of the new continent.

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favoured majority were straining every nerve to drive them out of the country by contumelious treatment or deceptious promises.'

'In England, a sable complexion is a passport, almost every where, to kindness and liberality. In that part of America which claims kindred with her sons, it is viewed with aversion or repelled with scorn. The studied separation in the first periods of life;—the universal antipathy during all that succeed;—the rigorous exclusion from the courtesies and accomplishments of social life;—and, above all, the risk of losing caste attached to any deviation from what despotic custom has marked with her inexorable *tabu*;—form a barrier to a more liberal and humane intercourse, which none but the most generous or the most vile among the whites can break through.'

Vol. I. pp. 44, 5; 55.

Mr. Abdy, while evidently disposed to do ample justice to the Americans and their institutions, has spoken out as becomes an Englishman and a Christian, on the subject of this foul 'plague-'spot' on the national character. In his volumes, the naked truth is dispassionately, but fully and distinctly disclosed, in reference to the treatment of the coloured race, so as to leave no excuse for that mawkish candour which would throw a veil or a false colouring over conduct that outrages justice, religion, and humanity. The time is come, when it behooves British Christians to lift up their voice in loud and emphatic reprobation of the wickedness in which all religious denominations in the United States are more or less involved;—to make their voice heard across the Atlantic in the language of firm, uncompromising remonstrance. It is high time to bring the whole force of public sentiment in this country to bear upon the unjust and unchristian prejudice which steels the professed followers of Christ against the plainest dictates of his word; and to give the utmost support of our sympathy and encouragement to the noble band who, alive to their country's shame and danger, are striving to diffuse a better feeling through the American community.

More than two years ago, we made an effort to bespeak the attention of that portion of the public to whom our influence extends, to the *Claims of the Blacks**, as advocated by their heroic champion, William Lloyd Garrison, against the slave-holders and pseudo-philanthropists of the United States. Our eyes had then been but recently opened to the true character of the American Colonization Society, and of their jesuitical agent, Elliott Cresson. Those of our readers who, not being prepared for the startling revelation, then thought our strictures unduly severe, would now, we apprehend, deem that article sufficiently mild and forbearing. A reluctance to think so ill of our American brethren as to believe them chargeable with such enormity of injustice and so anti-christian a spirit, has led many estimable persons to maintain

* Eclectic Review, Feb. 1833.

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an obstinate scepticism or a criminal silence upon this subject. If these things are true, has been the cogitation of many, what must we think of all that has been told us of the progress of religion in America? Has, then, this last fair and promising experiment of social renovation completely failed? Are we to believe that all the spiteful invective and narrow-minded ridicule which have been poured forth against the free republicans of the western world, by high-church bigots and Tory partisans, find a justification in the real character of the Americans? By no means. These volumes, at the same time that they expose the guilt of the nation in this particular, bear ample testimony to their moral excellencies, and to the general efficiency of their political and religious institutions. Mr. Abdy's object is not to lower the Americans as a people in our esteem, but to fix our indignation upon that horrible flaw in the framework of their social system, which, if not repaired, threatens it with dissolution. No law of courtesy or kindness to either individuals or communities, requires that we should tamper with the immutable standard of right and wrong, or accommodate our notions of vice and virtue to the meridian of another country. The inveteracy and malignity of some crimes that have rooted themselves in society, and obtained conventional license, are rendered only more conspicuous by the social virtues with which those palpable obliquities are in many cases found associated. Religious persecution, perjury, political injustice, cruelty, irreligion, are crimes of this description, with which we may well connect man-stealing and man-selling, which the Mosaic law punished with death, and the law of Christ classes with murder and parricide.

We protest, then, against being required to soften down the charge which lies against the people of the United States, out of any regard to their claims, on other grounds, to our respect and cordiality; and we protest equally against any sweeping depreciation of American institutions, by way of unfair inference from these facts. It is our firm belief, that there is diffused over a considerable part of the United States, a larger measure of social happiness, in connexion with a higher average of social worth, than exists in almost any other country on the face of the globe; but we are at the same time compelled to admit, that the darker shades of human nature are discoverable there also; that antagonist principles are at work; and that more especially slavery, and the anti-social sentiments which spring from it, are working like a secret and potent venom through all the veins and arteries of the social system, and spreading to the vitals of the state.

We should be sorry, indeed, if it were otherwise. That slavery should, on any portion of God's earth, exist with impunity to the slave-holder, would be more deplorable than the most fearful catastrophe that could befal a people persisting in the

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crime. Nothing tends to shake a religious confidence in the moral government of the Supreme Proprietor, so much as even the temporary immunity of the oppressor, and the success of the fraudulent. We wish nothing but prosperity to the Americans; but we say deliberately, that if the low and narrow barrier which prevents their inland seas from rushing down into the valley of the Mississippi, and sweeping every thing living from the surface, were to give way before some physical convulsion, it would be less calamitous, in its remote consequences, to the moral interests of mankind, than would be the success of their present experiment upon the forbearance of Him who "hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth", and who regards all nations alike as his offspring.

The toleration, or rather the legalization of slavery in the United States, and the maintenance of the slave-trade in the very capital of the republic, by which the Americans are degraded to a level with the Algerines, with an aggravation of guilt derived from their Christian profession—this criminal perpetuation and extension of a traffic denounced by every civilized nation of Europe as piracy, and protested against by the heroic founders of American Independence,—this 'execrable commerce', which, in the emphatic words of that protest, 'wages war against 'human nature itself", and the execrable husbandry which is maintained by it,—are not, however, the most heinous features of the American policy. Where slavery has existed for any length of time, extenuating pleas may be urged on behalf of humane planters, who find themselves hereditarily involved in a condition of things which they do not approve, but cannot, as they think, remedy. Although we do not admit the validity of such pleas, yet, there is something to be said in defence of those who are doing all in their power to mitigate the rigours and evils of slavery; and the temporary prolongation of slavery on the part of both the proprietors and the state, may be to a certain extent involuntary. But, in the treatment of the free coloured population, or, as they are falsely called, Africans, there is oppression the more inexcusable, because the more wanton; cruelty the more malignant, because exercised without that shadow of right which springs from the relation between master and slave; and a more direct blasphemy against the work of our common Maker. The feelings with which an American of the northern States regards his black countryman, appear to be much the same as would be inspired by the belief that the coloured race had the Devil for their creator. And he hates him the more for being his countryman, and for being free; he hates him with a pride of caste, which more effectually bars all contact and all sympathy, than any mere difference of political condition. Slaves have, in various countries, been the domestic companions, the tutors, the adopted

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sons of their masters; but the antipathies of the imagination, which originate in the pride of blood or the pride of caste, are, because the most unreasonable, the most ungovernable and the most malignant.

This antipathy is said to be the effect of slavery. If so, the fruit is still more bitter than the root. It deserves remark, however, that it is strikingly analogous to social antipathies between hostile clans and arbitrary social gradations, which admit of no such explanation. But 'if, in one sense, it is the result of 'slavery', Mr. Abdy remarks, 'in another and much stronger sense it upholds it.'

'The Mahometans enslave the Christians, because they despise them; and the debasement to which they reduce them, confirms their contempt. When the people of the same nation, as the Africans, make slaves of one another, the latter are better treated, and no reason against their enfranchisement and elevation exists, in any disdain that is felt for their minds, or in any apprehension of an intermixture with their masters. . . . . *I feel convinced, that if there were no prejudice in the northern States, there could be no slavery in the southern, while their union continues.* Hence I observed, that the Indians, who had never, or very rarely, been treated as slaves, were suffering under the same sort of contempt as the blacks; and that, in those States where slavery had been abolished, the prejudice was so much more intense than where it still exists, that the planters themselves complain of it, when they bring their slaves with them to the north.'

'An incident that occurred some years back in Kentucky, shews how completely the very existence of American slavery depends upon the prejudice against color,—diverting the sense of justice, and the sympathy due to human suffering, from their natural channels. "A laudable indignation", says the Emporium of Louisville, "was universally manifested among our citizens, and even among our blacks, on Saturday last, by the exposure of a woman and two children for sale by public auction at the front of our principal tavern. This woman and children were as white as any of our citizens: indeed, we scarcely ever saw a child with a fairer or clearer complexion than the younger one. *That they were not slaves, we do not pretend to say;* but there was something so revolting to the feelings in the sight of this woman and children exposed to sale by their young master,—it excited such an association of ideas in the mind of every one,—*it brought to recollection so forcibly the morality of slave-holding States,*—that not a person was found to make an offer for them."' Vol. III. pp. 223, 4; 237.

No such squeamishness would have been felt, we presume, further south; but we can easily conceive that the sale of whites must excite unpleasant associations, which would have been still more unwelcome, had any coloured gentleman become the purchaser; as it might suggest the possibility of the tables being turned at some future period, and the free Moors of America

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buying and selling the pale-faced Yankees, as, in the old world, the white skins have been, from time immemorial, exposed to sale in the markets of Constantinople, Cairo, Algiers, and Bokhara. American associations, however, are very capricious; for those who repudiate slavery, have no objection, it seems, to share in the profits of the slave-trade. The following facts are highly curious.

'Rhode Island, while yet a colony, prohibited slavery so early as the middle of the 17th century. This fact was discovered among the records of the State, and communicated to the public through one of its journals, by the benevolent father of the abolitionists. The document is as follows.

'"At a general court, held at Warwick, the 18th of May, 1652. Whereas there is a common course practised among Englishmen to buy negroes to that end they may have them for service or slaves for ever: for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no black mankind, or white being, shall be forced by covenant, bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignees, longer than ten years, or until they come to be twenty-four years of age, if they be taken in under fourteen, from the time of their coming within the liberties of this colony;—at the end or term of ten years to set them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man, that will not let them go free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end they may be enslaved to others for a longer time, he or they shall forfeit to the colony forty pounds." Moses Brown gives the names of the members from whom this memorable enactment proceeded. It appears, from it, that whites as well as blacks were slaves, and distinguished from the "redemptioners." It was at that time, and long after, the policy of European governments to prohibit the emigration of mechanics and artisans. Labor was therefore extremely scarce in the new world; and its high price led to the enormity which the law thus attempted to prevent.

'Though Rhode Island was the first to abolish slavery, it was the last to give up the profits of the slave-trade, and still encourages the system by punishing, with a fine of 300 dollars and five or three years' imprisonment, any one who assists a slave to escape. The citizens of this State carried on the abominable traffic long after it had been declared illegal by the general government. About ten years ago, a vessel belonging to a Rhode-islander, was seized and condemned for having been engaged in the slave-trade. No buyer, however, could be found, when the sale took place among his fellow-citizens; till the confiscated goods were at last purchased by a Bostonian, who had come from Massachusetts for the express purpose. Such was the general indignation against this man for daring to brave public opinion, which had manifested itself so strongly in favor of the slave-trader, that he was seized by the people, who had assembled on the occasion, and his ears were cut off.' Vol. III., pp. 243—245.

A pretty specimen of mob law in New England. This disgraceful

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transaction, worthy of a band of buccaneers, was narrated to Mr. Abdy by Mr. Peter A. Jay, of New York, 'a man little inclined by sympathy with the blacks to exaggerate on the subject.' Thus it would seem that the very States which have abolished slavery, not only assist in upholding it by the force of the unjust prejudice which they foster against the coloured freemen, but even take a direct participation in the gains of the trade. Are we not warranted, then, in concluding, that policy has had more influence than humanity, in producing the abolition of slavery in those northern States, where slave-labour could not, from the nature of the soil and its productions, be turned to profitable account? Mr. Abdy justly remarks:—

'The colored man owes nothing to the Manumission Society or his country's legislature. His master's whip was more tolerable than the finger of scorn now pointed at him. An American citizen has as much right to social equality, as an American bondman to personal freedom. In denying the former, the North has lost what little merit there was in granting the latter.' Vol. III., pp. 245, 6.

How little of the merit of disinterestedness attached to this concession, may be gathered from the following account of the abolition of slavery in the State of New York.

'Apprenticeship was substituted for slavery in the year 1827, by an act which was passed by the legislature of the State of New York about ten years before; all above 27 years of age being declared free at that period, and all below to serve as apprentices till they arrived at the same time of life. No compensation was allowed to the owners; and no injury resulted to either party from this measure of justice. Though so many of these "scourges" were let loose upon the public, —(there were 10,000 in 1820,)—no throats were cut and no houses burnt down. Matters soon adjusted themselves to the new order of things; and the good effects arising from the natural stimulus thus applied to industry were visible in the improved condition of those who had been emancipated, and who may now be seen, in great numbers, in the streets of New York, and of other cities, as decently dressed and as well behaved as their skin-proud countrymen.

'The transition from slavery to freedom was simple and unimpeded; as the former had long been found to be unprofitable, and the latter was not retarded by bounties to its rival, or restrictions upon itself. Standing armies and stipendiary magistrates were not wanted to protect the few against the many, in the plunder they still retained, and provide employment for the friends of a distant government.

'So completely was the system extinct, that many masters were willing to give away their slaves, and advertisements in the newspapers announced their intention. That the abolition of slavery in New England was attended with little or no loss to the owners of that species of property, is well known. "Negro children," says Dr. Belknap, "were reckoned (in Massachusetts) an incumbrance in a family; and, when weaned, were given away like puppies. They have

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been publickly advertised in the newspapers to be given away." "In the country, the negroes lived as well as their masters, and often sat down at the same table, in the true style of republican equality."—Hist. Coll. IV. 200.

'There was little merit in relinquishing what it would have been bad policy to withhold; and no gratitude was due for a gift, which was clogged with conditions that robbed it of its justice, while it left it none of the graciousness of a favor.

'If to support and sanction by words and by actions those principles, on which alone the practices they have laid aside are founded, be criminal, the difference of guilt between the workers of iniquity and its abettors, is all that the citizens of the non-slave-holding States can claim.' Vol. I., pp. 359—361.

It may be worth while to search a little more closely into the cause of that intensity of prejudice which inflames the minds of an otherwise not unamiable or unjust people against an unoffending portion of the community, guilty only of a darker skin. Mr. Abdy says, that he found this prejudice stronger in the North than in the slave States, stronger in the clergy than among the laity, and in the women, than in the men. We are not surprised at this. There are obvious reasons why the pride of caste and of order should be stronger in the female sex and in the clerical class, who, in like manner among ourselves, are prone to cling to prescriptive usages that have gained the sanction of custom, and to side with those who are called conservatives. And it is natural, too, that this prejudice should be more sensitive where it has no support in the conscious possession of power,—where the broad distinctions between master and slave are absent. In fact, whatever cruelty and inhumanity in the treatment of their slaves may be chargeable upon the planters, no such antipathy is felt by them towards the sable race. The prejudice of colour is there proved to have no physical foundation. The lying pretence that Nature herself has drawn the line between the different races, and that an inherent feeling occasions a mutual repulsion, is refuted by the mixed blood and gradations of colour which are seen wherever slavery exists. The alleged physical antipathy between the white and black races, is not strong enough to become the slightest check upon immorality. Nay, its existence is disproved by the laws which it has been deemed necessary to pass in several of the States, in order to prevent intermarriages.

'The 7th section of an act (of the Massachusetts legislature) passed June 22, 1786, enacts, "that no person authorized by that act to marry, shall join in marriage any white person with any negro, Indian, or mulatto, on penalty of the sum of 50*l.*, (about 38*l.* sterling,) two third parts thereof to the use of the county wherein such offence shall be committed, and the residue to the prosecutor, to be recovered by the treasurer of the same county, &c.; and all such marriages shall

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be absolutely null and void." It is not many years ago, that the penalty for this enormous offence was enforced; and a clergyman was fined for lending the sanction of religion to a union which, without it, would have incurred neither punishment nor censure.

'The Mayor of Boston, (H. G. Otis,) writing, in 1831, to an eminent counsellor of the State of South Carolina, said: "The number of free people of color among us has not yet become inconvenient. They are, as yet, a quiet, inoffensive, and in many respects, a useful race. Many of them are worthy and well-principled persons. . . . . But it is not to be disguised, that a repugnance to intimate social relations with them is insurmountable. Our laws forbid the intermarriage of whites with people of color; and every consideration recommends our endeavouring to prevent a disturbance of the mutual understanding which regulates our intercourse." Thus it appears that it is neither "lawful" nor "expedient," in the land of the pilgrim fathers, for a white to marry a quiet, inoffensive, useful, worthy, and well-principled person. By the revised statutes of Illinois, (1829,) whites marrying negroes *or mulattoes*, are to be whipped, fined, and imprisoned; and the marriage to be, *ipso facto*, null and void.'

Vol. I., pp. 160—162.

A similar statutory provision exists in Virginia and North Carolina. Can any contradiction be more palpable than that which these very laws oppose to the assertion, that an insurmountable repugnance exists to such intermarriages? In some of the slave States, it has been found necessary to prevent these forbidden unions by the most barbarous punishments,—public whipping, the pillory, and death. Not long ago, a remarkably handsome quadroon (a shade between mulatto and white) was hanged for the love borne to him by his fair Desdemona, who, in this instance, 'ran from her guardage to' no 'sooty bosom.' Marriage, as a bar to the infliction of these penalties, is 'out of the 'question.'

It may be presumed, that the States in which these severe enactments have been had recourse to, to supply the absence of the imaginary barriers which Nature is blasphemously represented as having interposed, would be the States in which intermarriages or illicit intercourse would otherwise be most prevalent. Illinois and Indiana were originally peopled, to a considerable extent, by French emigrants from Canada, who intermarried with the Indian tribes at that time occupying the northern part of those States. More than half the Cherokee nation, and a large part of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and other Floridian tribes, are what are termed *half-breeds*, their complexion and handsome appearance testifying the mixture of European blood. The Creek Indians allowed no white person to settle in their nation, except as their partners in traffic, as *husbands of Indian women*, or in some way or other closely connected with themselves. Some of the most respectable families in Virginia are descended

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from an Indian princess, Pocahontas, whose attachment to a respectable young planter of the name of Rolfe, forms one of the most romantic and touching incidents of American history. Having, by her interposition, saved his life, she became his wife, and returned with him to England, where she was presented at court. Yet, in this same country, intermarriage with an Indian is now a crime by statute law, and visited with the severest penalties.

Vermont, however, appears to form an exception to the States, such marriages being permitted by its legislature; and we cannot suppress the following anecdote, which is introduced with the observation, that one might have expected the Irish, who have quitted their native country to escape from persecution, would have felt some sympathy for the victims of an anti-social prejudice. The reverse is the case.

'Nearly all of them, who have resided there any length of time, are more bitter and severe against the blacks, than the native whites themselves. It seems as if the disease were more virulent when taken by inoculation than in the natural way. One of these unworthy countrymen of O'Connell was travelling, on horseback, in Vermont, when he requested a woman, who was standing at the door of a house, to send some one to take care of his horse. She told him, she would send her husband. In a few minutes, a black man came out, to the great astonishment of the stranger. "Pray," said he to the wife, "has your family met with any misfortune, that you should so far disgrace it as to make such a degrading alliance?" "Yes," was her reply. "My poor sister met with a misfortune that brought irreparable disgrace upon us:—she married an Irishman."' Vol. I., pp. 159, 160.

Lord Byron, when pleading for Catholic Emancipation, facetiously remarked, that, had the Irish been born black, they would have stood a better chance of gaining their rights, by becoming objects of humane sympathy. The sarcasm implied no dishonour to English philanthropy. In America, however, the Irish, if born black, would but have been excluded from that hospitality which opens the Atlantic ports, and proffers the rights of citizenship, to the refuse of all European nations,—to the fugitive debtor, the pauper, and the convict; making an exception only in the case of those whose complexions betray a mixture of African blood.

An attempt has sometimes been made to palliate the shameful injustice of the laws towards the free coloured population, by representing them as an immoral and degraded race; a representation which derives some plausibility from the disproportionate numbers of them which are found in the prisons and penitentiaries. The proportion of free blacks among the convicts in Connecticut, Mr. Abdy states to be about 20 or 25 per cent., while they form but 3 per cent. upon the whole population of the

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State. This difference, he remarks, may be accounted for by the greater degree of temptation to which they are exposed, their virtual exclusion from many employments, their defective education, and the few inducements which are held out to them to honourable industry and good conduct.

'There is not, I believe, one trade in New York, in which its colored inhabitants are allowed to work with the whites. There are nearly 20,000 of them in the city, and more than twice that number in the State. It will hence be seen at once, how closely the self-interest of the mechanics and other journeymen is connected with the continuance of a prejudice which thus shuts the door against so many competitors. All classes would gladly get rid of them, if they could; for the same feeling prevails everywhere, though it may vary in degree with that exhibited by the Kentuckians, when they formed their State Colonization Society in 1827, because, as they stated, the scheme of the parent Association was calculated "to relieve the citizens of that commonwealth from the serious inconveniences resulting from the existence among them of a rapidly increasing number of *free* persons of color, who are not subject to the restraints of slavery." It is seldom that a pleonasm is so full of meaning.' Vol. I., pp. 358, 9.

This, however, is not the only explanation that can be given of the apparent disproportion of delinquency among the depressed caste. Mr. Abdy has adduced a striking testimony from the African Repository, to the inequality of the laws by which that disproportion is mainly produced. It is of the more value as it proceeds from the Rev. J. Breckenridge, of Baltimore, who, by his speeches and exertions in aid of the Colonization Society, has long been doing his utmost to drive them out of the country.

'"It is true," he says, "that the proportion of convictions of free persons of color is greater than that of white people. But this is to be taken with great allowance, as evidence of criminality. For their temptations are, usually, manifold greater and more pressing; their offences are more narrowly looked after; and therefore a greater proportion are detected, and of those detected a greater proportion are convicted, by reason of their possessing less public sympathy, smaller opportunities of escaping, and less means of blinding, seducing, or bribing justice. In addition to all this, the very code of offences in the slave-states is more stern as to them than to the whites; and the very principles of evidence are altered by statute so as to bear most rigorously against them. Or, if we contrast them with the slaves, we have no means of forming a judgement; for the very nature of offences and punishments is different in the different classes. We have known a slave hanged for what a white man would hardly have been prosecuted for; and we have known free blacks put into the penitentiary for several years, on evidence that was illegal by statute against a white man; and for offences, for which a gentle-tempered master would have rebuked his slave, and a hot-tempered one have caned him. We admit the general corruption of free blacks; but we deny that it is greater than that

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of the slaves; and we affirm that it is judged of by false methods, and is in a high degree exaggerated. We once thought differently; but we have seen reason to change our opinion."

'To the other causes here alluded to, should be added the suspicion, which, when any crime that excites general attention has been committed, attaches itself, through public opinion, to those whom public opinion has already condemned to vice and ignominy; and the strong inducement in white criminals to shelter themselves by false accusations, or cunning inveiglement, of these helpless and friendless people. There was, at the very time we were there, an old black in this penitentiary, nearly a hundred years of age. He had been confined within its walls a long time, under a charge, which was supported, as was well known in the prison, by evidence of a nature anything but conclusive of his guilt. There seemed, indeed, to be little or no doubt of his innocence.' Vol. I., pp. 94—96.

And this in the free republic of the United States of America! Thus are the rights of man respected by the idolaters of liberty!

If, then, neither the existence of negro slavery in the southern States, nor any physical antipathy between the colours, nor the inferior moral condition of the free blacks, presents an adequate explanation of the intense prejudice and contempt manifested by American whites towards these sable Pariahs, to what cause must it be ascribed? Dr. Channing, in conversation with our Author on the subject, asserted, that 'the feeling which induced the 'white man to reject his coloured brother from his table, was the 'same with that which excluded the servant from the master's so-'ciety; and that the prejudice which the feudal lord entertained 'against his serf, was analogous to the antipathy' which, in America, imposes a separation at meals between the two races. Mr. Abdy replied, that the distinction which he spoke of was that of colour, not of rank. The qualification for admittance to equality might be obtained by the domestic, or by his descendants, but is absolutely out of the reach of the Africo-American. As for the serf, he has none of those political rights which the free black possesses; he is not excluded from social intercourse with free men of the same class; he is not marked out as an object of insult and contempt; he is not treated as an outcast, a Pariah. All this is true; and yet, Dr. Channing was not far wrong in classing the antipathy in question with those which arise out of the imaginary distinctions of rank;—not of mere relative position, as master and servant, but of hereditary rank and pride of birth. 'Would you', said Dr. Becher, of Cincinnati, to Mr. Abdy, 'have us sully the pure blood we have received from 'our English ancestors, by such alliances as a closer intimacy 'with the other race would produce?' This is the true explanation of the prejudice; and that which comes the nearest to it among ourselves, is the pride of blood in our nobility, which re-

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sents as insufferable degradation, any admixture with that which runs in plebeian veins. Nowhere is there a broader gulf between the hereditary aristocrasy and the middle classes, than in England. Nowhere is the distinction of rank and wealth more strongly defined. But the pride of wealth, so natural in a commercial country, does not isolate the rich man from his fellows so completely as does the pride of birth, which passes for honour and virtue among those of the *order*. With the general body of his countrymen, the titled noble has little sympathy or sense of common interest: if they were actually of a different race,—as he is apt to imagine them to be,—it could scarcely add to the essential haughtiness of his feelings towards them. But, happily, our laws make no distinction between the aristocrasy and the other classes; and the substantial power is in the hands of the people, who are consequently not affected by the unsocial arrogance and ideal dignity of the pageant caste.

Now, if the coloured race in the United States formed the bulk of the community, including the whole commercial class, and having a preponderance in the State Legislatures and Federal Congress,—if the white aristocrasy were confined to the exclusive circle of a red book,—the antipathies of these Christian Brahmins against the inferior castes might be laughed to scorn by the sable commoners. But when the despised caste are a small minority destitute of political power, (as was the case with the Jews of Europe in the middle ages, or with the Moors of the Peninsula,) their condition is as helpless as it is intolerable. It is, in fact, admitted by American authorities, that the free blacks among them have 'nothing of freedom but the name.' The insolence of oppression is probably most acutely felt by those of mixed blood; yet, those of darker skin writhe under it. 'Some years ago,' says Mr. Abdy, 'one of those whom this pride of blood delights to 'mortify and insult, was living at Hartford, possessed of a hand-'some competency, and respected as far as his external appear-'ance would admit. This man was frequently heard to say, in 'the most solemn and emphatic manner, that he *would joyfully* '*submit to be flayed alive, if he could rise from the operation* '*with a white skin*.' The very same expression was used by a black woman, who lived as a servant with the person from whom our Author had this anecdote. Though treated with great kindness in the family, 'she felt she was a Pariah, and could not be 'happy.'

Absolute as is now the white ascendancy in the United States, the severity of the recent laws against the coloured population, and the African colonization scheme itself, indicate a growing uneasiness as to the operation of causes which threaten its permanence; and the extreme virulence of the prejudice is, no doubt, in part to be accounted for, as aggravated by apprehensions with

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regard to the future. In two ways, this ascendancy may be endangered; by the multiplication of the African race, and by the amalgamation of the races. In the South, the growing numbers of the slave population form the only subject of jealousy. In the North, the mixture of the races is most pathetically deprecated. 'In Maryland and North Carolina, the black population increases more than twice as fast as the white; and in Virginia, 'more than one-third faster.' More than thirty years ago, the Rev. David Rice said, in a speech delivered at Danville in Kentucky: 'It may be proved with mathematical certainty, that if 'things go on in the present channel, the future inhabitants of 'America will inevitably be *mulattoes*.' Now it is this idea which is so utterly intolerable to the white of the northern states, that his blood boils at the thought.

'It is,' says Mr. Abdy, 'in the highest degree ludicrous to witness the anxious interest expressed by the present generation of whites for the condition and complexion of their distant descendants. They deprecate amalgamation as something abhorrent to nature; an unheard of and an unutterable monster:—as if the realization of their fears would not be the surest evidence of their absurdity; or as if they did not know that the half-castes and quadroons, and the diluted subdivisions of the intermixture in the South, are almost, if not quite as numerous as the pure blacks. If the two races intermarry, there can be no natural repugnance between them. If there be a natural repugnance they cannot intermarry.

'Another cause of uneasiness to these timid "children of a larger growth," arises from the dread they entertain that the species will be deteriorated by "crossing the breed;" though every one knows, who is capable of comparing forms and figures, that the finest specimens of beauty and symmetry are to be found among those whose veins are filled with mixed blood.' Vol. I., pp. 352, 3.

'As one proof, among thousands I could adduce, of the extent to which this vile feeling is carried, I may mention what I witnessed at Nahant. I had said, in the hearing of several persons, that a time would come when all colors would be blended in one by an intermixture of the different races, and the human species exhibit, at its termination, as at its commencement, but one complexion. "If things continue in this country," I added, "as they are now, the blacks will out-number the whites: and they must associate together, or the latter will be driven out." "If I thought your prediction would ever be verified," exclaimed a man who called himself an Englishman, "I would rather see my children, dearly as I love them, perish before my eyes, than bear the idea that their posterity, however remote, should one day sit down to table with a colored man"; a very silly as well as a very malignant speech by the by; for he who uttered it was, by anticipation, condemning his descendants for the very thing he was doing himself—acting in conformity with public opinion.' Ib., p. 182.

The Normans of other days felt thus, perhaps, with regard to

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our Saxon progenitors. It was a feeling worthy of those proud barbarians. But that, in this age of philosophy, in a country which boasts of its emancipation from the prejudices of the Old World, under a government which proclaims as its fundamental principle, the political equality of all its citizens, those citizens being gathered from all the nations of Europe,—so senseless an antipathy as this should be cherished and gloried in, is, at first view, surprising and unaccountable. But let us look a little more closely into the matter, and we shall discover, perhaps, in the political condition of the Americans, one reason of the strength of this aristocratic prejudice.

Every one who has visited the Transatlantic States has been struck with one prominent feature of the American character; to wit, the extreme and morbid sensitiveness of the cultivated classes to the opinions of foreigners respecting themselves and their institutions. The excessive national vanity which leads them to esteem themselves the first people in the world, the freest, bravest, most enlightened of nations, is accompanied with a feverish solicitude to be so thought of by the European public. Their republican dignity is, to use a significant expression, exceedingly thin-skinned. Their writers, while full of bluster, may be found bitterly complaining, not without reason, of the treatment which their country has met with from Tory Reviewers and other party journalists, as well as from gossiping travellers, male and female, of the Trollope school. While safely defying the power of Britain, they cannot withdraw themselves from the moral control of English opinion. But it must be remarked, that this sensibility to foreign opinion, discovers itself much less in reference to moral characteristics, than in matters of taste, fashion, manners, and pretence. Mr. Abdy makes too unqualified an assertion, we suspect, when he affirms, that much more regard is paid, in the United States, to dress and external appearance, than with us. It may be so at New York, but surely it cannot be general. 'This proceeds,' he goes on to say, 'from the same 'source as the love of money. Where no distinction is attached 'to rank or birth, it is natural that other outward and visible 'signs should supply their places, and be proportionably valued.

'I was often reminded that allowance should be made for a new country that has not yet acquired the graces and elegances of older communities; but never did I hear any thing like regret expressed, (except by the abolitionists, who are stigmatised as unworthy citizens for lamenting it,) that European morality was not as much aimed at as European fashions. It was amusing to see the same persons tremblingly alive to any imputation of wanting that nice polish which is supposed to distinguish the best society in England, yet totally insensible to the charge of as vile a narrow-mindedness as ever disgraced

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the lowest. The "Patricians" will readily listen to you when you describe the usages of our fashionables; but, if you state that a man's complexion is no bar to admittance anywhere, your remark is received with a sneer of indifference or a smile of scornful incredulity. To be quizzed and caricatured for vulgarity is intolerable to the same people, who seem not to know, or not to care, that you despise them for their prejudices. Hint to them that they eat pease with a knife, and they are highly enraged: tell them that their conduct to the "niggers" is inhuman and unmanly, and they laugh in your face. They look to Europe for "mint and cummin," and leave her "the weightier matters of the law." Purity of language is more valued than generosity of sentiment or nobleness of behavior. To speak with more grammatical accuracy than an Englishman, is matter of general boasting; but to be his inferior in the kind and benevolent feelings he exhibits to every member of the human family, neither excites reflection nor inspires shame.' Vol. I., pp. 76, 77.

Another remarkable circumstance is, that the Americans discover much greater solicitude to stand well with the polite world of Europe, than with the more liberal and religious portion of the great community. It has been asserted by a Colonial journalist, that all the whites of Jamaica are Tories. Of course they are; and so are the slave-holders of Carolina and Georgia, for the same reason. Whigs and Anti-Slavery reformers would be viewed in much the same light by the white aristocracy of the West India Islands, and of the *ci-devant* Colonies of the Continent. But this is not the sole reason of the marked preference shewn by the citizens even of the northern States for English Toryism, and the little sympathy manifested with the cause of civil and religious freedom in this country. It arises from a notion of the *gentility* of Conservatism, and from the wish of the wealthy *parvenu* of the New World, known under the name of Brother Jonathan, to ally himself to all that is patrician, while he affects to despise the titles and pomp of his elder relative. This Conservative taste, which so strongly and ludicrously contrasts itself with republican institutions, is conspicuous in the writings of Washington Irving. Let no English Radical expect a cordial reception from American republicans; unless it be those of the back woods*. He will be viewed at best in the light of a vulgar rela-

* M. de Beaumont, a recent French Traveller in the United States, was struck with the apparent inconsistency in these republicans, of their passion for titles of nobility. 'Whether you shall be received with enthusiasm in America, very well, decently well, or coldly, depends,' he says, 'on whether you are duke, marquis, count, or nothing.' Heraldic insignia are much affected; and they are fond of blazoning them on the panels of their carriages.

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tion. The Americans, while affecting to despise rank, are particularly alive to niceties of caste; and a high-caste Englishman is sure of a respectful homage.

Every white American considers himself of course as ranking with Englishmen of the highest caste; and he prides himself upon his white skin and his correct pronunciation, as the testimonials of his nobility. Hence his horror at the idea of any mixture of blood that might deteriorate his title. In proportion as ranks are confounded in society, the pride of caste is called into action, and imaginary barriers are thrown up in place of the more palpable gradations*. In America, the only visible scale is that

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* In support of these remarks, we cannot refrain from adducing the following paragraphs from Mr. Charles Lushington's admirable Guide Book to the Continental Tourist, (it aspires to no higher character,) entitled "Dates and Distances"; a volume distinguished by what are not often combined, sound sense and vivacity. 'People in Germany', he says, 'are content to enjoy an indulgence as a concession, and deem it no humiliation to be obliged to their superiors. Indeed, these obligations are conferred so much as a matter of course, that they are hardly perceived to be such. It is their habits, combined with the more even dissemination of riches, which create so much harmony among all ranks of society on the Continent, especially in Germany, and render the inferior classes so attached to those above them. The few who have immense wealth contrive to conciliate the great body of the people, by making them partakers of their luxuries, by opening to them their parks, gardens, and palaces, and by giving public fêtes and entertainments.

'Descending a little lower, official men, military officers, and rich citizens, do not disdain to sit down with a respectable artisan at the table d'hôte, at which the treatment is equal, the conversation general, and reciprocal courtesy prevails. In the country, too, the substantial proprietor travels about (especially on Sundays) with his family to dine at some inn-ordinary, where he is sure to meet with a numerous company, and where the distinction of ranks and wealth is forgotten in the levelling enjoyment of sociality. On all these occasions, moreover, females take their part, without their titles, except those of respectability, being rigidly scrutinized; so that a commandant, or the wearer of an order, does not decline to offer civilities to a bourgeoise, tendered, too, not in the *de haut en bas* manner in which an Englishman would address a tradesman's wife, but in that language of deference which they consider due to the sex in general, and which the sex know full well how to appreciate. The consequence is, that their influence is added to the disposition entertained by their husbands, fathers, and brothers, to maintain a liberal and friendly connexion with those who, excelling them in rank and wealth, do not mortify them by neglect, or the more humiliating display of ostentatious condescension. Hence, as far as I could observe and collect during rapid progress

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of colour, and every white is an hidalgo; but the true value of the white blood is, that it is felt to be a link to the European family. Every American, conscious that he can derive no rank from the social institutions of his own country, seeks to indemnify himself in the ideal dignity which belongs to the purity of caste, the aristocracy of breed, and the prerogatives of citizenship. The American has a quarrel against the titles, and feudal distinctions, and regal pomp of the Old World, but he is not the less disposed to pay a due attention to those who are distinguished by these outward signs of rank. He knows the value of the coin, though he dislikes the image and superscription. The pride of his republicanism is as exclusive as that of an old noblesse. 'It makes 'my blood boil in my veins', said one of these self-created nobles in a transport of fury against what he deemed an infringement of man's dignity,—'to see *a white man* standing behind a chair'.

The dread with which they view any amalgamation of the races, is not a little heightened by the apprehension of the effect it would have in lowering their national dignity in the eyes of the people of the old country. The following curious passage occurs in the American Quarterly Review for 1827.

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through Germany, no hostility on the part of the poor, no jealousy on the side of the middling classes was borne towards the opulent. Even in Austria, one of the last remaining refuges of arbitrary power, general harmony seemed to prevail among the different grades of society. Whether the same good-will existed in relation to the government, is another question.

'If we examine the causes of the recent discontents in several states of Germany, it will be found that they have originated in the abuses and oppressions of the Government, not in dissatisfaction on the part of the people at the unequal distribution of property. The poor man complains of unjust monopolies, of the weight of imposts, or of mal-administration, not of the insolence of the aristocrats.

'Now, in England, there is no concatenation of society: a great gulf exists between the aristocracy and the middling and lower classes. The needy man is hourly exasperated by the display of enormous luxury, while he is in destitution, in which he has been taught to suppose, however erroneously, the rich feel no sympathy; and those somewhat higher in society are disgusted to find themselves slighted, because they are humble, and, unless endowed with pre-eminent talents, wholly excluded from the company of their superiors. It is really singular to reflect that, in free England, the distinction of rank and wealth is perhaps more strongly defined than in any other part of Europe, excepting Russia; and though there may be in some countries a greater glitter of uniforms, orders, and medals, yet, in essential haughtiness, in the despotism of riches, and in the abrupt demarcation of society, England is conspicuous and unrivalled.'

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' " The chief part of our countrymen conscientiously believe, that a mixture of the two races would deteriorate both our physical and intellectual character. Of this hypothesis we give no opinion. It, however, does not want arguments both of reason and authority to support it. But, whether it be true or false, so long as it prevails among our citizens, they will view with aversion and dread what must subject all of their country and race to a lasting physical debasement. Nor can they be expected to be indifferent *to the future jeers and scoffs of the unmixed European race* on either side of the Atlantic; who, with the ever ready disposition of mankind to claim a merit for any peculiarity of their own, would twit them with the ignominy of their descent."'
Vol. I. p. 175.

It is this very disposition in the American white, as displayed in his conduct towards the ignominious colour, which inspires a dread of being exposed to retaliation. ' But what a dilemma', remarks Mr. Abdy, ' for a great nation! To tremble at the idea ' both of insurrection and of amalgamation, and to shrink equally ' from the resentment and from the love of the African race!'

In the preceding observations, we have endeavoured to analyse and account for the antipathy avowed by the Anglo-Americans towards their coloured countrymen. We must now offer a few considerations upon the inexcusableness and essential criminality of this prejudice, and upon its injurious and disorganizing tendencies.

In the first place, it pours contempt upon the fundamental principle of the American constitution. In the Declaration of Independence, the founders of the Federal Republic say: ' We ' hold these truths to be self evident; that *all men are created* ' *equal;* that they are endowed by their Creator with certain un- ' alienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the ' pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments ' are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the ' consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of govern- ' ment becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the ' people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, ' laying its foundation on such principles.' Now these propositions are either absolutely and universally true, or they are mere rhodomontade and words without meaning. Assuming their truth, the natural equality of all men, in respect to their unalienable rights, if an argument of any force in claiming political liberty, must *à fortiori* apply to the claim of every man to personal liberty. Every American slave-holder, then, by practically denying that claim, gives the lie to the ' self-evident truth' which lies at the basis of the entire political structure of the Federal Republic. Either he must deny the negro to be a man, or he must admit his equal and unalienable right to life and liberty. The proposition, that all white men are equal, would be more conso-

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nant with the sentiments of modern Americans; but, fortunately, this could not be established by any process of demonstration that should not involve the equality of blacks and whites. Besides, we know the sentiments of those who framed this Declaration, and who charged the King of Great Britain with 'waging war against 'human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and 'liberty in the persons of those who have never offended him', by 'keeping open a market where men may be bought and sold.' The King of Great Britain never authorized a *white* slave-trade. These '*men*', in whose persons the most sacred rights of human nature were violated, were African slaves; and this is the language of Jefferson, the second President of the United States*. Every American slave-holder persists in that crime and execrable wrong which the King of this country was arraigned as a tyrant, by the founders of the Republic, for permitting to exist. Such conduct, then, is a double crime upon the American soil. It seems to reproach the authors of that memorable Declaration with the most disgusting hypocrisy; or, if they were sincere, (which cannot be doubted,) it imparts a deeper dye to the villany of American piracy as practised by the present race.

But the coloured Americans are not merely created equal as men: they are politically equal, by the constitution, as citizens. Their claim to be considered as citizens has, indeed, of late, been called in question. A 'Mr. Justice Daggett', a zealous colonizationist, we learn from the present volumes, (Vol. I., p. 208,) has had the effrontery to maintain, that the coloured freemen are not citizens; quoting, in support of his *dictum*, the opinion of Chancellor Kent, one of the greatest lawyers that America has to boast of. The passage cited from his Commentaries, however, merely recounts the fact, that, *in most of the States*, 'there is a distinc-'tion, in respect to political privileges, between free white per-'sons, and free coloured persons of African blood'; that in no 'part of the country do the latter participate, equally with the 'whites, in the exercise of civil and political rights'; that they 'are essentially a degraded caste'; and that intermarriages between them and whites are forbidden in some of the States, and, when not contrary to law, 'are regarded as an offence against de-'corum'. Now all this goes to prove simply, that a distinction of caste exists in fact among those who are alike free, and therefore alike citizens. Distinctions of caste exist among whites; and an unequal participation in the exercise of civil and political rights

* The paragraph containing these expressions was in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, but was struck out by the committee, probably either as too strong in expression, or as too weak a reason.

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must exist wherever there are privileged orders. What would be thought of the sanity of a person who should found upon such 'distinctions in respect of political privileges', a doubt whether the commonalty of this country possessed the rights of citizenship?

Mr. Abdy, however, has cited from the same authority other passages which clearly recognize this character of citizens in the coloured freemen. In one place, the American Blackstone says: 'The general qualification of electors of the assembly, &c., are, 'that they be of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, and 'free resident citizens.... In *some* of the States, they are re-'quired to possess property, and to be *white* as well as *free* citi-'zens.' What can be clearer, than that, in all but the excepted States, colour is not a requisite qualification; and that there are free black citizens? But, as this is a point of no small importance, we shall make room for the additional evidence which Mr. Abdy has adduced as to the existing state of the law.

'By the first section of the second article of the constitution of New York State, "No man of color, *unless* he shall have been for three years a *citizen* of this State (New York), and for one year next preceding any election, shall be seised and possessed of a freehold estate of the value of 250 dollars, over and above all incumbrances, charged thereon, and shall have been actually rated and paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote at any such election;"—(*i. e.* for representatives.)

'This is a question of the utmost importance: for as none but citizens can hold land in most of the States, or vote for members of Congress, not only would the titles of estates purchased of blacks by many whites be shaken; but the whole frame of government, with all its obligations, internal and external, and all its statutes, made by legislators to whose election blacks have contributed, might be endangered, if it were decided by the highest authority of the land, that no one of African descent can be a citizen of the United States.

'A few observations more upon this point may be pardoned. In the different Acts of Congress, which have been passed to establish rules of naturalization, "any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States." Then follow the conditions and qualifications. Now, if, as the Judsonians maintain, a colored person can never be a citizen, why was the epithet "white" employed on the occasion? Had no blacks been admitted to citizenship at home, Congress would not have thought of excluding them from it when aliens. Exclusion by legislative enactment implies the absence of previous disqualification by the constitution. In most of the States, the word "white" is used in fixing the qualification for voters, with the express object of excluding colored persons who would otherwise have been entitled to the franchise.

'A free mulatto convicted of a crime, which, by a law passed in 1823, subjected him to be sold, was purchased and taken from Virginia to Tennessee; the Circuit Court of which, on his petition, decided in favor of his freedom, on the ground that the statute under which he

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had been condemned was contrary both to the Bill of Rights of Virginia, and to that clause in the constitution of the United States which prohibits bills of attainder. Considering the origin and object of this instrument, the protection thus afforded must have been given to him as a citizen.

'The Secretary of State is empowered by an act of Congress, to grant passports to American citizens, visiting foreign countries. Mr. Purvis, son-in-law of James Forten, a man highly respected, in spite of his African blood, at Philadelphia, received one not long ago on application. As it described him as a person of color, another passport, through the kindness of Mr. Roberts Vaux, was procured for him in the usual form. Here is a recognition from the highest authority to every foreign nation, that a colored man is a citizen of the United States. It may appear tedious to dwell so much on this point; but what must be the state of feeling in any country, when a judge, who depends upon it for his bread, can risk his professional reputation in asserting what any stranger, who happens to be travelling through it, can see at once to be as unfounded in principle as it is iniquitous in its motive and object?' Vol. I. pp. 211—213.

Were the present law otherwise, it would only shew to how great an extent the common law of England, which is the common law of America, has been overruled and nullified, in defiance of the first principles of the Federal Constitution, by the State legislatures. To some of the iniquities of State legislation we shall have occasion to advert by and by. These petty irresponsible sovereignties, combining all the vulgarity and violence of democracy with the tyranny of oligarchy, are, in many of the States, on a level, in point of every quality that ought *not* to characterize a legislature, with a Jamaica House of Assembly. We speak of the southern and western States, the laws of which, as they bear upon the coloured population, and upon all who would befriend their cause, rival in atrocious despotism the edicts of any of the old monarchies. Russia or Austria is a land of liberty, compared with Georgia or Louisiana. In the slave-holding States of the American Union, the liberty of the press has no existence; the education of free persons of colour is a crime; and as to the 'black laws,' they are an outrage upon humanity*. In Virginia, (where the slaves are better treated than in the more southern States, for the plain reason, that they are bred in this State for the southern market,) there are but two capital crimes (murder and arson) for the whites; while the punishment of death is affixed to more than *seventy* offences of which slaves may be convicted! 'It would be an endless and disgusting task,' Mr Abdy remarks, 'to enumerate the abominations of the slave 'penal code, as it prevails in all its varieties throughout the

* See Eclectic Review, Vol. IX., 3d Series, pp. 153, 251, 255.

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'Southern States; the cruelty of the enactment being in a direct 'ratio with the difficulty of finding a substitute for the Penitentiary, and with the conscience-stricken cowardice of an unprincipled legislature.' (Vol. II. p. 268.)

It is this double legislation of distinct legislatures, each a sovereignty within a sovereignty, which throws so much complication and obscurity over the whole subject of American jurisprudence and political economy; reducing the constitution to a riddle, and making it a mask for proceedings in direct contravention of its spirit. It is, we have seen, the fundamental law of the United States, 'that all men are created equal;' that, in virtue of that equality, all are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Splendid theory! But in what part of the States shall we find it realized in practice? The common law of America is excellent*: the statute law, every where variable, is in many States execrable. The Federal Government is respectable, and makes itself respected by other governments. The State governments, which neither court nor command respect out of their provincial jurisdiction, limited in their views to the narrow circle of sectional interests, and sheltered by their obscurity from the direct influence of public opinion, which keeps in some check even the despotic powers of Europe by a sort of international police,—form, it must be remembered, the actual domestic government of the American States, by which the freedom and security to be enjoyed by the inhabitants are defined and limited. These State governments have little in common, except in their machinery: in character, in the whole spirit of their legislation, they differ widely, and are, in some cases, even mutually hostile. What is law in one State, is not law in another; and the Yankee, whom the laws of New England restrain from piracy, on removing to the

* That is, so far as the common law of England is recognized; but the following language has been held in Congress, in the course of a long and memorable discussion about eight years ago, on the meaning of the word person. 'Mr. Gurley said:—"Gentlemen say, a master cannot kill his slave, as he can his ox. This depends entirely upon the laws of the State in which he lives; and in no case can be urged against the right of property. Gentlemen should not forget, that the civil law, somewhat modified by statute, is the common law of Louisiana; and that, by the law of Rome, the master had absolute dominion over his slave, as he had over his child." "Slavery," exclaimed Mr. Mercer, "is as much a part of the constitution as the great right of representation; for, though the word 'slave' is not used in that instrument, the condition is admitted. It is clothed with rights, and protected; and the laws of Congress, and the decisions of the supreme court, are practical and living illustrations of its being an integral part of our system of government."' *Abdy*, Vol. II. p. 108.

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west, becomes a licensed trader in human flesh, or sets himself down as a slave-holder. If the governments of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania are just and humane, an opposite character attaches to those of the slave-holding States; and the shield of the Federal Union is thrown over some of the vilest petty despotisms on the face of the earth. For any purpose of salutary control over the State Legislatures, the Federal system is powerless. The most solemn treaties made with the Indians by the General Government, have been violated and set aside by particular States; and the Supreme Court of the United States has refused to take cognizance of perfidious acts which defied its authority. It is a striking fact, that the Federal Government has always shewn itself more disposed to liberal policy, and more observant of justice and good faith, than the State governments; chiefly, we imagine, from its being more under the restraint of public and international opinion. The United States have repeatedly tendered to the aboriginal tribes within their territory the privileges of citizenship. The States severally will not allow any Indians to become their citizens! At length, the General Government has deserted these much injured and unoffending tribes, ignominiously branding itself with perfidy, the only excuse for which lies in its political weakness.

But the Federal Government itself is deeply involved in the guilt of violating the most sacred rights of life and liberty. Washington is the very focus of the slave-breeding trade.

'It is not sufficient,' says Mr. Abdy, 'for the national dishonor, that the district (of Columbia) marked out for the residence and immediate jurisdiction of the general government should be polluted by slavery. Here, under the eyes of Congress,—in defiance of public opinion,—and as if courting the observation of assembled legislators and ambassadors, a traffic, the most base and revolting, is carried on by a set of ruffians, with whom it would be the greatest injustice to compare our resurrection-men. They are called slave-traders, and their occupation is to kidnap every colored stranger they can lay their hands on. No matter whether he be free or not, his papers, if he chance to have any they can get at, are taken from him; and he is hurried to gaol, from whence, under pretence that the documents he has in his possession are not satisfactory, or that he is unable to pay the expenses of his arrest and detention, he is sent off to the southern market. Men, women, and children, indiscriminately, who come to Washington in search of employment, or to visit their friends, are liable to be carried off by these land-sharks; one of whom boasted to a man, from whom I had the statement, that he had just made forty dollars by a job. Proprietors of slaves would be ungrateful if they did not connive at the iniquities of the kidnapper. The net that is laid for the unfriended free man is pretty sure to catch the runaway. These villains deal with the drivers and agents, and sometimes with the planters themselves. A poor fellow, whose claims to freedom were pronounced defective, was

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purchased by one of them, not long ago, for a dollar, and sold the next day for four hundred. About the same time, a colored young woman was entering the city from the country, when she was pursued by one of these blood-hounds; and, to escape, threw herself into the river, and was drowned. No notice whatever was taken of this horrible occurrence by the public papers, though it was a matter of notoriety. Another woman, to save her children, who would all have been doomed to slavery, if her claims to freedom had been rejected, precipitated herself from the top of a house, where she was confined, and was so dreadfully mutilated and mangled that she was suffered to escape, because she was no longer fit for sale. There was no doubt that she was a free woman; but she knew a whole family of young slaves was too valuable a property not to turn the scale against her.

'"Not long since," (see Niles's Reg. for July 1821,) "a negro man, at the moment of his transfer to one of these blood-merchants, cut his own throat on a public wharf at Baltimore; and, a few days ago, a negro woman, near Snow-hill in this State, (Maryland,) on being informed that she was sold, first cut the throat of her child, and then her own,—by which both of them immediately died."

'Another, in the same year, at Baltimore, having been "sold to a dealer in human flesh for transportation, cut his own throat, and died at the moment when he was about to be delivered over to the blood-merchant through his agent, a peace-officer."—Niles.

'Many cases of extreme atrocity were related to me. One was that of an unfortunate girl, whose mistress, from ungrounded jealousy, employed some of her slaves to hold her down, and then, with her own hands, cut off the fore part of her feet. This was done during the absence of her husband. She was then carried bleeding into an adjoining wood, and left there to perish. It happened to be a frosty night, and her wounds were stanched by the cold. Her life was eventually preserved by a good Samaritan, who, hearing her groans, went to her, and carried her to his own home, where she continued to live;—her master, who had by chance discovered the place of her retreat, having presented her with her freedom,—partly in consideration of her sufferings, and partly to shield her from the resentment of his wife, who tried every art to get her into her power again. Were it not for the noble exertions that a few kind-hearted men, of whom I had the happiness to know two or three, are ready to make, as they have already made many, for the protection and defence of these helpless creatures, by far the greater part would be for ever deprived of their freedom; as it is very difficult for them, unfriended and unpitied, to establish a claim, which so many find it their interest to defeat or deny. Here, as in most, if not all, slave countries, the presumption is against liberty; and, contrary to every principle of moral and municipal law, a man is pronounced guilty because he cannot prove himself innocent. The onus is thrown upon the accused; and he is declared to be a slave, if he is unable to shew that he is free.

'The committee of the House of Representatives on the district of Columbia, reported, in 1827, that this presumption, founded on immemorial usage, and sanctioned by judicial decisions, was so necessary to the security of slave-property, that, "although it may occasionally

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operate as a temporary hardship upon free persons of color, migrating to slave-holding States, from States in the Union where there exists no provision of law for the register of the evidences of emancipation or of freedom, they cannot recommend an abrogation of this long established principle." No doubt the Arabs and Algerines, the pirates of Cuba and Sumatra, have the same usages and principles: and what traveller or merchant would be allowed to dispute their justice, when once they have got him into their clutches?' Vol. II. pp. 91—95.

Frequent petitions have been presented to Congress, praying for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, which belongs to no separate State; but in vain. Congress has exclusive jurisdiction within this district, and therefore the General Government is responsible for the legalized iniquity which is still suffered to exist in the capital of this free republic. The laws of Maryland and Virginia, from which the existing regulations have been derived, have long since been modified and repealed; yet, the laws of this district cannot even be brought to the point of melioration which the statutes of those two States have admitted! The city of Washington, it was recently stated in Congress, receives 400 dollars annually for licenses to slave-dealers, to carry on the trade in the federal district. There are actually two or three slave-factories or depôts in the metropolis of American liberty*. In what a light does this fact place the hypocritical professions of the advocates of African Colonization, who could at once, by their influence in Congress, effect the removal of this crowning abomination! One regrets that the name of Washington should have been given to this seat of iniquity. As it is a triple city, a more appropriate appellation would be, *the American Tripoli.*

It is, however, admitted by the more respectable portion of the community, north of the Potomac, that slavery is '*wrong*'; nay, that it is 'sinful',—only it would be impolitic and 'offensive to gentlemen of the south', and 'would create prejudice', to call it a sin†. This is, indeed, becoming all things to all men in the worst sense; to all men but the poor blacks. We rejoice to learn that there are a few honest and good men, however,

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* Mr. Dickson, of New York, stated this fact in Congress, in moving, on Feb. 2, that a memorial from 800 ladies of New York, praying for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, be referred to a select committee. An amendment moved, to get rid of it, by Mr. Chinn, of Virginia, was carried by a majority of 117 against 77.

† Such are the reasons assigned by several reverend and other speakers for refusing to term slavery a sin, in the Resolutions of the "American Union for the relief and improvement of the Coloured Race", formed at Boston, Jan. 14, 1835.

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who have the courage to speak out without compromise, and to denounce slavery as both a sin against God and a wrong against their fellows. They form, at present, a small minority, and are the objects of a bitter hostility on the part of the pretended friends of 'the coloured people'. But would those who hesitate to call the holding of black men in predial bondage a sin, feel any such scruple in denouncing white slavery as sinful? Assuredly not; and thus, their tenderness towards the planter betrays the prejudice which distorts their moral vision. If 'all men are 'created equal', is not the denial of social equality to the coloured freeman born on the same soil, as much a wrong as withholding personal freedom from the bondman? Is not the fundamental principle of republicanism as grossly violated by the exclusion of the coloured citizens from constitutional privileges, as by the perpetuation of slavery? The American constitution rejects the institution of nobility, the distinctions of hereditary birth, the pomp of titles, and allows of no privileged orders. In defence of that constitution, citizens of every shade of colour fought and bled. Patriotism has proved itself in America to be of no colour; and the distinctions of caste, which now are allowed to separate the white skins from those of darker tinge, would all be swept away by stern necessity, should ever the time return for testing, in the field of battle, the respective qualities of white and black blood. War is a great leveller: at least, it confounds all distinctions but those which it creates, ennobling those of meanest breed and darkest hue, and pouring contempt upon the fantastical niceties of aristocratical pride. Military prowess has placed a man of colour at the head of one of the South American States; and should the north ever become the scene of intestine conflict or foreign invasion—which we say from the bottom of our hearts, may God avert!—the probability would be great, that the coloured race would not only justify their equality, but compel the recognition of their claims; nay, that some dark-skinned hero might force his way, by his valour and patriotism, to the chair of Washington.

This rank and corrupt prejudice of caste could only have attained its present strength during years of profound national tranquillity. Surely this forms at once a proof of its unreasonableness and an aggravation of its criminality. Often has the Divine justice made use of the scourge of war, to punish a luxurious nation for the iniquities of a time of peace. Is America beyond the reach of a similar retribution? But even if no such calamity should befal her, is she not taking an ungenerous and ungrateful advantage of her favoured position, to expatriate those whom, at the first alarm of a foreign trumpet, she would be glad to recall to her national standard? Yes, she would be too happy, in that event, to abandon Liberia, if she could gain back her sable

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exiles to man the walls of New Orleans, or to save 'the White 'House' from another humiliation.

Look at this antipathy in what light we may, it is, in an American citizen, who boasts of his free constitution, of his emancipation from European prejudice, of the intellectual advancement of his nation, peculiarly unreasonable; and must tend to degrade him in the estimation of enlightened men of other nations, far more than any intermixture of blood or deterioration of breed could possibly do. The assumption of an inferiority in mixed breeds is so entirely at variance, not only with historical fact, but with physiological science, that it must be regarded as either founded on ignorance, or persisted in against better knowledge. Deformities that characterize the pure races, as in the case of the Calmuck, are not merely obliterated by intermarriages, but forms of great personal beauty are often the production of such mixed breeds. The quadroon is, we believe, generally handsome. Thus, nature attests not merely the legitimacy, but the physical advantage of unions that bind together the different tribes of the human family, and soften down the features of repulsive dissimilarity. The greatest nations have been formed by a mixture of races, the conquerors blending with the conquered, the intruders with the indigenous tribes; and in some of the finest races, the noble stock has been constantly replenished with a foreign admixture, supplied by the barbarous customs of purchase or war. The pure races have rarely or never kept up their numbers; or, if they have not rapidly decreased, have physically deteriorated. It is worthy also of remark, that nature seems to dictate the harmonious blending of her own varieties, by inspiring, very generally, a preference for shades of colour and physical forms dissimilar from that of the individual. If it be thought unnatural that a white should admire a sable beauty, (for violent transitions and oppositions are not conformable with nature's laws,) yet, that a fair skin should prefer a brunette, and a swarthy Andalusian a blonde, accords with all experience.

Nor let it be supposed that the African race forms any exception to the general rule. There is no race that can with propriety be denominated African. The very term is either a blunder or a falsehood, or a compound of both. Of the five great physiological varieties of the human family, three are found inhabiting the African peninsula; and a jet black is the colour of some tribes which must be referred to the Caucasian type. The Arab, the Hindoo, the Asiatic Portuguese, and the Indian Jew have skins as dark as the Mandingo, the Foolah, the Yolof, or the Angola Negro. The slave-factor has not been nice or partial in the selection of his cargoes; and the American plantations have assuredly not been stocked, any more than those of the West India islands, with only blacks or woolly-haired ne-

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groes. The term 'coloured' is undoubtedly convenient, for it covers all varieties, from the olive Moor, or red-brown Arab, to the ebony or inky varieties of Guinea or Soudan. An African prince, born at Timbuctoo, and whose name (Abou Bekir Sadiki) would seem to betoken his Arab descent and Mohammedan creed, has recently obtained his freedom by the remission of his apprenticeship, after *thirty years' bondage* in Jamaica *. In Africa itself, the races have become intermixed; and among the Foulahs, as well as the Berbers, are tribes whose complexion approaches to white. Among the many persons of colour whom Mr. Abdy visited at Philadelphia, was 'a woman of singular 'intelligence and good breeding, with a handsome, expressive 'countenance and a graceful person,' yet 'of pure African de-'scent.' Her history is interesting, and we shall not apologize for the digression.

'Her mother, who had been stolen from her native land at an early age, was the daughter of a king, and is now, in her eighty-fifth year, the parent stem of no less than 182 living branches. When taken by the slavers, she had with her a piece of gold as an ornament, to denote her rank. Of this she was of course deprived; and a solid bar of the same metal, which her parent sent over to America for the purchase of her freedom, shared the same fate. Christiana Gibbons, who is thus the grand-daughter of a prince of the Ebo tribe, was bought, when about fifteen years of age, by a woman who was struck by her interesting appearance, and emancipated her. Her benefactress left her, at her death, a legacy of 8,000 dollars. The whole of this money was lost by the failure of a bank, in which her legal trustee (a man of the name of James Morrison, since dead) had placed it in his own name. She had other property, acquired by her own industry, and affording a rent of 500 dollars a year. Her agent, however, Colonel Myers, though indebted to her for many attentions and marks of kindness during sickness, had neglected to remit her the money from Savannah, in Georgia, where the estate is situated; and, when I saw her, she was living, with her husband and son, on the fruits of her labor.

'She had not been long resident in Philadelphia, whither she had come to escape the numerous impositions and annoyances to which she was exposed in Georgia. Her husband was owner of a wharf in Savannah, worth eight or ten thousand dollars. It is much to be feared that the greater part of this property will be lost, or not recovered without great difficulty. I was induced to call upon her, in consequence of a letter I had received from Mr. Kingsley, of whom I have before spoken. He had long been acquainted with her, and spoke of

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* Specimens of his writing in Arabic, which he acquired in his native land, may be seen at the office of the British and Foreign Society for the Abolition of Slavery, No. 18, Aldermanbury.

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her to me in the highest terms; wishing that I should see what he considered a "good specimen of the race."

'We found her, indeed, a very remarkable woman; though it is probable that there are many among the despised slaves as amiable and accomplished as herself. Such, at least, was the account she gave us of their condition, that we felt convinced of the superiority possessed by many, in moral worth and intellectual acuteness, above their oppressors.' Vol. III. pp. 346—348.

With the American aristocracy, however, the red Indian finds as little favour as the black 'African'; and the mulatto, whose European relationship is the most conspicuous, is treated with no more courtesy than the woolly Ethiop. Nor is it only intermarriage with these semi-Europeans, that is held to be an offence: they are repelled from the social table by the descendants, it may be, of English runaways and Irish paupers. The air of the American Republic can bleach the darkest character, can take out every stain but that of the skin. Complexion is there a thing of infinitely more consequence than character. Is this severe language? It may read like satire, but it is the simple fact, as avowed by the advocates of African colonization. 'Let the 'free black in this country,' it has been said, 'toil from youth to 'age in the honourable pursuit of wisdom; let him store his 'mind with the most valuable researches of science and literature; 'and let him add to a highly gifted and cultivated intellect, a 'piety pure, undefiled, and unspotted from the world; *it is all 'nothing: he would not be received into the very lowest walks 'of society.* If we were constrained to admire so uncommon a 'being, our admiration would mingle with disgust, because, in 'the physical organization of his frame, we meet an insurmountable barrier even to an approach to social intercourse.'* 'With 'us, colour is the bar. Nature has raised up barriers between 'the races, which no man with a proper sense of the dignity of 'his species, desires to see surmounted.'† A prejudice so senseless, so inveterate, so unmanly, so wilfully opposed to truth and morality as this, never before disgraced a people who had attained to so high a civilization. Well would it be for the Americans, if they could be laughed out of it by their European brethren:—for to reason them out of it seems hopeless. It appears like a *monomania* running through society; an endemic fanaticism, resembling in its violence and unreasonableness the horrible rage against imaginary witchcraft, which seized upon the people of New England in the seventeenth century. The language we have cited betrays what may be termed an absolute *nigro-phobia*. Were we not then justified in saying, that if the

* African Repository, Vol. VII. p. 231.

† Speeches at the formation of a Colonization Society in New York.

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Redeemer of mankind had appeared to the American nation "in the form of a servant," with a skin of a darker tinge than their own, they would have rejected his pretensions, and have exclaimed with one voice, "Crucify him"?' When we find such a spirit as this in Christians, can we wonder at the haughty prejudice of the ancient Jews towards the Gentiles, which led them to resent Our Saviour's eating with publicans and sinners, and to exclaim against the Apostle of the Gentiles: "Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live?"

Very few words will be requisite to place the anti-Christian character of this antipathy in a clear point of view. Christianity allows of no antipathies. Without levelling the political gradations of society, it disallows and annihilates all distinctions of *race*:—"Greek or Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free," are all "one in Christ Jesus." "To make in himself of the two" hostile castes, the circumcision and the uncircumcision, "one new man" (or mankind), and to "break down the middle wall of partition between them," was, St. Paul declares, one end for which Our Lord "reconciled both unto God in one body by the cross".* And that within the Christian Church, all distinctions in social intercourse founded upon national prejudice, were forbidden, is proved by the fact, that for a Christian Jew to refuse to eat with the Gentiles, was deemed inconsistent with the law of Christ. "Ye know," said St. Peter to the Centurion of the Italian band stationed at Corinth†, "how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company with, or come unto one *who is of another nation;* but God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean. Therefore I came unto you." And when St. Peter, some seventeen years after this, dissembled his sentiments on this point, in deference to the prejudice of the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem, the Apostle of the Gentiles, seeing that both Peter and Barnabas conducted themselves in this respect "not according to the truth of the Gospel," withstood them to the face, because they were blameable‡. We beg our readers to remark, that the refusal to eat with the Gentiles had no relation to religious worship, or to the Lord's Supper, but was an expression of national contempt, of unsocial pride and antipathy, which the Apostle warmly resented as incompatible with the Christian character.

No one who professes to receive the New Testament as the rule of his faith, will dispute that the example and authority of the Apostles are binding upon us. Pursuing then our inquiry a little further, we find that, under the term brotherhood, the whole of the body of Christ was included. The term brother is applied alike to the master and the slave. "Let as many bond servants

* Eph. ii. 14—16. † Acts xi. 28. ‡ Gal. ii. 11—14.

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(δουλοι) ..... as have believing masters," says St. Paul, "not despise them because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved."* And Onesimus, the run-away domestic slave, who had become a convert through the Apostle's ministry, is spoken of as claiming to be received by his master, "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved"†. If these passages may seem to afford an indirect license to the Roman servitude, (which, however, had little in common with the colonial slavery of modern times‡,) as a civil institution then existing, they shew, at the same time, that even the bondman, on becoming a Christian, claimed to be viewed as "the Lord's freeman," and, though not released from his social obligations, as a brother for whom Christ died§.

We are not now insisting upon the unlawfulness, according to Apostolic principles, of holding our Christian brethren in predial bondage; (a position quite as self-evident as the fundamental principle of republicanism;) our present argument is this; that if even a bondman or a slave was thus raised by his Christian profession to the character of a brother, much more must a freeman of any nation have been regarded in this light. But the white Christians of the United States refuse to admit their sable fellow Christians to even religious communion, as well as to social intercourse. In their view, a difference of colour is sufficient to destroy the oneness of the body of Christ; and an antipathy founded upon the pride of caste, is allowed to overrule all the positive obligations to brotherly kindness, founded upon that unity. To the Apostle's indignant appeal, "Is Christ divided?" the American divine must reply: 'Yes, by a broad and impassable division, by a mutual repulsion which Christianity cannot remove, which religion cannot subdue; by 'an ordination of Providence' which is stronger than the law of Christ. God has *not* made of one blood all races of men; and the black and the white blood were never intended by Him to mingle. One body Christians never can be, for, although we have "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is in all," still, not being of one colour, it is physically impossible they should ever coalesce and form one brotherhood.' Such, we say, is the reply which the conduct of American Christians would furnish. Yet, one of their most admired writers, Dr. Channing, has the following passage in one of his discourses:—

'"We undoubtedly feel ourselves to be all of one race; and this is well: we trace ourselves up to one pair, and feel the same blood flowing in our veins. But do we understand our spiritual brotherhood?

* 1 Tim. vi. 2. † Philemon 16.
‡ See on this subject, Ecl. Rev. Vol. IX., pp. 283—287; 397.
§ 1 Cor. vii. 22. Rom. xiv. 15.

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Do we feel ourselves to be derived from one Heavenly Parent, in whose image we are all made, and whose perfection we may constantly approach? Do we feel that there is one Divine life in our own and in all souls? This seems to me the only true bond of man to man. Here is a tie more sacred, more enduring, than all the ties of earth. Is it felt? And do we in consequence truly honour one another?"'

Vol. I. p. 221, *note.*

Who could have believed that the Writer of this beautiful passage would be found insisting, in conversation with Mr. Abdy, upon the invincible strength of the prejudice of colour in his countrymen, as a justification of the cruelty, injustice, and intolerance to which it leads, or, at least, as a reason for the continuance of degrading and unjust distinctions? Alas! the only true bond of man to man, the sacred tie of the Divine life, is *not* felt, it would seem, even by the teacher of others, when colour and caste cross the relationship. 'Our captain,' says old Fuller in "his Holy State," portraying a religious sailor, 'counts 'the image of God nevertheless his image, cut in ebony, as if done 'in ivory.' Not so our American philosopher; nor, alas! those who sustain in America the sacred office of Christian pastors!

The Americans themselves compare the antipathy felt towards the coloured race, to that which separates the Brahmin from the Soodra in the Indian social system. Venerable and enlightened precedent for a Christian nation! But may we be allowed to ask, how American Missionaries would deal with this pride of caste in the converted Brahmin? Would they allow it to be compatible with the spirit of Christianity, with the evidence of conversion? Would they not, on the contrary, exact from the heathen convert the renunciation of his cherished prejudice of birth, as a condition of his being received into the Christian brotherhood? Would they not refer him to the example of the high-born Hebrew of the Hebrews, who once keenly felt all the pride of birth and caste, considering these distinctions as his most precious possession; yet, who counted them "loss for Christ"? Would they not urge the duty of crucifying the principle of vainglory and unsocial pride by the still higher example of Him who, "though in the form of God, made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant", and refused not to eat and drink with Soodras and Pariahs, with publicans and sinners;—of Him who, though "the brightness of the Father's glory", is "not ashamed to call us men"—white or black—his "brethren"? Would they not insist upon the duty of imitating the mind of Christ, of walking as he walked, who "pleased not himself"? Would they, or would they not, enforce these arguments by their own example? Would they refuse to eat, to join in social worship, with the sable Hindoo convert of the deepest shade or lowest caste? Or would they

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build Brahmin Christian churches for one caste of converts, and Soodra Christian churches for another caste, with a Mission Chapel for those of European complexion? We know how American Missionaries have acted, how they must act in heathen countries. But how do their home Missionaries act? Melancholy inconsistency! Ministers of the Gospel in America talk of the invincibility of national prejudice; while yet they expect the heathen to be weaned by the faith of the Gospel from prejudices and antipathies less inexcusable than their own. "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?"

It really seems to us, that the truth of the Christian religion is implicated in the issue of this struggle of principles in the United States. The prejudice against the Blacks has erected itself in open defiance of the power of religion, and disputes the supremacy with Christianity itself. It says in effect to the Creator, as an apology for antipathies charged upon Nature, "Why hast thou made us thus?" The consideration, "Who hath made thee to differ," instead of inspiring humility or benevolence towards others, is perverted into a justification of the pride of assumed superiority. Not only so, but the Church has not scrupled to borrow a plea for her inconsistency from the infidel, and to make use of an hypothesis, invented in opposition to Revelation, respecting an essential and original distinction in the human race, in order to palliate the national sin. But she cannot palliate the distinction of caste between the whites and the coloured race, without palliating slavery itself, which rests its chief justification upon the physical inferiority of the 'African' race. The prejudice against the free blacks is assigned as the strongest reason against the emancipation of the slaves. The existence of slavery, on the other hand, is a principal reason for seeking to expatriate the free blacks. In this vicious circle moves the American policy!

In the mean time, the Africans (as they are called) are multiplying much faster than suits that nefarious policy; and the Colonization scheme is found too expensive as well as too slow a process of deportation. Liberia is a failure, and will soon be universally known to be such. Some atrocious suggestions have been thrown out, with a view to prevent their natural increase *. The jealous precautions of the slave-holding States are also leading them to increase the rigours and terrors of the penal code. The progress of education among the coloured race is deprecated as one of the greatest evils. A feverish anxiety upon this subject pervades the whole community. But no one speaks of repentance. It must not be whispered, that slavery is a sin. No re-

* See Abdy, Vol. I. pp. 49—51.

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paration to the victims of injustice and oppression is spoken of, except that of transporting them to a pestilential foreign shore, by way of shortening their course to the "glorious emancipation" of the sons of God. Reflecting upon conduct like this on the part of Protestant Christians, whose forefathers were themselves strangers in the land, "ready to perish", driven forth by religious persecution from their native land, to serve their God in the wilderness,—we tremble for America; tremble, as their own Jefferson said, 'when we reflect that God is just, and that his 'justice will not sleep for ever.'

Had not this article already extended under our hand to so unusual a length, it would be easy to shew that the Americans have already been punished, to a certain extent, by their own sin. It is a blight, as well as a blot, upon the national character. 'It is curious to observe', says Mr. Abdy, 'how even the foreign 'policy of the nation is influenced by these feelings.'

'Whether the Emperor Alexander * be solicited to urge upon Ferdinand the recognition of South American independence;—whether fears be entertained that Cuba should fall into the hands of England or of Mexico;—whether Hayti is to take her place in the rank of Free States;—the actuating motive is an apprehension lest the black man should break his chains, and rise to a level with his oppressor.'

'It is scarcely possible in the nature of things, that Mexico and the other new States will much longer submit to be insulted. Mr. Berrien, in allusion to the projected conquest of Cuba and Puerto Rico, by the South Americans, said openly in the Senate at Washington, in

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* '"Early in 1825, the United States made overtures to Russia and France, having for their object to procure an acknowledgement of the independence of the American republics on the basis of guaranteeing to Spain the possession of Cuba and Puerto Rico."—American Annual Reg., 1825.

'"You are authorized, in the spirit of the most perfect frankness and friendship, which have ever characterised all the relations between Russia and the United States, to disclose, without reserve, the feelings and the wishes of the United States in respect to Cuba and Puerto Rico. They are satisfied with the present condition of those islands, now open to the commerce and enterprise of their citizens. They desire, for themselves, no political change in them. If Cuba were to declare itself independent, the amount and the character of its population render it improbable that it could maintain its independence."—Extract of a letter from Mr. Clay to Mr. Middleton, 10 May, 1825.

'The annals of human adulation cannot exhibit a more disgusting instance of fawning flattery than is to be found in the pages of the American Annual Register, in its eulogy upon the Emperor Alexander.'

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1826:—"The question to be determined is this: with a due regard to the safety of the Southern States, can you suffer these islands to pass into the hands of buccaniers, drunk with their new-born liberty?" Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, declared on that occasion, that the federal government had committed a great error in entering into treaties with Great Britain and Columbia for the suppression of the slave-trade. "That error," he exclaimed, "has been happily corrected. The first treaty has failed; and the second was nearly unanimously rejected by this body. Our policy, then, is now firmly fixed: our course is marked out. With nothing connected with slavery can we consent to treat with other nations; and, least of all, ought we to touch the question of the independence of Hayti, in conjunction with revolutionary governments, whose own history affords an example scarcely less fatal to our repose. Those governments have proclaimed the principles of liberty and equality, and have marched to victory under the banners of 'universal emancipation'. You find men of color at the head of their armies, in their legislative halls, and in their executive departments. They are looking to Hayti, even now, with feelings of the strongest confraternity; and shew, by the very documents before us, that they acknowledge her to be independent, at the moment when it is manifest to all the world beside, that she has resumed her colonial subjection to France." Worse language than this was used by John Randolph; and the senate exhibited, during the long and protracted discussion, the most rabid symptoms of the endemic monomania.

'"The peace of eleven States in this Union," said Mr. Benton of Missouri, "will not permit the fruits of a successful negro insurrection to be exhibited among them. It will not permit black consuls and ambassadors to establish themselves in our cities, and to parade through our country, and give their fellow blacks in the United States proof in hand of the honours which await them for a like successful effort on their part. It will not permit the fact to be seen and told, that, for the murder of their masters and mistresses, they are to find friends among the white people of these United States. No! Mr. President, this is a question which has been determined here for three and thirty years;—one which has never been open for discussion at home or abroad, either under the Presidency of General Washington, of the first Mr. Adams, of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, or Mr. Monroe. It is one which cannot be discussed in this chamber on this day:—and shall we go to Panama to discuss it? I take it in the mildest supposed character of this congress,—shall we go there to advise and consult about it? Who are to advise and sit in judgment upon it? Five nations, who have already put the black man upon an equality with the white,—not only in their constitutions, but in real life;—five nations, who have at this moment (at least some of them) black generals in their armies, and mulatto senators in their congresses!"'

Vol. I. pp. 363—373.

'Five nations' which will not be quite so easily subdued or exterminated as those of Lake Huron.

Such are the insane vapourings of the legislators of the United States, with a volcano at their feet. The coloured Americans,

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slaves and free, are already 'more numerous than the whites were, 'when they obtained their independence; and every day, while 'it adds to the strength of the one, diminishes the relative su-'periority of the other.' It is not too late to listen to the voice of justice, humanity, and rational policy,—to come to terms with the future. But if the warning be despised, wo to the Republic.

We strongly recommend Mr. Abdy's volumes to the perusal of our readers. We shall resume the general subject of American Institutions in our next.

Art. II. *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha.* By the Author of Vathek. 8vo., pp. 228. London, 1835.

'THE Author of Vathek,' or, in unveiled phrase, Mr. Beckford, recently put forth a couple of volumes, written in gay and graphic style, and commemorating the more piquant circumstances of a visit to the southern and south-eastern regions of Europe;—a visit bearing so old a date as to be almost referrible to that indeterminate period so often spoken of as *auld lang syne**. We were amused, certainly, with those somewhat overpraised reminiscences of a lively and self-indulgent spirit; but they contain little valuable information, though relating to times and scenes that might well have afforded it: their very liveliness, too, seemed to us not altogether unforced, nor free from an alloy of recklessness and extravagance. They took, however, greatly with the public; and the effect of their popularity shews itself in the present volume, a sort of episode to the former; divided, not into letters, or sections, or chapters, but 'days';—a dodecameron,—a twelve days' sojourn amid the brightest scenes of earth and sky, the noblest realization of constructive genius, and the happiest inventions of culinary art.

In June 1794, the Grand Prior of Aviz, and the Prior of San Vicente, the 'intimate and particular friends' of our privileged countryman, were deputed from Lisbon on a royal visitation to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha; and by special request of the Prince Regent, our Author, an Englishman and a heretic, attached himself, as a supernumerary, to the ecclesiastical commission. Both these dignitaries were voluptuaries, so far at least, as the pleasures of the table and the careful preparation for soft and unbroken repose might be concerned; but they appear to have been also amiable men, and he of St. Vin-

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* See Ecl. Rev., 3d Series, Vol. XII., (July 1834,) pp. 75—87.

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cent is lauded as a most 'delightful companion,' worthy of better, or at least more brilliant, times and associations;—of 'the 'days of those polished and gifted canons and cardinals who 'formed such a galaxy of talent and facetiousness round Leo the 'Tenth.'

Every arrangement was made for ease and enjoyment. The carriage was a *dormeuse;* the stages were to be short and smooth; the meals promised to succeed each other with the most harmonious regularity; the resting stations were well selected; and the sleeping apparatus, all yielding and elastic, was safely packed in boot and basket, mocking casualty and defying fate. All this 'array of incumbrances,' pleasant as it might be to orthodox folk who place the happiness of life in eating and napping, seems to have sorely vexed the heretic, who would fain have given the hams and preserves for a scramble to the mob, and have flung the down cushions into the Tagus. Much mobbing and shouting took place at departure, till at length, the heavy procession put itself in motion. It reached without hinderance or mischance, the termination of the first day's journey, at a rich farming establishment, belonging to the monks of St. Vincent; and at this delightful halting place, 'half villa, half hermitage,' the second and third 'days' were lounged away. It was not until the fifth of these diurnal divisions, that the travellers reached Alcobaça, where the vast platform in front of the massive buildings was filled with the entire garrison of the convent, 'at least four hundred strong,' headed by the abbot himself, in grand costume as High Almoner of Portugal. The first movement was to the 'spacious, massive, and somewhat austere 'Saxon-looking church. All was gloom, except where the per-'petual lamps burning before the high altar diffused a light most 'solemn and religious.' 'To this altar,' says Mr. Beckford, 'my high clerical conductors repaired.' The next visit was to the *kitchen.*

'The three prelates led the way to, I verily believe, the most distinguished temple of gluttony in Europe. What Glastonbury may have been in its palmy state, I cannot answer; but my eyes never beheld, in any modern convent of France, Italy, or Germany, such an enormous space dedicated to culinary purposes. Through the centre of the immense and nobly-groined hall, not less than sixty feet in diameter, ran a brisk rivulet of the clearest water, flowing through pierced wooden reservoirs, containing every sort and size of the finest river-fish. On one side loads of game and venison were heaped up; on the other, vegetables and fruit in endless variety. Beyond a long line of stoves, extended a row of ovens; and close to them, hillocks of wheaten flour whiter than snow, rocks of sugar, jars of the purest oil, and pastry in vast abundance, which a numerous tribe of lay-brothers and their attendants were rolling out and puffing up into a hundred

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different shapes, singing all the while as blithely as larks in a corn-field.'

The third transition was to the banquet.

'We passed through a succession of cloisters and galleries, which the shades of evening rendered dimly visible; till we entered a saloon, superb indeed, covered with pictures, and lighted up by a profusion of wax tapers in sconces of silver. Right in the centre of this stately room stood a most ample table, covered with fringed, embroidered linen, and round it four ponderous fauteuils for the guest and the three prelates..... The banquet itself consisted of not only the most excellent usual fare, but rarities and delicacies of past seasons and distant countries; exquisite sausages, potted lampreys, strange messes from the Brazils, and others still stranger from China, (edible birds' nests and sharks' fins,) dressed after the latest mode of Macao by a Chinese lay-brother. Confectionery and fruits were out of the question here; they awaited us in an adjoining still more spacious and sumptuous apartment, to which we retired from the effluvia of viands and sauces..... The table being removed, four good-looking novices, lads of fifteen or sixteen, demure even to primness, came in, bearing cassolettes of Goa filigree, steaming with a fragrant vapour of Calambac, the finest quality of wood of aloes.'

Then came dull music and duller dancing, monks and seculars being the *figurants*, till the happy hour arrived, in which all this feasting and all this exhibition gave way to the irresistible inclination for 'balmy sleep,'—if the sleep could indeed be balmy, that followed such excess.

The sixth *Giornata* found Mr. Beckford rather annoyed by all this heavy campaigning; and he determined on varying it by the lighter movements of a noon-day walk—in Portugal, in the very month of June, when every thing that has an eye to close, gives way to slumber. He started with a young monk for his companion, who, however, soon found a *gîte* under the deep shadow of a groupe of tall cypresses. From the exquisite description of this excursion, we must borrow a few sentences.

'We passed through quadrangles after quadrangles, and courts after courts, till, opening a sly door in an obscure corner, which had proved a convenient sally-port, no doubt, for many an agreeable excursion, we found ourselves in a winding alley, bordered by sheds and cottages, with irregular steps leading up to rustic porches and many a vine-bower and many a trellised walk. No human being was to be heard or seen; no poultry were parading about; and except a beautiful white macaw perched on a broken wall, and nestling his bill under his feathers, not a single member of the feathered creation was visible. There was a holy calm in this mid-day silence;—a sacredness, as if all nature had been fearful to disturb the slumbers of universal Pan.

'I kept, however, straggling on—impiously, it would have been thought in Pagan times—between long stretches of garden-walls over-

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hung by fig-trees; the air so profoundly tranquil that I actually heard a fruit drop from a bough. Sometimes I was enticed down a mysterious lane, by the prospect of a crag and a Moorish castle, which offered itself to view at its termination, and sometimes under ruined arches which crossed my path in the most picturesque manner.

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'It was now half-past one, and the world of Alcobaça was alive again: the peasant had resumed her distaff, the monk his breviary, the ox his labour, and the sound of the *mora*, or water-wheel, was heard in the land. The important hour of dinner at the convent, I knew was approaching; I wished to scale the crag above the village, and visit the Moorish castle, which looked most invitingly picturesque, with its varied outline of wall and tower; but I saw a possé of monks and novices advancing from the convent, bowing and beckoning me to return.'

Mr. Beckford had expressed a desire to visit the monastery of Batalha; and his hospitable entertainers, prompt to gratify his wishes, made instant preparation for the jaunt, by loading sumpter-mules with a redundancy of *matériel* pertaining to the least refined of our animal enjoyments. Some slight accidents enlivened the journey. The memorable plain of Aljubarrota was well fitted to awaken the highest enthusiasm in Portuguese bosoms; but, when it broke upon the view, their Excellencies were employed in discussing sundry bottles of an admirable wine, the produce of the neighbourhood, and bearing the same glorious name. Their sympathies did not long hesitate between the battle and the wine.—'Yonder, along that dark ravine, rushed 'the Castilian knights in wild dismay, while the Lusitanian 'sword made havock of their broken rear,' might Mr. Beckford exclaim with courteous exultation. '*Muito bom—primoroso—* '*excellente*,' murmured the churchmen, as they drained the glass. The Juiz de Toro, a great local antiquary in his way, struck in with a grand episode of some unconquerable warrior of Portugal, before whose lance the bravest of the invaders went down. 'Ten thousand thanks for your excellent wine: drive on.' And drive on, says Mr. B., they did, with more zeal than discretion, for there was hard riding, and fierce driving, and casualties according, among the party. The Grand Prior and his friends 'fell fast asleep,' and continued their nap until awakened by 'a tremendous jolt,' on the edge of a secluded vale, densely wooded, and thinly inhabited; while, high above the close foliage of its thickets, towered 'the great church of Batalha, with 'its rich cluster of abbatial buildings, buttresses, and pinnacles, 'and fretted spires.' Far and wide stretched its deep shadows, broken by the lights that streamed from its windows, or glanced athwart its dark front, while the lofty entrance was marked by the strong illumination of collected torches; and, as the *cortége*

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drew nigh, the whole community appeared to 'welcome the coming guest.' The establishment, however, was poor, and the monks looked on in utter amazement at the luxuries which were unpacked from 'plethoric hampers.' Wines of richest vintage, 'ham and pies and sausages,' came forth from their repositories; and the Batalha Prior, with his attendants, seem to have suspected sorcery, 'when they saw a gauze-curtained bed, and the 'Grand Prior's fringed pillow, and the Prior of St. Vincent's 'superb coverlid, and basins and ewers, and other utensils of 'glittering silver, being carried in.'

A substantial supper, with somewhat brisk potations to aid its deglutition, had made Mr. Beckford rather feverish; and he placed himself at the open window of his chamber, to gaze out upon the calm moonlight. Soothed by the cool airs and lulling sounds of midnight, he had given free course to memory and feeling, when the sweet song of the nightingale was broken off by a loud voice, 'echoing through the arched avenues of a vast 'garden,' menacing evil to Portugal, *woe, judgement, and the wrath of an offended God!* Startled at these dread sounds, he watched eagerly for some explanation of their cause; and shortly saw, issuing from a dark thicket, a 'tall, majestic, 'deadly-pale old man,' who moved on with fixed eye and slow step, ever and anon repeating his boding cry. On the following morning, the mystery was cleared up by the apologetic explanation of the Prior to his guests, all of whom had been disturbed by the portentous sounds. The prophet of ill had been, in early life, innocently implicated in the results of that strange and questionable piece of history, the Aveiro conspiracy. His youth withered amid the damps of a dungeon; and when tardy justice withdrew its bolts, he came forth, 'a wasted, care-worn 'man, to sorrow and loneliness.' Firmly believing the innocence of his friends and relatives, denouncing the judicial proceedings which consigned them to the wheel and the block as a vile mockery of justice, and deeply resenting the consequent expulsion of the Jesuits, he viewed all these events as entailing a curse upon the nation; and, by some strange concatenation, such as 'ecstasy is very cunning in,' connecting with that overhanging visitation the outbreak of the French Revolution, he gave himself up to monastic seclusion, passing his hours in silence and solitude, save when, as in the present instance, he raised a prophetic voice in nightly warning to a doomed people.

This explanation was the prelude to a welcome invitation. Breakfast waited, and the rest shall be told in Mr. Beckford's own language,—a beautiful description of scenery surpassingly beautiful, and of circumstances well suited to such scenery.

'Leading the way, he conducted me to a large, shady apartment,

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in which the plash of a neighbouring fountain was distinctly heard. In the centre of this lofty and curiously-groined vaulted hall, resting on a smooth Indian mat, an ample table was spread out with viands and fruits, and liquors cooled in snow. The two prelates, with the monks deputed from Alcobaça to attend them, were sitting round it. They received me with looks that bespoke the utmost kindness, and at the same time suppressed curiosity; but not a word was breathed of the occurrence of last night,—with which, however, I have not the smallest doubt they were perfectly well acquainted.

'I cannot say, our repast was lively or convivial. A mysterious gloom seemed brooding over us, and to penetrate the very atmosphere; and yet that atmosphere was all loveliness. A sky of intense azure, tempered by fleecy clouds, discovered itself between the tracery of innumerable arches; the summer airs *(aure estive)* fanned us as we sat; the fountain bubbled on; the perfume of orange and citron flowers was wafted to us from an orchard not far off: but, in spite of these soft appliances, we remained silent and abstracted.

'A sacristan, who came to announce that high mass was on the point of celebration, interrupted our reveries. We all rose up—a solemn grace was said; and the Prior of Batalha taking me most benignantly by the hand, the prelates and their attendants followed. We advanced in procession through courts and cloisters and porches, all constructed with admirable skill, of a beautiful grey stone, approaching in fineness of texture and apparent durability to marble. Young boys of dusky complexions, in long white tunics and with shaven heads, were busily employed dispelling every particle of dust. A stork and a flamingo seemed to keep most amicable company with them, following them wherever they went, and reminding me strongly of Egypt and the rites of Isis. We passed the refectory, a plain solid building, with a pierced parapet of the purest Gothic design and most precise execution; and traversing a garden-court divided into compartments, where grew the orange-trees whose fragrance we had enjoyed, shading the fountain by whose murmurs we had been lulled, passed through a sculptured gateway into an irregular open space before the grand western façade of the great church—grand indeed—the portal full fifty feet in height, surmounted by a window of perforated marble of nearly the same lofty dimensions, deep as a cavern, and enriched with canopies and imagery in a style that would have done honour to William of Wykeham; some of whose disciples or co-disciples in the train of the founder's consort, Philippa of Lancaster, had probably designed it.

'As soon as we drew near, the valves of a huge oaken door were thrown open; and we entered the nave, which reminded me of Winchester in form of arches and mouldings, and of Amiens in loftiness. There is a greater plainness in the walls, less panneling, and fewer intersections in the vaulted roof; but the utmost richness of hue, at this time of day, at least, was not wanting. No tapestry, however rich—no painting, however vivid, could equal the gorgeousness of tint, the splendour of the golden and ruby light which streamed forth from the long series of stained windows: it played flickering about in all directions, on pavement and on roof, casting over every object

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myriads of glowing mellow shadows ever in undulating motion, like the reflection of branches swayed to and fro by the breeze. We all partook of these gorgeous tints;—the white monastic garments of my conductors seemed as it were embroidered with the brightest flowers of paradise, and our whole procession kept advancing invested with celestial colours.'

In a chapel attached to this splendid edifice, constructed in the 'best style of Gothic,' and richly adorned with armorial bearings, are the tombs of some of the most justly celebrated rulers of Portugal; kings and queens, regents and Infantes. But in these matters there was no sympathy between Mr. Beckford and his companions. He had in his train, a French cook, Monsieur Simon, who looked with good-natured scorn on the rich, but coarse cookery of the grass-feeding shavelings, and graciously vouchsafed to enlighten their ignorance by occasional intimations of mysteries and sublimities altogether beyond their range. This *artiste* had, it seems, promised a specimen of his abilities in the shape of an *omelette à la Provençale;* and, while the English Traveller was fixing the eye of an accomplished amateur on the wonders that surrounded him, the High Almoner was indulging in visions of the said omelet. It will be readily anticipated that the less refined taste carried the day.

'We were hurried unmercifully through the royal cloisters; a glorious square of nearly two hundred feet, surrounded by most beautifully proportioned arches; fitted up with a tracery as quaint as any of the ornaments of Roslin chapel, but infinitely more elegant; it is impossible to praise too warmly their tasteful and delicate ramifications. I could not fail observing the admirable order in which every the minutest nook and corner of this truly regal monastery is preserved; not a weed in any crevice, not a lichen on any stone, not a stain on the warm-coloured apparently marble walls, not a floating cress on the unsullied waters of the numerous fountains. The ventilation of all these spaces was most admirable; it was a luxury to breathe the temperate delicious air, blowing over the fresh herbs and flowers, which filled the compartments of a parterre in the centre of the cloister, from which you ascend by a few expansive steps to the chapter-house, a square of seventy feet, and the most strikingly beautiful apartment I ever beheld. The graceful arching of the roof, unsupported by console or column, is unequalled; it seems suspended by magic; indeed, human means failed twice in constructing this bold unembarrassed space. Perseverance, and the animating encouragement of the sovereign founder, at length conquered every difficulty; and the work remains to this hour secure and perfect.

'This stately hall, though appropriated to the official resort of the living, is also a consecrated abode of the dead. On a raised platform in the centre, covered with rich palls, are placed the tombs of Alfonso the Fifth, and his grandson; a gallant, blooming youth, torn from life and his newly married consort, the Infanta of Castile, and its

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fairest flower, at the early age of seventeen: with him expired the best hopes of Portugal, and of his father, the great John the Second.'

We shall add to this striking picture, the interesting account of the same noble structure, given by Miss Pardoe, in her "Traits and Traditions of Portugal;" a work which, while it lies open to animadversion, contains some valuable information and more animated description.

'The chapter-hall . . . . . is accounted a great curiosity, being very extensive; immensely lofty, and supported only by its outer walls, without a single column or pillar. They have a singular tradition attached to this noble building. Twice it was built and roofed in; and twice, when the scaffolding was removed, the walls gave way, and it became one heap of ruins. But the architect would not be thus foiled in his magnificent undertaking;—a third time the walls were raised;—the richly groined roof, rising spirally at its centre, once more united them;—all the best energies of the spirit which had conceived, and the perseverance which had yet again produced the work, had been exhausted in the undertaking; and *Alphonse Domingues*, after having surveyed, with mingled pride and dread, the lordly pile which he had reared, swore that if a third time his skill had failed, he would not survive the disgrace, but would find a grave among its ruins. In vain was he dissuaded from what was universally considered an act of voluntary self-immolation. He walked calmly to the centre of the hall—he issued his directions with an unfaltering voice—portion by portion, he saw the mighty beams which stood, perhaps, between him and a painful and revolting death, removed by his reluctant assistants. At length, the last prop was drawn away, and many covered their eyes with their hands to shut out the miserable spectacle; but there was no necessity for the precaution. The architect stood unharmed and secure: his mighty work was above and around him,—most magnificent and wonderful! A memorial of his undying genius!

'It is asserted that King John was so charmed by the high spirit and heroic daring of *Domingues*, that he commanded him to place within the hall some commemoration of the deed. With a modesty equalled only by his genius, the architect obeyed; and a small figure, not exceeding a foot in length, is seen in the act of supporting a portion of the edifice, where the roof touches on the north wall. It is a representation of *Alphonse Domingues!*'

Mr. Beckford, we must remark, does not always appear to be consistent with himself. Both theoretically and practically, he would seem to be a genuine admirer of Gothic architecture in all its legitimate varieties; and yet, some of the following expressions have a strange effect as coming from a person of his ostensible predilections. Tired of feasting, longing for the clear turf and the free air, he mounted his Arabian, and, after a sort of *Pampas* gallop, found himself once more at Batalha. His object

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here was, to examine more at leisure the unfinished Mausoleum of Don Emanuel, of which we know nothing but from Murphy's draughts; and judging only from them, we quite agree with Mr. Beckford, that it is an ugly affair, and promising in its completion to be uglier still. Up to this point, every thing is intelligible enough; the censure applies to particulars only; but, in the subjoined criticism, it seems to take a wider range.

'Saxon crinklings and cranklings are bad enough; the preposterous long and lanky marrow-spoon-shaped arches of the early Norman, still worse; and the Moorish horse-shoe-like deviations from beautiful curves, little better. I have often wondered how persons of correct taste could ever have tolerated them, and batten on garbage, when they might enjoy the lovely Ionic, so prevalent in Greece, the Doric grandeur of the Parthenon, and the Corinthian magnificence of Balbec and Palmyra. If, however, you wish to lead a quiet life, beware how you thwart established prejudices.'

Our readers will be amused with another view of this subject, taken by a man less versed, probably, in the details of architecture than Mr. Beckford, but with an eye as keen and quick for its character and effect.

'The principle of the Gothic architecture is infinity made imaginable. It is, no doubt, a sublimer effort of genius than the Greek style; but then it depends much more on execution for its effect. I was more than ever impressed with the marvellous sublimity and transcendent beauty of King's College Chapel. It is quite unparalleled.'—*Coleridge's Table Talk.*

We differ from both these gentlemen, but are not 'i' th' mood', just now, to discuss the matter. We have reached our limits; and though we are only at the eighth day, we must 'cut short all intermission' between us and the conclusion. The season of departure from the hospitable Alcobaça was rendered additionally gloomy by certain sharp censures which it behoved the visitant priors to pronounce on some darkly-hinted proceedings of the monks. Then came a visit to a bird-fancying old lady, and a night spent at the *Caldas*, or hot-baths. These rapidly shifting scenes close at the palace of Queluz, where Mr. Beckford ran races for the amusement of the Infanta Donna Carlotta, and had the honour of an interview with the Prince Regent.

Art. III. *Specimens of the Table Talk of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* In two Volumes 12mo., pp. lxxi. 631. London, 1835.

THE Editor of this strange medley has done his best to damage the memory of his principal. Saturated, himself, with the meanest prejudices, both political and ecclesiastical, he has

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exhibited his 'dear uncle and father-in-law' as a fiery, coarse, and 'one-sided' declaimer against Whigs and Dissenters—men guilty of no other crime than that of having presumed to adopt and avow opinions at variance with the creed patronized by this 'patient Tibbald' of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. The individual who takes upon himself, without authority express and direct, to record for public use the confidential household-talk of another, who is no longer living to contradict or correct, acts under a responsibility which cannot, in the present instance, have been rightly estimated. In the excitement and unpremeditating freedom of intimate intercourse, many, very many, thoughts and expressions are thrown out, which the speaker might not choose deliberately to justify; or which he would, at least, think it right to moderate, either in phrase or in feeling, before he gave them dispassionately to the world. Now we can readily allow, and without any excessive mortification, that Coleridge did not like Whigs and Dissenters, inasmuch as they see no sufficient reason for adopting his dogmas in matters either of doctrine or policy; but we refuse to believe in the 'rabid insolence' with which he is here represented as expressing himself in reference to men as pure in motive as he could claim to be, as clear in intellect, and far superior in knowledge of men and things. We are well aware, (for we have stumbled on other instances of the same sort,) how easy it is, by selection and juxta-position, to give an offensive colouring to that which might have been either quite innocent in itself, or deprived of much apparent coarseness by the circumstances under which it was said, the mode in which it might be explained, or the special facts to which it was applied. At all events, when we are called upon to view in an unfavourable light, a character we have been accustomed to regard with other feelings, we may be allowed to sift the authority, and, when we find it questionable, to reject or qualify it as we may think fit. Having then been accustomed to cherish a high and sincere admiration of Coleridge, with all his faults, (and they were many,) we will not suffer the miserable perversities of an avowed partizan to change our sentiments. We reject his authority as suspicious. We prefer no charge of direct falsification, but we believe, and on no slight grounds, that the general effect of his representations is partial and erroneous.

The 'Preface' is a long—by comparison at least—and rather wordy affair, betraying much irritability and vindictive feeling—fortunately, however, in a matter with which we are not called upon to meddle any further than to say, that the charges of plagiarism, whether important or not, have received no satisfactory reply. Some attempt is made to explain and illustrate Coleridge's modes of thinking and expression, but it does not seem to have been un-

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dertaken in a right spirit, nor is it conveyed in very intelligible language.

'Throughout a long-drawn summer's day,' we are told, 'would this man talk to you in low, equable, but clear and musical tones, concerning things human and divine; marshalling all history, harmonizing all experiment, probing the depths of your consciousness, and revealing visions of glory and of terror to the imagination; but pouring withal such floods of light upon the mind, that you might, for a season, like Paul, become blind in the very act of conversion. And this he would do, without so much as one allusion to himself, without a word of reflection on others, save when any given act fell naturally in the way of his discourse; without one anecdote that was not proof and illustration of a precious position;—gratifying no passion, indulging no caprice, but with a calm mastery over your soul, leading you onward and onward for ever through a thousand windings, yet with no pause, to some magnificent point in which, as in a focus, all the party-coloured rays of his discourse should converge in light.'

If our readers, like ourselves, should happen to think these fine phrases not quite so clear and definitive as the occasion might seem to demand, they may try another specimen.

'I have seen him at times when you could not incarnate him,—when he shook aside your petty questions or doubts, and burst with some impatience through the obstacles of common conversation. Then, escaped from the flesh, he would soar upwards into an atmosphere almost too rare to breathe, but which seemed proper to *him*, and there he would float at ease. Like enough, what Coleridge then said, his subtlest listener would not understand as a man understands a newspaper; but upon such a listener there would steal an influence, and an impression, and a sympathy; there would be a gradual attempering of his body and spirit, till his total being vibrated with one pulse alone, and thought became merged in contemplation;—

> 'And so, his senses gradually wrapt
> In a half sleep, he'd dream of better worlds,
> And dreaming hear thee still, O singing lark,
> That sangest like an angel in the clouds.'

Our readers will be by this time prepared to hear, that '*there were some whom Coleridge tired, and some whom he sent asleep.*' These, it is true, were 'narrow and ungenial' spirits:—still they may be forgiven, since the number of those 'affectionate disciples', to whom he was as an 'old master of the Academy, or Lyceum,' seems to have been exceedingly small. Few, we are told, knew much of the constitution of his mind 'in anything be-'low the surface; *scarcely three or four* ever got to understand it 'in all its marvellous completeness.' And we take it, that even this 'three or four' might have employed their superhuman powers of attention better than in listening, 'throughout a long-'drawn summer's day,' to language beautiful, no doubt, but in-

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volving processes of reasoning confessedly protracted and obscure. We acknowledge ourselves to have but little faith in propositions that will not admit of simple and succinct statement. Thought, like a watch-spring, is most powerful when most compressed.

We have felt an inclination to connect with these volumes a regular review of Coleridge's works, of which the series, complete or nearly so, lies before us. Such an investigation might be so conducted, as to throw much light on the history of his mind, and to explain not a few things that are now somewhat mysterious. For the present, however, we abstain: circumstances may occur to render such an exposition more advisable than at present, and we may then resume the design. In the mean time, we shall restrict this article within brief limits. There would be no difficulty in lengthening it indefinitely, for these volumes, though small in bulk, are well charged with the materials of controversy; but the assault, so far as we are involved in the hostilities, is too feeble to provoke an energetic effort in the way of retaliation. Neither shall we trespass largely on the work for extracts, since it has already suffered so much, in other quarters, from that branch of *conveyancing*, that we may well leave it without further depredation. Concerning the general value of these *adversaria*, without rating them at the extravagant worth claimed for them by the Editor, and most assuredly without giving him credit for sound judgement in his selection, we may characterize them as containing much interesting matter, with a very considerable alloy of baser metal. Coleridge had read both deeply and excursively, and his studies had made him conversant with curious and unusual learning: he was at home among the Fathers, the Schoolmen were his familiars, and the antique philosophy his daily bread. Hence, his critical discussions are of the highest value, and at the furthest possible remove from that common currency which has been passed from hand to hand, till all character and expression are effaced; or from those vague and conventional phrases which, in these days of high, but hollow pretension, are become the average substitutes for genuine information. The portions of these volumes which refer to these subjects and their accessories, are of great interest, and we could wish that the paragraphs devoted to bad politics and worse economics, had been filled with comments on Chrysostom, or illustrations of Plato. An admirable example of that sound and searching criticism which is so rarely met with now-a-days, and which, when we are fortunate enough to encounter it, we treasure up among our 'materials for thinking,' is given in the following observations on Jeremy Taylor.

'Jeremy Taylor is an excellent author for a young man to study, for the purpose of imbibing noble principles, and at the same time of learning to exercise caution and thought in detecting his numerous errors.

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'Taylor's was a great and lovely mind; yet how much and injuriously was it perverted by his being a favourite and follower of Laud, and by his servilely popish feelings of church authority. His "Liberty of Prophesying" is a work of wonderful eloquence and skill; but if we believe the argument, what do we come to? Why, to nothing more or less than this, that so much can be said for every opinion and sect,—so impossible is it to settle any thing by reasoning or authority of Scripture,—we must appeal to some positive jurisdiction on earth, *ut sit finis controversarium*. In fact, the whole book is the precise argument used by the Papists to induce men to admit the necessity of a supreme and infallible head of the Church on earth. It is one of the works which pre-eminently give countenance to the saying of Charles or James II., I forget which:—"When you of the Church of England contend with the Catholics, you use the arguments of the Puritans; when you contend with the Puritans, you immediately adopt all the weapons of the Catholics." Taylor never speaks with the slightest symptom of affection or respect of Luther, Calvin, or any other of the great reformers,—at least, not in any of his learned works; but he *saints* every trumpery monk or friar, down to the very latest canonizations by the modern popes. I fear you will think me harsh, when I say that I believe Taylor was, perhaps unconsciously, half a Socinian in heart. Such a strange inconsistency would not be impossible. The Romish Church has produced many such devout Socinians. The cross of Christ is dimly seen in Taylor's works. Compare him in this particular with Donne, and you will feel the difference in a moment. Why is not Donne's volume of sermons reprinted at Oxford?'

The following observations on two of Coleridge's most eminent contemporaries, are good specimens of that conversational criticism which often conveys more in few and cursory expressions, than more elaborate efforts at the delineation of character.

'Sir James Mackintosh is the king of the men of talent. He is a most eloquent converser. How well I remember his giving breakfast to me and Sir Humphry Davy, at that time an unknown young man, and our having a very spirited talk about Locke and Newton, and so forth! When Davy was gone, Mackintosh said to me, "That's a very extraordinary young man; but he is gone wrong on some points." But Davy was, at that time at least, a man of genius; and I doubt if Mackintosh ever heartily appreciated an eminently original man. He is uncommonly powerful in his own line; but it is not the line of a first-rate man. After all his fluency and brilliant erudition, you can rarely carry off any thing worth preserving. You might, not improperly, write on his forehead, "Warehouse to let!" He always dealt too much in generalities for a lawyer. He is deficient in power in applying his principles to the points in debate. I remember Robert Smith had much more logical ability; but Smith aimed at conquest by any gladiatorial shift; whereas Mackintosh was uniformly candid in argument. I am speaking now from old recollections.

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'Canning is very irritable, surprisingly so for a wit who is always giving such hard knocks. He should have put on an ass's skin before he went into parliament. Lord Liverpool is the single stay of this ministry; but he is not a man of a directing mind. He cannot ride on the whirlwind. He serves as the isthmus to connect one half of the cabinet with the other. He always gives you the common sense of the matter, and in that it is that his strength in debate lies.'

Of the more abstruse discussions, or rather intimations of discussion, which occupy perhaps the larger portion of this Work, we have very little to say. We have no special admiration of a style of writing that requires translation before it can be fairly understood, and, when translated, loses much, if not the whole, of what might, at first, have the air of profound and original speculation. A good deal of what lies before us appears to be in this predicament, and we are not inclined to lose our time in analytical experiments on obvious truths or doubtful questions. The doctrine of the Trinity is not made clearer by the crabbed nomenclature of the schools, nor the modes of the Divine existence by the *plus* and *minus* of mathematical forms.

Before concluding, we would suggest that, in any collection of Coleridge's Works, whether it may be partial or complete, it would be advisable to give various readings. He often altered, and not always for the better. His splendid "Ode to the Departing Year" is sadly tamed down from the daring spirit of the first publication.

Art. IV. *Lewis's Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra, made during a Residence in Granada, in the Years* 1833-4. Large folio. London.

THIS is a very splendid and spirited Work; and if in some respects it may seem to fall rather short of our highly excited expectations, we can have no hesitation in admitting that, in all fair and reasonable probability, the fault lies in our not having yet conquered the common propensity to draw general conclusions from partial premises. It is now some time since we saw two or three specimens of the plates, under very advantageous circumstances of preparation; and even now, without the intimations of colour which were then introduced, or the touches of the crayon which gave a singular sprightliness to the impression, we still think those subjects, both in treatment and choice, among the most artist-like in the collection. Our anticipations were, of course, (and we believe that we have in some previous Article expressed ourselves to that effect,) rather extravagantly stimulated; and if they have not in all respects been realized, on them, and not on the Work itself, we are quite willing that the blame should

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lie. This may, we are aware, look like indirect censure; such, however, is not our meaning. We think the series admirable, although not altogether what we expected.

The entire Work contains twenty-six plates, including the vignette; lithographed by Harding, Lane, Gauci, and Lewis, and of these, the best executed are decidedly those by the first named artist. A beautiful effect is obtained by what is, we suppose, a novel process in its application to lithography. A ground of appropriate shade and hue, with the lights left untouched, is laid by a wood-block, 'as we guess,' previously to the impression of the lithographed drawing; and this produces a brilliancy and discrimination which leaves little further to be desired in the way of colour. In the first plate, a general view of the Alhambra and the Generalife, the clear white thus obtained has an admirable effect on the various buildings in the fore and middle grounds, and on the snowy ridges of the distant Sierra Nevada. The whole series appears to present accurate fac-similes of the original drawings; but, if the memoranda from which those finished draughts were made, contained no more of detail than is given in the very rough fac-simile of a first sketch reclining against a wall in the door-way leading from the hall of the Abencerrages to the *Patio de los Leones*, then we must say, that we think Mr. Lewis has trusted too much to his memory, and too little to his eye and hand. We have a further motive for this observation; inasmuch as we find, on turning to Mr. Roberts's views of the same objects, discrepancies which can hardly be accounted for by the mere variation of handling and management in different artists. For instance, Mr. R. invariably assigns a greater height to the buildings of the Alhambra, than is given by Mr. Lewis; and although, judging merely by reference to other views in the same work, we might be inclined to think such an attenuation and elevation of objects, a *manner* into which Mr. Roberts was not unlikely to fall, yet, on the other hand, Mr. L.'s towers and gate-ways have a heaviness and squatness that seem to us at variance with the character of the Morisco architecture. Let any one compare Harding's fine Lithograph of the Tower of Comares in the work before us, with Roberts's view of the same structure, and he will hardly recognize their identity. The first is low and heavy; the latter, with a general effect of massiveness, has much more of height and depth, with considerable detail not appearing in the other. This is a point that we should like to have decided, but on which we are quite unable to give judgment. We are rather inclined to suspect Mr. Roberts of indulging occasionally in the poetical: the rich perspectives, colonnades, and decorations of his 'Hall of Judgement,' must, we think, have been a little 'beautified' by his pencil. His 'Hall of the Abencerrages' is a splendid drawing, and far superior to the truncated view in the present work.

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From the omissions in this collection we should be disposed to infer, that Mr. Lewis contemplates the publication of a second *livraison*. We wish it may be so, and, in the mean time, strongly recommend the present series to the admirers of excellent drawing, noble scenery, and architecture gorgeously, yet appropriately enriched.

Art. V.—*Abbotsford, and Newstead Abbey.* By the Author of "The Sketch Book." 12mo, pp. 290. London, 1835.

THIS is No. II. of the Author's "Miscellanies." We last met with him as a traveller in the Prairies of his native land. In this volume, he appears before the public as the visiter of Scott, and a pilgrim to Newstead. Our American Cosmopolist is at home every where.

Abbotsford is a biographical portrait, drawn from the life, and set off with picturesque accompaniments that render it a sort of moving diorama to the fancy. It describes a visit paid to Scott in 1816, when in the prime of his faculties, and in perhaps his happiest days. He had not then outlived his first lease of poetical fame. As the yet unknown 'Author of Waverley,' he was securing to himself a second harvest of literary glory. And he was building—'reducing one of his air castles to solid stone and 'mortar,' and full of his plans and perspective.

'Happy would it have been for him, could he have contented himself with his delightful little vine-covered cottage, and the simple, yet hearty and hospitable style in which he lived at the time of my visit! The great pile of Abbotsford, with the huge expense it entailed upon him, of servants, retainers, guests, and baronial style, was a drain upon his purse, a task upon his exertions, and a weight upon his mind, that finally crushed him.'

Mr. Irving has shewn both tact and judgement in his choice of the time and point of view for his sketch. He describes his first visit, but with the advantage of the deepened impressions produced by the casual intercourse of subsequent years. 'Late 'on the evening of the 29th of August, 1816,'—thus he begins his narrative,—'I arrived at the ancient little border town of 'Selkirk, where I put up for the night.

'I had come down from Edinburgh, partly to visit Melrose Abbey and its vicinity, but chiefly to get a sight of the mighty "Minstrel of the North." I had a letter of introduction to him from Thomas Campbell, the poet; and had reason to think, from the interest he had taken in some of my earlier scribblings, that a visit from me would not be deemed an intrusion.

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'On the following morning, after an early breakfast, I set off in a post-chaise for the abbey. On the way thither, I stopped at the gate of Abbotsford, and sent the postilion to the house with the letter of introduction, and my card, on which I had written that I was on my way to the ruins of Melrose Abbey, and wished to know whether it would be agreeable to Mr. Scott, (he had not yet been made a Baronet,) to receive a visit from me in the course of the morning.

'While the postilion was on his errand, I had time to survey the mansion. It stood some short distance below the road, on the side of a hill sweeping down to the Tweed, and was as yet but a snug gentleman's cottage, with something rural and picturesque in its appearance. The whole front was overrun with evergreens, and immediately above the portal was a great pair of elk-horns, branching out from beneath the foliage, and giving the cottage the look of a hunting-lodge. The huge baronial pile, to which this modest mansion in a manner gave birth, was just emerging into existence: part of the walls, surrounded by scaffolding, already had risen to the height of the cottage, and the court-yard in front was encumbered by masses of hewn stone.

'The noise of the chaise had disturbed the quiet of the establishment. Out sallied the warder of the castle, a black greyhound; and, leaping on one of the blocks of stone, began a furious barking. His alarm brought out the whole garrison of dogs:—

> "Both mongrel, puppy, whelp, and hound,
> And curs of low degree."

All open-mouthed and vociferous. I should correct my quotation: not a cur was to be seen on the premises. Scott was too true a sportsman, and had too high a veneration for pure blood, to tolerate a mongrel.

'In a little while, the "Lord of the Castle" himself made his appearance. I knew him at once by the descriptions I had read and heard, and by the likenesses that had been published of him. He was tall, and of a large and powerful frame. His dress was simple and almost rustic. An old green shooting-coat, with a dog-whistle at the button-hole, brown linen pantaloons, stout shoes that tied at the ankles, and a white hat that had evidently seen service. He came limping up the gravel-walk, aiding himself by a stout walking-staff; but moving rapidly and with vigour. By his side jogged along a large iron-gray staghound, of most grave demeanour, who took no part in the clamour of the canine rabble, but seemed to consider himself bound, for the dignity of the house, to give me a courteous reception.

'Before Scott reached the gate, he called out in a hearty tone, welcoming me to Abbotsford, and asking news of Campbell. Arrived at the door of the chaise, he grasped me warmly by the hand: "Come, drive down, drive down to the house," said he; "ye're just in time for breakfast, and afterwards ye shall see all the wonders of the Abbey."

'I would have excused myself on the plea of having already made my breakfast. "Tut, man," cried he, "a ride in the keen air of the Scotch hills is warrant enough for a second breakfast." I was accord-

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ingly whirled to the portal of the cottage, and in a few minutes found myself seated at the family breakfast table. There was no one present but the family, which consisted of Mrs. Scott; her eldest daughter, Sophia, then a fine girl about seventeen; Miss Ann Scott, two or three years younger; Walter, a well-grown stripling; and Charles, a lively boy, eleven or twelve years of age.

'I soon felt myself quite at home, and my heart in a glow, with the cordial welcome I had experienced. I had thought to make a mere morning visit, but found I was not to be let off so lightly. "You must not think our neighbourhood is to be read in a morning, like a newspaper," said Scott; "it takes several days of study for an observant traveller, that has a relish for auld-world trumpery. After breakfast you shall make your visit to Melrose Abbey; I shall not be able to accompany you, as I have some household affairs to attend to; but I will put you in charge of my son Charles, who is very learned in all things touching the old ruin and the neighbourhood it stands in; and he, and my friend, Johnnie Bower, will tell you the whole truth about it, with a great deal more that you are not called upon to believe, unless you be a true and nothing-doubting antiquary. When you come back, I'll take you out on a ramble about the neighbourhood. To-morrow we will take a look at the Yarrow, and the next day we will drive over to Dryburgh Abbey, which is a fine old ruin, well worth your seeing."—In a word, before Scott had got through with his plan, I found myself committed for a visit of several days, and it seemed as if a little realm of romance was suddenly open before me.

'After breakfast, I accordingly set off for the Abbey, with my little friend Charles, whom I found a most sprightly and entertaining companion. He had an ample stock of anecdotes about the neighbourhood, which he had learned from his father, and many quaint remarks and sly jokes, evidently derived from the same source; all which were uttered with a Scottish accent, and a mixture of Scottish phraseology, that gave them additional flavour.

'On our way to the Abbey, he gave me some anecdotes of Johnny Bower, to whom his father had alluded. He was sexton of the parish, and custodian of the ruin, keeping it in order, and shewing it to strangers;—a worthy little man, not without ambition in his humble sphere. The death of his predecessor had been mentioned in the newspapers, so that his name had appeared in print throughout the land. When Johnny succeeded to the guardianship of the ruin, he stipulated that, on his death, his name should receive like honourable blazon, with this addition, that it should be from the pen of Scott. The latter gravely pledged himself to pay this tribute to his memory, and Johnny now lived in the proud anticipation of a poetic immortality.

'I found Johnny Bower a decent-looking little old man, in a blue coat and red waistcoat. He received us with much greeting, and seemed delighted to see my young companion, who was full of merriment and waggery, drawing out his peculiarities for my amusement. The old man was one of the most authentic and particular of cicerones. He pointed out every thing in the Abbey that had been described by Scott in his Lay of the Last Minstrel, and would repeat, with broad

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Scotch accent, the passage which celebrated it. Thus, in passing through the cloisters, he made me remark the beautiful carvings of leaves and flowers wrought in stone with the most exquisite delicacy, and, notwithstanding the lapse of centuries, retaining their sharpness, as if fresh from the chisel,—rivalling, as Scott has said, the real objects of which they were imitations:

> "Nor herb nor floweret glisten'd there,
> But was carved in the cloister arches as fair."

He pointed out also, among the carved work, a nun's head of much beauty, which, he said, Scott always stopped to admire, "for the Shirra' had a wonderful eye for all sic matters."

'I would observe, that Scott seemed to derive more consequence in the neighbourhood from being sheriff of the county, than from being poet.'

* * * * * * *

'I found afterwards that Scott used to amuse himself with the simplicity of the old man, and his zeal in verifying every passage of the poem, as though it had been authentic history; and that he always acquiesced in his deductions.

'The fictions of Scott had become facts with honest John Bower. From constantly living among the ruins of Melrose Abbey, and pointing out the scenes of the poem, the Lay of the Last Minstrel had, in a manner, become interwoven with his whole existence; and I doubt whether he did not, now and then, mix up his own identity with the personages of some of its cantos.

'He could not bear that any other production of the poet should be preferred to the Lay of the Last Minstrel. "Faith," said he, "it's just e'en as gude a thing as Mr. Scott has written; an if he were stannin there, I'd tell him so—an' then he'd laugh!"

'He was loud in his praises of the affability of Scott. "He'll come here sometimes," said he, "with great folks in his company; and the first I'll know of it is hearing his voice calling out Johnny!—Johnny Bower!—an when I go out, I'm sure to be greeted with a joke or a pleasant word. He'll stand and crack an laugh wi' me, just like an auld wife;—and to think that of a man that has such an awfu' knowledge o' history!"

'As Johnny Bower piqued himself upon showing every thing laid down in the poem, there was one passage that perplexed him sadly. It was the opening of one of the cantos:—

> "If thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright,
> Go, visit it by the pale moonlight;
> For the gay beams of lightsome day,
> Gild but to flout the ruins grey," &c.

In consequence of this admonition, many of the most devout pilgrims to the ruin could not be contented with a daylight inspection, and insisted it could be nothing unless seen by the light of the moon. Now unfortunately, the moon shines but for a part of the month, and what is still more unfortunate, is very apt, in Scotland, to be obscured by

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clouds and mists. Johnny was sorely puzzled, therefore, how to accommodate his poetry-struck visiters with this indipensable moonshine. At length, in a lucky moment, he devised a substitute for the moon. This was a great double tallow candle stuck upon the end of a pole, with which he would conduct his visiters about the ruins on dark nights; so much to their satisfaction, that, at length, he began to think it even preferable to the moon itself. "It does na' light up a' at once, to be sure," he would say, "but then you can shift it about, and show the auld abbey, bit by bit, whilst the moon only shines on one side."

'Honest Johnny Bower! so many years have elapsed since the time I treat of, that it is more than probable his simple head lies beneath the walls of his favourite abbey. It is to be hoped his humble ambition has been gratified, and his name recorded by the pen of the man he so loved and honoured.'

Mr. Irving is particularly happy in his pen and ink portraits of animals, and his description of Scott's canine attendants has the very spirit of Landseer. The Poet's domestic animals 'were 'his friends.' But we cannot make room for them in our picture. On his return from Melrose Abbey, Scott proposed a ramble to shew his visiter something of the surrounding country.

'We rambled on among scenes which had been familiar in Scottish song, and rendered classic by the pastoral muse, long before Scott had thrown the rich mantle of his poetry over them. What a thrill of pleasure did I feel when I first saw the broom-covered tops of the Cowdenknowes peeping above the grey hills of the Tweed; and what touching associations were called up by the sight of Ettrick Vale, Gala Water, and the Braes of Yarrow. Every turn brought to mind some household air, some almost-forgotten song of the nursery, by which I had been lulled to sleep in my childhood; and with them the looks and voices of those who had sung them, and who were now no more. Scotland is eminently a land of song; and it is these melodies chanted in our ears in the days of infancy, and connected with the memory of those we have loved, and who have passed away, that clothe Scottish landscape with such tender associations.

'The Scottish songs in general have something intrinsically melancholy in them, owing, in all probability, to the pastoral and lonely life of those who composed them, who were often mere shepherds, tending their flocks in the solitary glens, or folding them among the naked hills. Many of these rustic bards have passed away without leaving a name behind them; nothing remains of them but those sweet and touching little songs, which live like echoes about the places they once inhabited. Most of these simple effusions are linked with some favourite haunt of the poet; and in this way, not a mountain or valley, a town or tower, green shaw or running stream, in Scotland, but has some popular air connected with it, that makes its very name a key-note to a whole train of delicious fancies and feelings.

'Let me step forward in time, and mention how sensible I was to

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the power of these simple airs, in a visit which I made to Ayr, the birth-place of Robert Burns. I passed a whole morning about "the banks and braes o' bonnie Doon," with his tender little love verses running in my head. I found a poor Scotch carpenter at work among the ruins of Kirk Alloway, which was to be converted into a school-house. Finding the purpose of my visit, he left his work, sat down with me on a grassy grave close by where Burns's father was buried, and talked of the poet, whom he had known personally. He said, his writings were familiar to the poorest and most illiterate of the country folk; "*and it seemed to him as if the country had grown more beautiful since Burns had written his bonnie little songs about it.*"'

The extensive prospect commanded by the hills, disappointed our Visiter, who was not prepared for the bare and monotonous scenery of the border country.

'I beheld a mere succession of grey waving hills, line beyond line, as far as my eye could reach, monotonous in their aspect, and so destitute of trees, that one could almost see a stout fly walking along their profile; and the far-famed Tweed appeared a naked stream, flowing between bare hills, without a tree or a thicket on its banks; and yet, such had been the magic web of poetry and romance thrown over the whole, that it had a greater charm for me than the richest scenery I had beheld in England. I could not help giving utterance to my thoughts.

'Scott hummed for a moment to himself, and looked grave; he had no idea of having his muse complimented at the expense of his native hills. "It may be pertinacity," said he, at length; "but to my eye, these grey hills and all this wild border country have beauties peculiar to themselves. I like the very nakedness of the land; it has something bold, and stern, and solitary about it. When I have been for some time in the rich scenery about Edinburgh, which is like ornamented garden land, I begin to wish myself back again among my own honest grey hills; and if I did not see the heather at least once a year, *I think I should die!*"

'The last words were said with an honest warmth, accompanied by a thump on the ground with his staff, by way of emphasis, that showed his heart was in his speech. He vindicated the Tweed, too, as a beautiful stream in itself; and observed, that he did not dislike it for being bare of trees, probably from having been much of an angler in his time; and an angler does not like to have a stream overhung by trees, which embarrass him in the exercise of his rod and line.

'I took occasion to plead, in like manner, the associations of early life for my disappointment in respect to the surrounding scenery. I had been so accustomed to see hills crowned with forests, and streams breaking their way through a wilderness of trees, that all my ideas of romantic landscape were apt to be well wooded.

'"Ay, and that's the great charm of your country," cried Scott. "You love the forest as I do the heather; but I would not have you

think I do not feel the glory of a great woodland prospect. There is nothing I should like more than to be in the midst of one of your grand, wild, original forests, with the idea of hundreds of miles of untrodden forest around me. I once saw at Leith an immense stick of timber, just landed from America. It must have been an enormous tree when it stood in its native soil, at its full height, and with all its branches. I gazed at it with admiration: it seemed like one of the gigantic obelisks which are now and then brought from Egypt to shame the pigmy monuments of Europe; and, in fact, these vast aboriginal trees, that have sheltered the Indians before the intrusion of the white men, are the monuments and antiquities of your country."'

The next morning, our Visiter rose early; but, to his surprise, the Lord of Abbotsford was already up and forth, and was seen seated on a fragment of stone, chatting with the workmen employed in the new building. About the place were strewed various morsels from the ruins of Melrose Abbey, which were to be incorporated in his mansion. He had already constructed, out of similar materials, a kind of Gothic shrine over a spring, and surmounted it with a small stone cup.

'Among the relics from the Abbey which lay scattered before us, was a most quaint and antique little lion, either of red stone, or painted red, which hit my fancy. I forget whose cognizance it was, or from whose monument it had been taken, but I shall never forget the delightful observations concerning old Melrose to which it accidentally gave rise. The Abbey was evidently a pile that called up all his poetic and romantic feelings; and one to which he was enthusiastically attached by the most fanciful and delightful of his early associations. "There is no telling," said he, "what treasures are hid in that glorious old pile. It is a famous place for antiquarian plunder. There are such rich bits of old-time sculpture for the architect, and old-time story for the poet. There is as rare picking in it as in a Stilton cheese, and in the same taste,—the mouldier the better."

'As Scott sat on a stone talking in this way, and knocking with his staff against the little red lion which lay prostrate at his feet, his grey eyes kindled beneath his shagged eye-brows: scenes, images, incidents, kept breaking upon his mind as he proceeded; mingled with touches of the mysterious and supernatural as connected with the heart of Bruce. It seemed as if a poem or romance were breaking vaguely on his imagination. . . . . .

'A summons to breakfast broke upon our conversation, when I begged to recommend to Scott's attention my friend the little red lion, who had led to such an interesting topic, and hoped he might receive some niche or station in the future castle, worthy of his evident antiquity and apparent dignity. Scott assured me with comic gravity, that the valiant little lion should be most honourably entertained; I hope, therefore, that he still flourishes at Abbotsford.'

Various circumstances that Mr. Irving observed about Scott,

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during this visit, concurred to produce the persuasion that 'many 'of the antiquarian humours of Monkhouse were taken from his 'own richly compounded character.' In a subsequent excursion to Dryburgh Abbey, Scott pointed to an old border keep, called Smailholm Tower, on the summit of a rocky knoll, the Sandyknows Crags, as a place peculiarly dear to him from the recollections of childhood. His grandfather had lived there in the old Smailholm grange; and he had been sent there when about two years old, on account of his lameness, that he might have the benefit of the pure air of the hills, and be under the care of his grandmother and aunts. He has depicted this scene of his boyish years in the Introduction to one of the cantos of Marmion; and it is Smailholm Tower which he has clothed with such romantic associations in his tale of "The Eve of St. John."

'It was, he said, during his residence at Smailholm Crags, that he first imbibed his passion for legendary tales, border traditions, and old national songs and ballads. His grandmother and aunts were well versed in that kind of lore, so current in Scottish country life. They used to recount them in long, gloomy, winter days, and about the ingle nook at night, in conclave with their gossip visiters; and little Walter would sit and listen with greedy ear, thus taking into his infant mind the seeds of many a splendid fiction.

'There was an old shepherd, he said, in the service of the family, who used to sit under the sunny wall and tell marvellous stories, and recite old-time ballads as he knitted stockings. Scott used to be wheeled out in his chair in fine weather, and would sit beside the old man, and listen to him for hours.

'The situation of Sandyknows was favourable both for story-teller and listener. It commanded a wide view over all the border country, with its feudal towers, its haunted glens, and wizard streams. As the old shepherd told his tales, he could point out the very scene of action: thus, before Scott could walk, he was made familiar with the scenes of his future stories; they were all seen as through a magic medium, and took that tinge of romance which they ever after retained in his imagination.'

'In reverting to the days of his childhood, Scott observed, that the lameness that had disabled him in infancy gradually decreased; he soon acquired strength in his limbs, and though he always limped, he became, even in boyhood, a great walker. He used frequently to stroll from home, and wander about the country for days together, picking up all kinds of local gossip, and observing popular scenes and characters. His father used to be vexed with him for this wandering propensity, and, shaking his head, would say, he feared the boy would make nothing but a pedler. As he grew older, he became a keen sportsman, and passed much of his time hunting and shooting. His field sports led him into the most wild and unfrequented parts of the country, and in this way he picked up much of that local knowledge which he has since evinced in his writings.

'His first visit to Loch Katrine, he said, was in his boyish days, on

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a shooting excursion. The island, which he has made the romantic residence of the Lady of the Lake, was then garrisoned by an old man and his wife. Their house was vacant: they had put the key under the door, and were absent fishing. It was at that time a peaceful residence, but became afterwards a resort of smugglers, until they were ferreted out.

'In after years, when Scott began to turn this local knowledge to literary account, he revisited many of those scenes of his early ramblings, and endeavoured to secure the fugitive remains of the traditions and songs that had charmed his boyhood. When collecting materials for his Border Minstrelsy, he used, he said, to go from cottage to cottage, and make the old wives repeat all they knew, if but two lines; and, by putting these scraps together, he retrieved many a fine characteristic old ballad or tradition from oblivion.'

These illustrations of Scott's literary character are extremely interesting. His social manners must have been as fascinating as his writings. His conversation was hearty, graphic, and dramatic, yet without display, and he could listen as well as talk; that is, he could converse. It was delightful to observe the generous mode in which he always spoke of his literary contemporaries. His humour was free from causticity, and says Mr. Irving, 'I do 'not recollect a sneer throughout his conversation, any more than 'throughout his works.'

To complete the moral portrait, we should have liked to know that the "things which are unseen and eternal" had some share of the attention and concern of this much flattered and highly gifted man; but Mr. Irving seems to have regarded religion as too foreign from his picturesque narrative, for even a passing reference. From the commendation bestowed upon 'an honest 'parson' of the Church of England, 'who was not too refined to 'be happy, laughed loud and long at every joke, and enjoyed 'them with the zest of a man who has more merriment in his 'heart than coin in his pocket,' we should, perhaps, be warranted in inferring that the notions which both Scott and his visiter entertained upon such subjects, are at the furthest remove from the sentiments of either the Reformers of Scotland or the Pilgrim Fathers of New England. But this is a painful topic, and we turn from it with a sigh. "The world will love its own"—but alas! for those who are contented with its idolatry.

We have lingered so long about Abbotsford, that we must positively decline to follow our Author in his visit to Newstead. The reader will admire the ingenuity with which the very scanty materials are worked up, by means of light and shade, into a picturesque description, from which the living figure that gives it character, is absent. We cannot forbear to notice by the way, the aristocratic predilections of our American visiter. Scott and Byron each belonged to the upper circle of society; the one by birth,

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the other by acquired rank. Would their genius have commanded the same interest, if found in a humbler walk of life? Whatever poets may say, poverty is not picturesque; and to be seen to advantage, the finest statue must have its pedestal.

Art. VI. *Letter to Lord Melbourne on the Irish Church and Irish Tithes.* By J. Broadhurst, Esq. 8vo, pp. 72. London, 1835.

'HAD Ireland remained an independent nation,' remarks Mr. Broadhurst, '750,000 persons could not have continued to take the tithe of a nation counting nearly 8,000,000 of people.' This is a proposition which, we presume, no one will dispute. Can we then wonder that the Irish should be impatient under a yoke which has entailed upon them this monstrous injustice? If it be just to appropriate the entire tithe property of a country to the maintenance of a Church alien to the people, because it is the Church of the State, what would it signify if there were not a Protestant left in Ireland, to require the services of a resident minister? In that event, the Church of England might as reasonably claim the whole of the Irish tithe to be divided among her clergy in this country, as her advocates now contend that the tithes of the Roman Catholic provinces of Ireland should be appropriated to the benefit of the Protestants of Ulster. In parishes in which there is not a single Protestant, the tithe is claimed for the sinecure Church. Why should it not be claimed, by an extension of the same principle, if there were no Protestants left in any of the parishes? The bulk of the population of Ireland derive no benefit from the Establishment; and they might as justly be required to pay tithe for a non-existent Church, as for one to which they do not belong, and which exists for them in vain. The arguments employed by the opponents of the Irish Tithe Bill would fairly conduct us to this conclusion,—that tithes are to be viewed as inalienably the possession of the Protestant Episcopal Church: and if the whole of the eight millions who are found on the soil of Ireland were Roman Catholics or Dissenters, still it would be sacrilege and impiety to divert a shilling of the tithe property to national purposes!

'The collection of tithe by a parochial clergy,' the Author of this Letter remarks, 'has ever been found injurious to the cause of religion, even when taken for a Church from which the people have received their religious instruction. In Ireland, tithe is collected for a Church alien to the people.' The collection of it forms a perennial source of heart-burnings and litigation, even in this country, where it is for the most part received in large sums from substantial farmers. In Ireland, it is levied upon

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nearly the whole mass of the peasantry, there being scarcely any other country in Europe where land is so minutely subdivided, and the small patches of potato ground being tithed like the largest farm in England. Could there be a system devised, so admirably adapted to sow a country with the seeds of disloyalty and discord, and to bring all the malignant passions into play? Tithe, in Ireland, is demanded under circumstances which have no parallel in any other Christian country. This system, indeed, can no longer be persisted in; and the charge is now to be thrown upon the landlords. In this arrangement, however, Mr. Broadhurst sees a new source of danger.

'Tithe can no longer be collected by the clergy. To remedy this, both parties, in parliament, concur in wishing to throw upon the landlords the task which has proved too great for the Church—both concur in thinking that a change in the name will render that charge no longer distasteful to the Irish people. Yet the people know that the additional rent demanded under commutation is for the benefit of the Protestant clergy. There will be nothing changed but the name of the tithe, and its being obtained through the agency of the landlords.

'The practical result of commutation is making the Irish landlords tithe proctors for the Church! This will consummate the evil, and set the seal to disorder.

'I have already shown how helpless is the situation of the Irish landlords—but they have, as yet, not been mixed up with the lamentable question of tithes.

'The Church must, it seems, at all risks continue identified with the tithes. To insure this, both you and Sir Robert Peel are ready to sacrifice a large portion of this property, to secure the remainder to the Church.

'A small residue of tithes is a better income then for the Church than any amount of income obtained for it from another source! So bent is every government on maintaining a connection between the Irish tithes and the Irish Church, that the landlords are now to be made a party in the struggle!

'If making them proctors for the Church can reconcile the people to tithe under another name—well—if it has not this effect, you will regret the hazardous experiment.

'It matters not, my Lord, what a large bonus may induce the landlords to undertake. If they cannot do that for the Church which the Church cannot do for herself, you will have embarked them in a fearful contest.

'The present struggle is between the people and the Church—hereafter, the landlords will form a third party in the strife.

'Again I repeat, the only hope of saving tithe as public property is to disconnect it from the Church. If you do not go this length, tithe as public property is annihilated.'

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'Give, then, to the Church of Ireland, an income whose collection subjects its ministers to no obloquy. Let their minds, and those of the people they instruct, be no longer under circumstances prejudicial to moral and religious influence.

'We are bound to endow and maintain the Protestant Church in Ireland; but we are equally bound to do this in a manner compatible with the peace of the country. The English government has ever been desirous that the Irish Protestant Church should exercise a spiritual influence over the Irish people; yet its first step was to endow that Church in a manner so objectionable as to render it, on temporal grounds, odious to the people. By this course it placed the interests of the clergy and the people in opposition; and this for the purpose of making them amalgamate in spiritual belief! If this was wrong, when the Protestant Church was first planted in Ireland, the continuance of such a system is not less wrong now. If you examine carefully the whole of our legislation for Ireland, from its conquest by Cromwell to the present hour, you will not find a single Act of Parliament calculated to produce a moral and religious impression. We have in all that time rarely had recourse to any means of governing the Irish, save those of force.

'Unless we are prepared to retrace our steps and become wholly intolerant, all we can now do is to re-endow the Protestant Church in Ireland out of the public revenue—protecting her as an independent, but not as a supreme Church.

'I would re-endow her in the most liberal spirit; but there should be in future no clergy without important duties to perform. In obliging them to make a return to the public, for a public income, by working constantly in the vocation they have chosen, we shall use the most efficient means for rendering the establishment national and permanent.' pp. 45—51.

We ought also, Mr. Broadhurst contends, to lose no time in offering to the Irish Catholic Church an endowment duly proportioned to that granted to the Protestant Church.

'In the present irritated state of feeling among the Irish Catholics, it is to be feared,' he says, 'they would not accept stipends for their priests; but, when juster principles of government shall have gained for us the hearts of the people, we should lose no time in pressing upon them an endowment for their Church. In the mean time, if your Lordship expects peace in Ireland, the value of the tithe must be paid into the Treasury, and appropriated to the general uses of the State.'

Agreeing, as we do, in the latter part of the Writer's suggestion, we shall not spend many words in combating the former part, more especially as the forcing of stipends upon reluctant priests is an expedient too absurd to be seriously contemplated. In fact, Mr. Broadhurst admits that it would not be feasible at present, and therefore it could form no element of a satisfactory arrangement. And what would be the object of those who made this offer? It might bribe the indolence of the priesthood, but

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would it abate the still more pernicious fanaticism of the monks and lay orders? Would it relieve the people of any pecuniary demands made upon them in the shape of fees and dues, which now form the main support of the Romish clergy? Clearly not. It would but multiply the rival claimants. For every stipendiary priest, there would spring up two or three expectants or mendicants; and the flocks would be as much mulcted as ever.

The ministers of religion may be divided into three classes, as viewed under three different characters; teachers of religion, ecclesiastical functionaries, and priests. It is not generally perceived, how the question relating to their maintenance is governed by the nature of their office. If it be that of the priest, the dispenser of sacraments, whose main business is to baptize, marry, absolve on confession, administer the Eucharist, and inter, these services are invariably connected with fees, which form the most cherished property of the Church, an essential part of the sacerdotal system, and the very basis of the Seven Sacraments. The fee system enables every priest to *enforce* his maintenance. It is strictly a compulsory system of ecclesiastical taxation, sanctioned by the most fearful penalties; as compulsory as any tax levied in the shape of excise or customs. It is obvious then, that no Church, with the framework of whose polity this system has been intertwined, is likely to be induced to part with it for stipends or endowments. The Episcopal clergy of the English Church, even when drawing large revenues from the tithes, shew no disposition to relax their hold on the parochial fees; although the abolition of the Confessional in the Protestant Church has deprived them not only of one material source of profit arising from fees, but of the power of enforcing their ghostly claims upon the laity. Endowments enjoyed by the Romish Church are applicable to the support of colleges, convents, missions, and other establishments; but the stipendiary system is not adapted to the functions and position of the priesthood, and could not, at all events, be substituted for the fee system, without a relinquishment of the distinguishing features of the sacerdotal theory.

Ecclesiastical functionaries whose office is limited to the discharge of a certain routine of specific duties, must be paid by a stipend or fixed salary. If it is deemed, for instance, a part of Protestant Christianity, to keep up the daily iteration of the musical service of the choir in our Gothic temples, albeit no congregations are now attracted by the obsolete performance, it is obvious that funds must be found to pay the choir, and defray other expenses, which neither compulsive fees nor voluntary contributions can furnish. Again, a state clergy, as forming a species of magistracy or spiritual police, may claim support from the State. The idea of a Protestant clergyman is very much that of a parochial magistrate, whose business it is to administer

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the authority of the State in sacred things. The tithe-holding clergy look upon themselves—and such is the theory of the Establishment—as an order of gentry; a very different character from that of either priests or popular instructors, and scarcely compatible with theirs. To the stipendiary clergy, for the most part, are abandoned the instruction of the people and the performance of the other offices; and experience amply proves, that *tithes*, however suitable a fund for education, the relief of the poor, and other general purposes,—or for the maintenance of a Levitical order of literati,—will never provide a country with efficient religious instructors.

But if the question be, what is the best mode of securing a competent maintenance for the Christian pastor or the Christian missionary, that is quite another matter. Fees and Tithes are alike out of the question; and it being admitted that they are entitled to a stipend, the inquiry resolves itself into this—whether that stipend should be derived from the voluntary contributions of the Church, or from the taxation of the community by the State. The Curate of the Established Church is supported by a stipend, and so is the Dissenting minister. The latter depends for his stipend upon an agreement with his people: the former holds it by a bargain with the State through the medium of the incumbent. Which system works best, as regards the comparative amount of stipend? Which secures the most faithful and competent discharge of the pastoral office? Let these questions be fairly met, and decided by the test of fact; and it will be seen that the voluntary system is better for the Church, better for the State, better for the people.

But, although the Christian pastor may ordinarily look for support to his own congregation, the Voluntary System does not suppose that this can universally be the case. On the contrary, it calls upon the churches collectively to provide both for the assistance of ministers in poorer districts, and for sending missionaries and itinerant teachers to districts unprovided with religious instruction. The South of Ireland is at this moment very much in the condition of a heathen country. To meet the state of the case, the theory of an Establishment must be abandoned. The only Establishment defensible upon that theory, is that of a national church, and the national church of the Irish is the Roman Catholic. The Protestant clergyman in the districts where the bulk of the people are Papists, stands in the predicament, and ought to go forth in the spirit, of a Missionary. How is he to be supported? By tithes levied upon the people he is sent to instruct and convert? Preposterous notion! And yet, we sometimes hear the perpetuation of the tithes defended upon this ground, as requisite for the support of a Missionary Pro-

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testant Establishment! The Church of England in Ireland is, forsooth, a Missionary Church! Very military missionaries must those be deemed, who quarter themselves upon the territory they are sent to conquer. What an admirable plan for propagating Protestantism, by tithing the Papist, and exacting this tribute in earnest of his conversion! Why not set up a Missionary Establishment of the same Apostolic kind in India, and levy tithes in support of the Episcopal Church upon the Hindoos and the Moslem, in order to persuade them the more readily to embrace the Christian faith? Why not divide Bengal into Protestant benefices, in order to make it at once, *ipso facto*, a Christian country? There need not be churches—for there are 210 benefices in Ireland in which there is no Church; nor converts,—for there are in Ireland 41 benefices without a single member of the Established Church. Let there be Christian tithes, and a goodly corps of four or more archbishops, with bishops, deans, prebendaries, canons, &c., who may all reside at Calcutta,—with such a Missionary Church—the United Apostolic Church of England, Ireland, and India,—that country would be Christianized at once. And then, there would be need of the obtrusion of Missionaries sent out by the abettors of the voluntary system.

In Ireland, the theory of an Establishment has been refuted by facts which have all the force of the *argumentum ad absurdum*. We speak not now of the political evils connected with the injustice and iniquity of the tithe system. As a scheme of instruction, as even a scheme of police, the Establishment has worse than failed: it has left the people in ignorance; it has provoked their hostility against the Government; it has led them to identify Protestantism itself with injustice and oppression; it has alienated them from those pious clergymen who, had they gone forth as missionaries, seeking not theirs but them, would have been listened to with respect, if not with conviction; it has inflamed religious animosities, obstructed all social improvement, overthrown successive administrations, and all in the abused and dishonoured name of Religion! As if religion consisted in tithes, and could be supported by bayonets! How long will the country be deluded by words and names? The Irish Establishment is of no service to the Protestant Religion, but rather a dead weight upon it. If Episcopacy be Apostolic, let her come out of her state fortress, and undertake, at her own charges, the conflict with Error and Papal Ignorance.

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Art. VII. 1. *Dissertation on Church Polity.* By Andrew Coventry Dick, Esq., Advocate. 12mo, pp. 245. Edinburgh, 1835.

2. *The Posthumous Letters of the Rev. Rabshakeh Gathercoal,* late Vicar of Tuddington. Now first published, with Explanatory Notes, and dedicated to the Lord Bishop of London. 12mo, pp. xxxii. 288. London, 1835.

3. *Thomas Johnson's Reasons for Dissenting from the Established Church:* in Three Dialogues. A New Edition. To which is now first added, a Fourth Dialogue on the Voluntary Principle. 18mo, pp. 52. Price 4*d.*, or 3*s.* 6*d.* per dozen. London, 1834.

4. *The Church:* a Dialogue between John Brown and William Mason. By A. T. 12mo, pp. 20. Price 2*d.* London, 1835.

IT will at once be perceived that these works, though bearing upon one topic, the grand topic of debate, are of very different character and pretension. Mr. Dick's Dissertation is a masterly piece of sound and eloquent argumentation. It is a volume which deserves, we had almost said demands, an attentive perusal from every Member of the Legislature who wishes to understand the pending question between the Compulsives and the Voluntaries. Mr. Dick has fairly grappled with the subject in all its bearings, planting his foot upon ground from which it will not be easy to dislodge him. The Dissertation is divided into the following sections.

'§ 1. Authority of the Magistrate in Matters of Religion. 2. The Argument from Scripture. 3. The argument from Civil Utility. 4. Idea of an Established Church. 5. The Creed of an Established Church. 6. The Endowment of an Established Church. 7. The Subordination of an Established Church. 8, 9. An Established Church as a Scheme of Instruction. 10. Political Effects of an Established Church.'

In the first section, the opposite theories of the High and Low Churchmen are discriminated and contrasted; but Mr. Dick has, in the outset, examined and combated the tenets of the High Church Party, which are retained, in the shape of an indistinct prejudice, by many who would not defend them. The theory of High Churchmen implies, that Government has *authority* over its subjects in matters of religion. The Moderate Churchman contents himself with insisting that Government is bound to provide religious instruction for its subjects. In opposing these assumptions, some advocates of religious liberty have run into the erroneous extreme of denying that Government had any thing to do with matters of religion. We are glad to find Mr. Dick steering clear of this absurdity, while he thus throws back upon the High-Churchman the charge of atheistic doctrines.

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'Here we may pause for a moment to learn how we may best fulfil the meaning of poets, philosophers, and jurists, when they warn us to lay the foundation of civil society in an acknowledgement of Divine Providence. It is by owning first of all the rights of Providence. Observing that it has framed man a religious being, and in that department of his nature subjected him to no intermediate superior, but directly to God, we are taught neither to prescribe, nor limit, nor enforce the inward or outward homage to which that subjection calls him. The state, which, acting upon this lesson, anxiously provides for freedom of worship, and sensitively withdraws its rulers from the province of conscience, is of all states the most holy and religious, presents in its laws a perpetual homage to Divine Providence, and may be truly said to have laid its foundations in an act of worship. This is not to rear an atheistic constitution. Commit to an atheist the erecting of a commonwealth, and he will assume without scruple the control of religion, because he thinks God a dream, and conscience a prejudice. Such a man, owning no rights of conscience, yet unable to cure his subjects of their religious propensities, will make provision for giving them indulgence according to his own ideas of what is pleasing and politic. He will therefore erect and set in motion a kind of religious pageant. Thus the principles of the atheist and the principles of the High Churchmen lead to the same result, the one from disbelief, the other from superstition. They concur in erecting a species of civil constitution, to which alone, if to any, the epithet atheistic applies; for it subverts the laws of heaven; and, whereas in religion, nature has given us God only for our master, his will for our law, and conscience to guard and enforce it, this constitution presumes to intercept our allegiance, and, presenting us with some miserable mortals for rulers, fulminates its anathema against all who will not tie themselves to their parchment-creed and policy-begotten worship.' pp. 16—18.

It ought never to be lost sight of, that ecclesiastical establishments are now ordinarily defended upon principles totally different from those which led to their original institution.

'Those institutions arose, or at least attained their final strength and organization, through the prevalence of an opinion, that men were in religion, no less than in civil life, subjects of the national governments. Their history informs us of disputes between the civil magistrate and the ecclesiastical authorities regarding the bounds of their respective jurisdiction, and regarding also the right of supremacy over society, which both claimed, and each alternately exercised; but that, while the authorities, civil and sacred, thus quarrelled about their shares of power, of the duty of the citizen to obey the religious edicts upon which they might agree, scarcely a doubt was breathed by a solitary speculatist, and no question was stirred before any tribunal of Christendom. Those were times when the doctrine of Hooker was true in law and in fact, that every man who was a member of the commonwealth, was a member also of its church, subject equally to the one and to the other; when the Church of England elevated the King to an ecclesiastical throne, and when the di-

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vines of Scotland instructed the civil magistrate, that toleration was a sin. The citizen who "did not like the country might leave it;" but to remain and set up a religion different from that of law, was no more to be allowed than the setting up of a new king or parliament. Claiming entire conformity to its religion, the state sometimes so far indulged the stubbornness of dissenters, as to wink at a quiet and concealed performance of their religious rites; but that they should come with them into open day, and publicly repudiate the legal church, was deemed to be an offence little short of rebellion, to be punished by the vigorous arm of power.

'An illustrious example will explain the policy of the times. After narrating how he was apprehended at a "meeting of good people," to whom he was about to preach, and carried before a justice, who laid him in prison, John Bunyan tells us, "At the Sessions after, I was indicted for an upholder and maintainer of unlawful assemblies and conventicles, and for not conforming to the national worship of the Church of England; and after some conference there with the justices, they taking my plain dealing with them for a confession, as they termed it, of the indictment, did sentence me to a perpetual banishment, because I refused to conform. So being again delivered up to the gaoler's hands, I was had home to prison, and there have lain now comple-e twelve years, waiting to see what God would suffer these men to do with me."

'It is not our intention to trace the rise and progress of a different policy in this country. To a soil overshadowed by an ecclesiastical constitution, religious freedom was like a foreign plant, of slow and difficult growth. When dissenters had but newly liberated themselves from the state-church, and when a shelter from impending persecution was grateful under whatever name or conditions granted, they had but dim ideas of their rights, or at least they timidly urged them. But it was not long till their views became clearer, and they began boldly to assert an independence of human authority in matters of religion. They demanded not a toleration, but genuine liberty, and reprobated all merely tolerating, as well as restraining laws, as an impious interference between them and their Divine Monarch. They complained not only that the laws against dissenters were unnecessarily severe, but that dissent was viewed as a crime; or rather, that there existed institutions which obliged any citizen to dissent. The enactments framed by the state to meet their case, did not, in express terms, admit the principles of these revolters from its religious supremacy, but disguised the new policy under the condescending name of toleration. But although it gave license only to certain classes of nonconformists, and although men still continued to talk of the "crime of nonconformity," it could not then be wholly concealed, and now it is apparent and admitted, that those laws not only "established" the worship of the dissenters to whom they expressly applied, legalizing the revolt which the state wanted power to quell, but were, in effect, an emancipation of all the citizens from religious fealty, upon a claim to which it had reared its ecclesiastical institutions. The privileges which thenceforward, or ere long, were to be practically enjoyed by nonconformists of all classes, were utterly inconsistent with the least remains

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of authority elsewhere. Obtaining not a mere permission to worship as they chose, but a right of proselyting all over the country, of conspiring and combining against the church of the law, it was evident that they had not only passed the limits of toleration, but were enjoying a license, which under a constitution of which a church formed part, was fatal to the tranquillity of society, and put in jeopardy the most cherished institutions of the nation. Yet this license, large and anomalous as it is, was no sooner granted, than it was beyond recal. It has at last brought the country into a condition which no political theory can excuse, and which is daily presenting new difficulties to the practical statesman. Within the same territory may be seen, on the one hand, an ecclesiastical establishment erected by rulers to control the religion of their subjects; on the other, a crowd of voluntary churches, maintained by citizens who spurn control, and assert their religious independence. Conflicting as are the principles of these institutions, their operations and effects are equally hostile. The former, aspiring to universal ascendancy, never ceases to urge the state to exact from all, at least a tacit acquiescence in its claims; while to the latter there is constantly presented, in what they think the errors of the legal church, and in its iniquitous elevation, stimulants to aggression against it, in carrying on which they enjoy, and perhaps abuse, an ample protection by the law.

'This conflict in principle and in policy between the vast parties which now divide the empire, has been brought about, because, after having waived its claim to the obedience of its subjects in matters of religion, our constitution insists upon upholding the ecclesiastical institutions which had no other basis. Hence the confusion. It will not cease till we emerge from that transition-state between prosecution and freedom,—termed toleration. In the meantime, let us remark, as gratifying to dissenters, the contrast which it has produced between the independence of their churches, and the slavery of that of the law. Voluntary churches, viewed by themselves, are in the possession of almost perfect freedom. The abolition of the establishment would relieve dissenters, as individuals, from an enormous grievance, and their religious institutions from a legal stigma; but to the practical liberty of the latter it would bring but a small accession. Over them the State can at present exercise no peculiar authority: it dare not lay upon them so much as its little finger. Its power, which once ranged at will over the whole religious institutions in the country, now expends itself within the temples of the law. Into the churches called national it has, indeed, the right to enter, and there to work its pleasure; to set up or pull down bishops; to remove or to impose the tyranny of patronage, or to do any other deed of policy or sacrilege; but into the smallest, obscurest, weakest dissenting church, in the most defenceless district of the land, not the king or parliament, nor any prince or potentate of this world, may dare to set the foot of authority.' pp. 25—31.

The second Work on our list is of a lighter character; but, though our Author may seem to sport with his subject, it is not 'sport to the frogs.' We do not profess to be partial to religious

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satire, and yet there are some men whom it is difficult to know how otherwise to deal with. Mr. Gathercoal is scarcely worth the powder of this firework, but his name has merely served as a peg for these Letters. We must confine ourselves to a specimen.

'From the Reverend RABSHAKEH GATHERCOAL to L. S. E.

'Dear Brother,

'The battle is raging in Tuddington; it begins to be very hot work, and I must expect my buffets and blows, according to the lot of war. My sermon, which Dr. Birch calls my golden sermon, and which he says entitles me to the honourable name of Chrysostom, or "*golden mouth*," I sent to be printed in London—a large edition of 1500 copies, which I have distributed *gratis*—for that obstinate fellow Timson will have nothing to do with it. It is, however, to be purchased at the brandy vaults of my prime minister Stubbs, and the neighbouring clergy have sent for it by dozens.

'It is not to be supposed that I have remained silent after my first song; I assure you I have followed up the "golden sermon" with repeated blows of the same sort, always preaching the Gospel from L. S. E., the best expositor of the truth I can anywhere find. Last Sunday I preached on the subject of Death on the Pale Horse, which I proved was the system of dissent "killing the fourth part of the earth with beasts." The beasts I showed were the various forms of schism; and so having noticed various beasts, I came to foxes and other vermin, and declared how, in Canticles, "the little foxes that spoil our grapes" were the Dissenters nibbling at our tithes. Then apostrophising the whole body of schismatics, I said, "You hate *tithes* I know, probably for the same reason for which the fox disliked the grapes; but you would be glad of the *tenth* of the tithe of such decisive evidence in support of your unscriptural system, as we can show for Episcopal authority. I have shown, beyond the power of contradiction, that no such system as that you advocate has any foundation in the word of God. You may, indeed, *just as easily* prove from the Holy Scriptures, that all the metamorphoses, or all the nonsensical fables of the Heathen Mythologies are true, as your new fancied system of Dissent." (L. S. E. pp. 174.)

'The schismatics, of course, are furious, and have bestirred themselves to let me know that wasps can sting. The first annoyance I have experienced is in the diminution of the congregations; last Sunday, Stubbs counted only 200, which looked a small company in our large church. I am, however, going to preach a sermon against the sin of not coming to church, and I intend to make no small stir on this head. They have, however, vexed me far more by sending for bales of Beverley's pamphlets, not one of which had ever yet been read in my parish. I have, however, seen them in many of the cottages within the last few days, and much mischief, I fear, will be done in consequence. They tell me that a rich Dissenter of London has sent 500 of each of these pamphlets to the Baptist teacher, who sells them for 2*d.*, and that the greater part are sold already! Will no one crush

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this noxious writer? He it was that began the mischief, but who shall say where it is to stop? We live in evil days, dear Brother.

'The teachers of schism have further agreed, according to what I hear, to deliver each a course of lectures in their chapels in defence of schism. The first lecture will be delivered at the conventicle of the Independent Sectarians next Wednesday evening; and when Mervyn has finished his lectures, which are to be four in number, the Baptist teacher is to glean any remnants of iniquity let fall from the bosom of his "dear Brother," so that nothing may be lost to the Devil's harvest.

'Dear Mr. Screw tells me that his notices of taking all tithe, to the last farthing, of the gardeners, and of all others in the parish, have put the town in a still greater ferment. Here, however, I am sure of victory, and the more yells the beasts set up the better. I will sell every bed and table in Tuddington sooner than give up a sixpenny-worth of my rights. I owe this to my "successors," and to the Apostolical church of which I am an unworthy priest. "Muzzle not the ox that treadeth out the corn."

'As for more private concerns, the thorn in the flesh is not removed, nor likely to be; Jane continues as obstinate as ever. She has told me point blank, that she finds my sermons so little profitable to her soul, and the Church service so tedious and objectionable, that she cannot go to church any more. She says, however, that she has no inclination to frequent any of the chapels in Tuddington, for she dreads hearing controversial sermons, in which it is very probable I may be mentioned with no great respect; and besides, she wishes, *as long as possible*, to keep up appearances in the eyes of the parish. I have put into her hands all the sound books I can think of—first, the Letters of L. S. E., then Southey's Book of the Church, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and the warmest tracts of the Christian Knowledge Society, besides various others recommended by friends—but she seems to me a more rigorous Dissenter after reading works written in defence of our Scriptural church than she was before; indeed, she begs me to torment her no more with the Church controversy, for she assures me she knows all the Episcopalian arguments perfectly, and that all the libraries in the world never can persuade her that the Church of England is the Church of Christians seen in the Acts of the Apostles, or in any part of the New Testament. To do her justice, I do not believe she has ever read any of the Dissenters' books on Church Government; the Bible is her library in this controversy, and whenever we argue on these subjects, she quotes the Scriptures and nothing else. I never can get her to listen to the evidence of the Fathers and tradition; she turns a deaf ear to all my rhetoric when I read to her passages from Ignatius and Ambrose.

'Here, however, is the weak part of my fortress. When I see Jane looking cold or melancholy in the midst of my zeal, it makes me furious, and I say and do things in my wrath which I am sorry for afterwards; particularly when I see she has been weeping in private, for she never sheds a tear before me, and is silent and submissive in the midst of our disagreements. I am fearful that sooner or latter she will join the Baptists, and be baptized in their way. I have told her

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that if she ever should take this step I will shut my doors against her, and send her and her child back to her parents. She gives me no answer, and by this silence I dread the worst. So you see, my dear brother, I have much to perplex me.

'I have received a flattering letter from the Bishop of L——, thanking me for my "golden" sermon; he styles me "a pillar of the Church;" this letter is going the round of the neighbouring clergy, and its contents are so well known, that the schismatics here have printed handbills, pretending to give a correct copy of the letter, but changing the word *pillar* into *caterpillar*. Thus you see the malice of these rascals!

'In my next I hope to give you some account of Mervyn's Lecture on Dissent. Screw has promised me an exact transcript of all the fellow will say, by sending to the chapel one of his clerks, who can take the whole lecture down in short hand-writing.

'Your affectionate Brother, RAB.'

Report, sanctioned by internal evidence, ascribes this *jeu d'esprit* to Mr. Beverley. It is rather too heavy for jest, or too jocose for earnest.

Thomas Johnson's "Reasons" were originally published many years ago, and rapidly passed through several editions. Having been long out of print, and often asked for, the Author has re-published them with an additional dialogue 'on the Voluntary 'Principle.' It ought to be known that the second and third dialogues are a reply to three Tracts, by the late Rev. T. Sikes, circulated by the Christian Knowledge Society; and the arguments combated are given nearly in the very words of the reverend Vicar of Guilsborough.

"The Church, a Dialogue," is ascribed to the pen of a Lady brought up in the bosom of the Establishment, but who has, for reasons which this tract sets forth in familiar language, conscientiously withdrawn from it. In the reasons for Nonconformity, there can be expected nothing new, and yet to thousands they have the face of novelty when fairly brought home to them.

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Art. VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In a few days will be published, The Book of the Denominations; or, the Churches and Sects of Christendom in the Nineteenth Century. In foolscap, 8vo.

The Life of Admiral Lord Exmouth, drawn up from official and other authentic documents, furnished by his family and friends, is now preparing for publication, by Edward Osler, Esq., and will appear early in August.

The large Ale and Porter Brewers will next week be presented with a Work on the subject of Brewing, upon which they may with confidence rely; as the whole process of Fermentation, Mashing, Temperature, and other important points in Brewing are treated both practically and scientifically, by one of their own body, Mr. William Black, who has been a practical Brewer for the last forty years.

In the Press, and shortly will be published, in one vol. 12mo, a Memoir of the late Mrs. Ellis, wife of the Rev. William Ellis, formerly Missionary in the Society and Sandwich Islands, and Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society.

Art. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

EDUCATION.

The Immaterial System of Man; contemplated in accordance with the Beautiful and the Sublime, and in reference to a Plan for General Education. By Elizabeth Hope. 2 vols. post 8vo, 12*s*.

HISTORY.

A View of the Reign of James II., from his Accession to the Enterprise of the Prince of Orange. By the late Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh. 4to, 1*l*. 11*s*. 6*d*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Philosophy of Manufactures. By Andrew Ure, M.D., F.R.S., M.G S., M.A.S., London; M. Acad. N.S. Philadelphia, &c. 1 vol. post 8vo, illustrated with numerous Engravings, 10*s*. cloth.

A Review of the Principal Dissenting Colleges in England during the last Century; being a Second and enlarged Edition of the Author's Work on the Admission of Persons, without regard to their Religious Opinions, to certain Degrees in the Universities of England. By Thomas Turton, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and Dean of Peterborough. 8vo, 4*s*.

Mephistophiles in England; or the Confessions of a Prime Minister. 3 vols. post 8vo, 1*l*. 11*s*. 6*d*.

POETRY.

Rosebuds Rescued, and presented to my Children. By the Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks, M.A. 4*s*. 6*d*.

THEOLOGY.

Ministerial Solicitude and Fidelity, a Farewell Sermon addressed to the Congregation of Holland Chapel, North Brixton, June 21st, 1835. With a Brief History of the Author's connexion with that Place of Worship. By John Styles, D.D. 8vo, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Archbishop Usher's Answer to a Jesuit; with other Tracts on Popery. 8vo, 13*s*. 6*d*.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1835.

Art. I.—*A Discourse of Natural Theology*, shewing the Nature of the Evidence and the Advantages of the Study. By Henry, Lord Brougham, F.R.S., and Member of the National Institute of France. Second edition. Small 8vo., pp. 296. London, 1835.

THE best definition, or description rather, of Natural Theology, τὸ γνωστὸν του Θεου, that which may be known of God from Nature, is furnished by the pen of Inspiration. "The Invisible (attributes) of Deity, even his eternal power and self-existence, are manifest from the creation, being discerned in his works." (Rom. i. 20.) The knowledge thus obtainable is sufficient, on the one hand, to render impiety and idolatry alike "inexcusable." On the other hand, this light of Nature, falling upon the darkened heart of man, has never proved sufficiently strong to guide him to the first and most obvious principle of Natural Religion,—that "God is a spirit, and claims to be worshipped in spirit and in truth." On the contrary, "when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful."

If, by the phrase, Natural Theology, we understand that knowledge of God which, antecedent to Revelation, or rather in the absence of revealed knowledge, human reason has proved itself competent to arrive at and to preserve;—taken in this limited sense, little value can be attached to the science falsely so called. Even that primary truth, the Unity of God, Natural Theology has failed to teach, has been unable to prove. The immortality of the soul, also, is, in the theology of reason, only a sublime conjecture. And all the knowledge relating to the *will* of God, is no better than mere speculation. But, if we consider Natural Theology as comprehending that knowledge of God which the

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Book of Nature supplies, when studied by the light of Revelation, reflecting its illumination upon the characters which reason is otherwise incapable of deciphering;—or, if we view the science of Natural Theology as only a mode of exhibiting revealed truths in connexion with the evidence derivable from analogy and induction,—and a vindication of truths of a supernatural character on the ground of their accordance with testimony and reason;—then we must admit that Revelation does not refuse the support and homage of this branch of human science.

Lord Bacon, in a passage cited by the noble Author of the volume before us, seems to represent the evidences of Revelation as founded upon the previous demonstration of Natural Theology. 'The latter,' he says, 'is the key of the former, and opens our 'understanding to the genuine spirit of the Scriptures; but also 'unlocks our belief, so that we may enter upon the serious con-'templation of the Divine Power, the characters of which are so 'deeply graven in the works of the creation.' He elsewhere distinguishes between Revelation and Natural Religion; that the former declares the will of God as to the worship most acceptable, while the latter teaches his existence and powers, but is silent as to a ritual. Yet, it is not less certain, that Revelation is the true key to Natural Theology, and that it furnishes the only *organ* of the science of true natural religion;—that is, the religion based upon the essential and immutable relations which connect all finite existences with their Creator. Further, Revelation may be considered as *a part* of Natural Theology thus defined, not less than the doctrine of Divine Providence; for it is not more obviously a dictate of reason, that God is, than that he governs the universe: now, in order to govern the minds of intelligent beings, laws must be made known as the rule of obedience; and they can be known with certainty only as the result of some species of Revelation. There can be no greater absurdity, than the idea of a Creator not having access to the minds he has created, and excluded by necessity of nature from all direct communication with those whom he upholds in being. There can be no greater improbability than is involved in the supposition of the Deist, that God has actually held no such communion with man; that a Being of infinite goodness has omitted to make the most necessary and precious of all communications to intelligent beings, that of the knowledge of his own will and of the immutable conditions of happiness. The probability that a revelation has been made, is infinitely great; and although this will not of itself furnish an argument in favour of a particular Revelation, yet, it tends to produce an irresistible conviction, that that which, on comparison, has the strongest marks of a Divine origin, is in fact true. Revelation, says Lord Brougham, may be untrue, though Natural Theology be ad-

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mitted. But, admitting the latter, that there is no true revelation becomes quite incredible.

Again, if Natural Theology be the science of which natural religion is the subject, all that enters into the latter ought to be comprised in the former. Now every religion prescribes religious rites and worship, and demands some exercise of faith: a religion without worship is a contradiction. But a theology which teaches or prescribes faith, must professedly include a knowledge derivable only from a discovery of the Divine will and intentions. Accordingly, every religion, true or false, is ostensibly derived from a revelation from Heaven, and rests its pretensions either upon the immediate inspiration of its ministers, or upon the Divine authority of its sacred books. It may be allowed, indeed, as Lord Brougham remarks, that there is a God, though it be denied that he has sent any message to man, through men or other intermediate agents; but this bare and naked acknowledgement is surely not the sum and substance of Natural Theology. If so, such theology is, for all practical purposes, worthless. But taking the phrase in its more extensive sense, as including the doctrine of the Moral Government and Providence of God, and the intimations which reason may collect from analogy and observation of his designs and will, the conclusions to which Natural Theology conducts us are such as render the denial of Revelation—which is the belief in a negation—irrational. 'Revelation,' says his Lordship, 'cannot be true, if Natural Religion is false.' He means, we presume, that if there were no God, there could be no revelation: a truism scarcely deserving of the dignity of an axiom. If, however, Revelation were not true, Natural Religion would be barren, meagre, and worthless. But the noble Author adds, what demands consideration as a distinct proposition; that Revelation cannot be demonstrated strictly by any argument, or established by any evidence, without proving or assuming Natural Religion. This proposition he illustrates as follows.

'Suppose it were shewn by incontestible proofs, that a messenger sent immediately from heaven had appeared on the earth; suppose, to make the case more strong against our argument, that this messenger arrived in our own days, nay, appeared before our eyes, and shewed his divine title to have his message believed, by performing miracles in our presence. No one can by possibility imagine a stronger case; for it excludes all arguments upon the weight or the fallibility of testimony; it assumes all the ordinary difficulties in the way of Revelation to be got over. Now, even this strong evidence would not at all establish the truth of the doctrine promulgated by the messenger; for it would not shew that the story he brought was worthy of belief in any one particular except his supernatural powers. These would be demonstrated by his working miracles. All the rest of his statement

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would rest on his assertion. But a being capable of working miracles might very well be capable of deceiving us. The possession of power does not of necessity exclude either fraud or malice. This messenger might come from an evil as well as from a good being; he might come from more beings than one; or he might come from one being of many existing in the universe. When Christianity was first promulgated, the miracles of Jesus were not denied by the ancients; but it was asserted that they came from evil beings, and that he was a magician. Such an explanation was consistent with the kind of belief to which the votaries of polytheism were accustomed. They were habitually credulous of miracles and of divine interpositions. But their argument was not at all unphilosophical. There is nothing whatever inconsistent in the power to work miracles being conferred upon a man or a minister by a supernatural being, who is either of limited power himself, or of great malignity, or who is one of many such beings.

'Yet it is certain that no means can be devised for attesting the supernatural agency of any one, except such a power of working miracles; therefore it is plain that no sufficient evidence can ever be given by direct Revelation alone in favour of the great truths of religion. The messenger in question might have power to work miracles without end, and yet it would remain unproved, either that God was omnipotent, and one, and benevolent, or that he destined his creatures to a future state, or that he had made them such as they are in their present state. All this might be true, indeed; but its truth would rest only on the messenger's assertion, and upon whatever internal evidence the nature of his communication afforded; and it might be false without the least derogation to the truth of the fact, that he came from a superior being, and possessed the power of suspending the laws of nature. But the doctrines of the existence of a Deity and of his attributes, which natural religion teaches, preclude the possibility of such ambiguities, and remove all those difficulties. We thus learn that the Creator of the world is one and the same; and we come to know his attributes, not merely of power, which alone the direct communication by miracles could convey, but of wisdom and goodness. Built upon this foundation, the message of Revelation becomes at once unimpeachable and invaluable. *It converts every inference of reason into certainty;* and above all, it communicates the Divine Being's intentions respecting our own lot, with a degree of precision which the inferences of natural theology very imperfectly possess. This in truth is the chief superiority of Revelation, and this is the praise justly given to the gospel in sacred writ;—not that it teaches the being and attributes of God, but that it brings life and immortality to light. It deserves, however, to be remarked, in perfect consistency with the argument which has here been maintained, that no mere revelation, no direct message, however avouched by miraculous gifts, could prove the faithfulness of the promises held out by the messenger, excepting by the slight inference which the nature of the message might afford. The portion of his credentials which consisted of his miraculous powers could not prove it. For, unless we had first ascertained the unity and benevolence of the Being that sent him, as those miracles only prove power, he might be sent to deceive us; and thus the hopes held out by him

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might be delusions. The doctrines of natural religion here come to our aid, and secure our belief to the messenger of one Being, whose goodness they have taught us to trust.' pp. 205—9.

This reasoning strikes us as more ingenious than accurate. It seems to conduct us to the very unsound conclusion, that only a tribunal of philosophers could decide upon the credibility of a message from Heaven, attested by the seal of Omnipotence. The unbelief of the Jews was criminal, then, only because it was unphilosophical, or because they had not been sufficiently well instructed in the doctrines of Natural Theology. Yet, our Lord declared, that if he had not wrought among them "the works which no other man had done," works which attested that the Father was in Him and wrought with Him, those who rejected him had not had sin.

It must be admitted, that miracles are not sufficient to *compel* belief in the minds even of those who witness them: that is to say, there seems to be no evidence which the perverted understanding, indisposed to conviction, may not evade or resist. Those who 'believe not Moses and the Prophets, would not 'be persuaded even should one rise from the dead.' In the true spirit of his forefathers, Moses Mendelsohn, the 'Jewish So-'crates', contended, (in commenting upon M. Bonnet's Inquiry into the Evidences of Christianity,*) that, according to his religious theory, 'miracles are not, indiscriminately, a *distinctive* 'mark of truth, nor do they yield a moral evidence of a prophet's 'Divine legation.' 'There is nothing,' he argues, 'extraor-'dinary in enticers and false prophets working miracles; whether 'by magic, occult sciences, or the misapplication of a gift truly 'conferred upon them for proper purposes,' he 'will not pretend 'to determine.' Miracles, therefore, 'cannot be taken as abso-'lute criteria of a Divine mission.' Lord Brougham, on the contrary, admits that miracles, taken in connexion with a previous knowledge of the unity and benevolence of God, form an absolute and unambiguous criterion. Although the display of supernatural powers, could not of itself demonstrate that God is 'one, 'omnipotent, and benevolent,' yet, knowing this, which Natural Religion teaches, all possibility of ambiguity in the evidence from miracles is removed, and the message of Revelation becomes unimpeachable †. But were not the ancient Jews in full posses-

* See Samuels's Memoirs of Mendelsohn, pp. 92—95. (Ecl. Rev. 2nd Series, vol. xxiii. p. 522.)

† The argument of the Jewish Sceptic is a mere evasion, for it refuses to take account of the benevolent nature, publicity, number, and unparalleled character of Our Lord's miracles, and fallaciously assumes

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sion of such previous knowledge? Whence came it, then, that the doctrines of the existence and the attributes of Jehovah, which they had received, did not lead them to the conclusion, that God would not set the seal of Omnipotence to a forged commission? Jewish unbelief shewed itself to be miracle-proof in spite of all the light that Natural Theology could furnish; and we have the apology of a modern Jew in explanation and attestation of the wilful unbelief of the race who witnessed the "signs from Heaven."

Right reasoning would, most assuredly, have led all the Jewish people to believe upon Our Lord as, at least, a teacher sent from God, and to receive all that he taught as of Divine authority. But the light of reason, which seems to be what is generally meant by Natural Theology, never yet conducted men to right reasoning. The knowledge which Lord Brougham represents as a pre-requisite in order to appreciating the evidence of Revelation, is derivable only from Revelation itself. He admits, indeed, that it is Revelation which 'converts every inference of reason 'into certainty': how then can it derive certainty from those inferences which, without it, are uncertain? Reason may, indeed, establish what it could never have discovered; it may illustrate truths which it could never have ascertained, by shewing their harmony with our actual knowledge, and by proving the infinite reasonableness of the testimony of inspired teachers. And this seems to us to describe the office of Natural Theology, which is the theology of reasoning, rather than the theology of nature, and of reasoning informed by the Divine testimony. The consistency of Revelation with right reason, forms an important branch of the internal evidence of Christianity; and in this sense, it is true, that Revelation makes its appeal to reason and previous knowledge, as well as to conscience. That is to say, it assumes men to be reasonable, if not correct reasoners,—to be rational, if not philosophical,—beings whose conscience tells them there is a God, though they may be unable by inductive reasoning to demonstrate it. The capacity of receiving knowledge in all cases depends upon previous knowledge; and he who knew nothing would be incapable of learning, unless the latent power of understanding could, as in an infant, be developed by sensible impressions. Revelation then assumes a previous knowledge, as all teaching, all testimony, all reasoning, must assume something already known. But then, that previous know-

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that, because some miracles might be an equivocal test, *no* miracles could be a distinctive criterion.

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ledge is not to be considered as the *basis* of the new knowledge*, since it may be itself of the most crude, imperfect, and uncertain character, like that of childhood: it is but the means of understanding and appreciating what is made known. Revelation assumes common sense and natural religion, but it does not rest upon the deductions of either. It detects the insufficiency and the positive errors of both, and rectifies the very knowledge which it presupposes, as a stronger light corrects the previous decisions of the eye. Instead, then, of saying, that 'Revelation 'cannot be true, if Natural Religion is false,'—though we do not deny the proposition, if taken in a certain sense,—we should prefer to say, that, without Revelation, Natural Religion must needs be false, since, from its necessary imperfection, it has always proved fallacious. And still more certainly must it be false, if Revelation is not true, since the latter supposition would overthrow all certain belief in Natural Religion itself.

We are far from denying the utility of the services of Natural Religion 'as subsidiary to and co-operative with the great help 'of Revelation'; but we hesitate to subscribe to the position which is adduced by the noble Author in proof of its utility, that, 'were our whole knowledge of the Deity drawn from Reve-'lation, its foundation must become weaker and weaker as the 'distance in point of time increases from the actual interposition,' because 'tradition, or the evidence of testimony, must of neces-'sity be its only proof.' For, in the first place, the force of testimony is not necessarily weakened by distance or lapse of time. On the contrary, as Lord Brougham remarks in a very valuable Note on Hume's Sceptical Writings, 'the degree of excellence 'and of strength to which testimony may rise, seems almost in-'definite. The endless multiplication of witnesses—the un-'bounded variety of their habits of thinking, their prejudices, 'their interests—afford the means of conceiving the force of 'their testimony augmented *ad infinitum*, because those circum-'stances afford the means of diminishing indefinitely the chances 'of their being all mistaken, all misled, or all combining to de-'ceive us.' Now testimony such as this remains, as a fact, in perpetual and undiminished strength; and its general reception through successive ages, though in itself only a presumptive evidence, is certainly an additional fact, that increases the difficulties of scepticism. For example, the original testimony in support of the Mosaic miracles, instead of being weakened by lapse of time, is indefinitely strengthened by their having been constantly believed, on the strength of existing memorials, by the Jewish nation.

* Or, if it may be said to be its basis in the mind of the individual, it is not the basis of the truth which is the matter of the knowledge.

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In the second place, admitting that the foundation of our belief in the miraculous attestation of Revelation is testimony, such testimony is not correctly represented as the foundation of the knowledge drawn from Revelation, which would be not the less true in itself, even though its authority had never been attested by miracle. The *internal* evidence of Revelation is confessedly independent of the miraculous attestation; and this is, perhaps, what we are to understand by the 'perpetually new and 'living evidence of Natural Religion.' But Revelation, as we have endeavoured to shew, is the source of the only certain knowledge which Natural Theology comprehends, beyond the mere fact of the Divine existence. And as to those truths to which Revelation demands the homage of faith, on the simple ground of the Divine testimony, and which, from their transcendent nature, are incapable of borrowing support from *à priori* reasoning, from analogy, from experience, or from any species of philosophical induction,—such as the resurrection of the body, the pardon of sin, the manifestation of the Godhead in "The Word made flesh," the scheme of human redemption;—truths like these, which never could have been known unless they had been revealed, and the belief of which is a test of the disposition to be "taught of God,"—cannot be said to 'borrow any prop' from Natural Theology on the one hand; nor, on the other, do they rest upon tradition, or the evidence of human testimony. We derive our knowledge of these stupendous facts from an *inspired document;* the inspiration of which is attested by the historic proof of the miraculous credentials of the writers, (a proof resting certainly upon testimony,) but also attested by internal evidence all but irresistible, and by the moral effects which have for eighteen hundred years uniformly attended the cordial belief in this religion. Of the document we are invited to judge; and Natural Theology may pronounce upon its consistency with all that is known of the Divine perfections, but it can go no further. The true *foundation* of our religious knowledge, then, is the revelation itself, contained in that inspired document; that is to say, it rests upon the Divine testimony cordially embraced, not simply as credible, but as authoritative, under sanctions which render unbelief fatally perilous. Moreover, the experimental evidence of the truths believed, which is peculiar to Christianity, is wholly independent alike of tradition and of natural religion, though in agreement with accumulated experience, and supported by the highest reasons; and this experimental evidence is, to each believer, the most satisfactory and certain proof of the Divine origin of his knowledge. "He that believeth hath the witness in himself."* In a word, Revelation can be seen only by its own

* 1 John v. 10.

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light; nay, by the very organ which its supernatural light as it were develops: it is not merely knowledge, but is at the same time the instrument of producing the power of spiritual perception by which that knowledge is received. Without rejecting lower evidence, it brings with it evidence peculiar to itself; and it stakes its own truth upon this cardinal article of the Christian doctrine, that faith is dependent upon the state of the heart, and that the heart requires to be brought under Divine influence in order to the obedience of faith. This doctrine lies at the threshold of the Christian temple; and it is at this that the proud reasoner stumbles. But he who rejects this doctrine, by his very unbelief, becomes an unconscious witness to the truth of the Revelation which he either misconceives or impugns.

It might, indeed, be urged, that the doctrine of Inspiration, as the source of all wisdom and heavenly knowledge, is one which even the heathens obscurely recognised, and which might therefore claim to rank among the doctrines of Natural Religion. Nay, we find something approaching to the Christian doctrine of Regeneration in some of the systems of profane philosophy. But upon this point, as upon all others, the inferences and speculations of reason, guided, perhaps, by the vestiges of traditional revelation, are found fluctuating in uncertainty, till confirmed by the authority of the Christian doctrine. Natural Theology is capable of being more and more assimilated, as it were, to the Theology of Revelation, as it becomes permeated by its light, and informed by its spirit; but we must know God before we can behold His glory in His works, and we must love Him before we can know Him, or reason rightly concerning Him.

To the truly religious man, Natural Theology, taking its character from his faith, may be justly described as standing 'far 'above all other sciences, from the sublime and elevating nature 'of its objects.' Beautifully and eloquently does the noble Author expatiate upon the pleasure and improvement it is peculiarly adapted to afford.

'It tells of the creation of all things,—of the mighty power that fashioned and that sustains the universe; of the exquisite skill that contrived the wings, and beak, and feet of insects invisible to the naked eye, and that lighted the lamp of day, and launched into space comets a thousand times larger than the earth, whirling a million of times swifter than a cannon ball, and burning with a heat which a thousand centuries could not quench. It exceeds the bounds of material existence, and raises us from the creation to the Author of Nature. Its office is, not only to mark what things are, but for what purpose they were made by the infinite wisdom of an all-powerful Being, with whose existence and attributes its high prerogative is to bring us acquainted. . . . . Persons of such lives as should make it extremely desirable to them that there was no God, and no future

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state, might very well, as philosophers, derive gratification from contemplating the truths of Natural Theology, and from following the chain of evidence by which these are established; and might, in such sublime meditation, find some solace to the pain which reflection upon the past, and fears of the future, are calculated to inflict upon them. But it is equally certain, that the science derives an interest incomparably greater from the consideration that we ourselves, who cultivate it, are most of all concerned in its truth,—that our own highest destinies are involved in the results of the investigation. This, indeed, makes it, beyond all doubt, the most interesting of the sciences, and sheds on the other branches of philosophy an interest beyond that which otherwise belongs to them; rendering them more attractive in proportion as they connect themselves with this grand branch of human knowledge and are capable of being made subservient to its uses. See only in what contemplations the wisest of men end their most sublime inquiries! Mark where it is that a Newton finally reposes, after piercing the thickest veil that envelopes Nature,—grasping and arresting in their course the most subtile of her elements, and the swiftest,—traversing the regions of boundless space,—exploring worlds beyond the solar way,—giving out the law which binds the universe in eternal order! He rests, as by an inevitable necessity, upon the contemplation of the great First Cause, and holds it his highest glory to have made the evidence of His existence, and the dispensations of His power and of His wisdom, better understood by man.

'If such are the peculiar pleasures which appertain to this science, it seems to follow, that those philosophers are mistaken who would restrict us to a very few demonstrations, to one or two instances of design, as sufficient proofs of the Deity's power and skill in the creation of the world. That one sufficient proof of this kind is in a certain sense enough, cannot be denied: a single such proof overthrows the dogmas of the atheist, and dispels the doubts of the sceptic; but is it enough to the gratification of the contemplative mind? The great multiplication of proofs undeniably strengthen our positions; nor can we ever affirm respecting the theorems in a science not of necessary, but of contingent truth *, that the evidence is sufficiently cogent without variety and repetition. But, independently altogether of this consideration, the gratification is renewed by each instance of design which we are led to contemplate. Each is different from the other. Each step renews our delight. The finding that at every step we make in one science, and with one object in view, a new proof is added to those before possessed by another science, affords a perpetual source of new interest and fresh enjoyment. This would be true, if the science in question were one of an ordinary description. But when we consider what its nature is, how intimately connected with our highest concerns, how immediately and necessarily leading to the adoration of

* This is a somewhat unusual use of the term contingent. No science can consist of contingent truth, for what is only possible is not known, and cannot be matter of science. But what is necessary truth, if that is not; the denial of which is absurdity?

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the Supreme Being,—can we doubt that the perpetually renewed proofs of his power, wisdom, and goodness tend to fix and to transport the mind, by the constant nourishment thus afforded to feelings of pure and rational devotion? It is, in truth, an exercise at once intellectual and moral, in which the highest faculties of the understanding and the warmest feelings of the heart alike partake, and in which, not only without ceasing to be a philosopher, the student feels as a man, but in which, the more warmly his human feelings are excited, the more philosophically he handles the subject. What delight can be more elevating, more truly worthy of a rational creature's enjoyment, than to feel, wherever we tread the paths of scientific inquiry, new evidence springing up around our footsteps, new traces of Divine intelligence and power meeting our eye! We are never alone: at least, like the old Roman, we are never less alone than in our solitude. We walk with the Deity; we commune with the Great First Cause, who sustains at every instant what the word of his power made. The delight is renewed at each step of our progress, though, as far as evidence is concerned, we have long ago had proof enough. But that is no more a reason for ceasing to contemplate the subject in its perpetually renovated and varied forms, than it would be a reason for resting satisfied with once seeing a long lost friend, that his existence had been sufficiently proved by one interview. Thus, instead of restricting ourselves to the proofs alone required to refute atheism or remove scepticism, we should covet the indefinite multiplication of evidences of design and skill in the universe, as subservient in a threefold way to purposes of use and of gratification: *first*, as strengthening the foundation whereupon the system reposes; *secondly*, as conducive to the ordinary purposes of scientific gratification, each instance being a fresh renewal of that kind of enjoyment; and *thirdly*, as giving additional ground for devout, pleasing, and wholesome adoration of the Great First Cause, who made and who sustains all nature.' pp. 191—197.

This eloquent passage reminds us of some of the pages of Pascal. The noble Author subsequently remarks, that 'even the 'inspired penmen have constant recourse to the views which 'are derived from the contemplation of nature, when they would 'exalt the Deity by a description of his attributes, or inculcate 'sentiments of devotion towards him;' as in the eighth Psalm, and that 'singularly beautiful poem,' the cxxxixth; also in the Book of Job, from the xxxviiith to the xlist chapter. The civth Psalm may be adduced as a not less striking illustration; also, the xixth; and the writings of the Prophets abound with similar considerations and arguments drawn from Natural Theology. 'By direct interposition, through miraculous agency,' remarks Lord Brougham, in closing the Discourse, 'we become acquainted 'with the *will* of the Deity, and are made more certain of his 'existence; but his peculiar attributes are nearly the same in 'the volume of nature, and in that of his revealed word.' They are and must be absolutely the same to those who read both volumes aright; for nothing in the clearer and more certain re-

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velation can really be at variance with what natural reason teaches us to deduce from the characters inscribed upon the works and dispensations of the Almighty. Only, let it not be forgotten, that "the world by wisdom" never attained to that knowledge of God which even nature teaches*, till the True Light was manifested, and that all true natural theology is the reflection of that light, the product of Revelation. And further, let it be remembered, that there are awful problems presented to us by Nature, of which the discoveries of Revelation afford the only possible or conceivable solution.

The object and design of the present volume are such as reflect honour upon the learned and highly accomplished Author; and whatever pardonable exaggeration may be detected in his estimate of the moral efficiency of the studies which it is his object to recommend, it will be observed with satisfaction, that he recognizes most explicitly the necessity and the authority of Revelation. The Discourse is divided into two Parts. The First treats of the nature of the subject, and the kind of evidence upon which Natural Theology rests. The Second Part, which we have greatly forestalled, treats of the advantages derived from the study of the science: from this, the preceding extracts have been taken. We shall now lay before our readers a brief analysis of the First Part.

In the first section, it is shewn, that Natural Theology is as strictly a branch of inductive philosophy, formed and supported by the same kind of reasoning as any of the physical or physiological sciences. Our knowledge of those physical facts which seem, at first view, to come more immediately under the cognizance of the senses, rests, in fact, upon the deductions of reasoning, not upon perception. For example, our senses teach us that colours differ; but the laws and nature of light are ascertained only by a process of reasoning from things which our senses perceive, and are not themselves within reach of the senses. In the second section, it is shewn, that not only is the fundamental branch of Natural Theology, or Physico-Theology, closely allied to Physics, but 'the two paths of investigation, for a great part of the way, 'completely coincide.' By observation and reasoning we detect the marks of infinite skill and wise design in the mechanism of the human frame; and by the same process of induction we reach the conclusion, that it has been contrived by a Maker of infinite skill and wisdom. The existence of extinct species of animals is believed on the strength of induction.

'When, from examining a few bones, or it may be a single fragment of a bone, we infer that, in the wilds where we found it, there lived

* 1 Cor. i. 21.

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and ranged, some thousands of years ago, an animal wholly different from any we ever saw, and from any of which any account, any tradition, written or oral, has reached us, nay, from any that ever was seen by any person of whose existence we ever heard, we assuredly are led to this remote conclusion by a strict and rigorous process of reasoning; but, as certainly, we come through that process to the knowledge and belief things unseen both of us and of all men,—things respecting which we have not, and cannot have, a single particle of evidence either by sense or by testimony. Yet we harbour no doubt of the fact. We go further, and not only implicitly believe the existence of this creature, for which we are forced to invent a name, but clothe it with attributes, till, reasoning step by step, we come at so accurate a notion of its form and habits, that we can represent the one and describe the other with unerring accuracy; picturing to ourselves how it looked, what it fed on, and how it continued its kind. . . What perceivable difference is there between the kind of investigations we have just been considering, and those of Natural Theology; except, indeed, that the latter are far more sublime in themselves, and incomparably more interesting to us.' pp. 49, 50.

A noble reproof is here given to the unreasonableness and perverseness of scientific infidelity. In the third section, Lord Brougham shews that the evidences of design presented by the intellectual system, are not less adapted to lead to the knowledge and belief of an all-wise Creator; yet, strange to say, Ray, Derham, and Paley have apparently overlooked this branch of evidence; passing over in unaccountable silence 'by far the most 'singular work of Divine wisdom and power,—the mind itself.' The following remarks are deserving of deep attention.

'There cannot be a doubt that this extraordinary omission had its origin in the doubts which men are prone to entertain of the mind's existence independent of matter. The eminent persons above named were not materialists; that is to say, if you had asked them the question, they would have answered in the negative; they would have gone further, and asserted their belief in the separate existence of the soul independent of the body. But they never felt this as strongly as they were persuaded of the natural world's existence. Their habits of thinking led them to consider matter as the only certain existence—as that which composed the universe—as alone forming the subject of our contemplations—as furnishing the only materials for our inquiries—whether respecting structure or habits and operations. They had no firm, definite, abiding, precise idea of any other existence respecting which they could reason and speculate. They saw and they felt external objects; they could examine the lenses of the eye, the valves of the veins and arteries, the ligaments and the sockets of the joints, the bones and the drum of the ear; but, though they now and then made mention of the mind, and, when forced to the point, would acknowledge a belief in it, they never were fully and intimately persuaded of its separate existence. They thought of it and of matter very differently; they gave *its* structure, and *its* habits, and *its*

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operations no place in their inquiries; their contemplations never rested upon it with any steadiness, and indeed scarcely ever even glanced upon it at all. That this is a very great omission, proceeding, if not upon mere carelessness, upon a grievous fallacy, there can be no doubt whatever.' pp. 54—56.

We do not now stop to inquire how far these remarks apply with justice to the Writers in question; but we wish to point out their important bearing upon the causes of scepticism. Nothing is more certain, although the fact is too often overlooked, than that belief is governed by habitual consideration; that, as a principle of action, it consists less in knowledge than in a habit of thinking. Knowledge can exert no practical influence upon us, except as it changes or determines our habitual considerations. That only which we think of, exists to us. Hence, to the anatomist or physiologist, exclusively occupied with the mechanism of the human frame, that study which would seem peculiarly adapted to lead to religious belief, proves too often the means of stripping the mind of all belief in spiritual existence, and of extinguishing all religious feeling. Lord Brougham has, in this passage, given a truly philosophical explanation of the *intellectual* cause of irreligion. Men become infidels, as the Writers in question are represented as unconsciously adopting the theory of the materialist, by excluding religion and its evidence from their habits of thinking: their contemplations never rest with any steadiness upon the objects of their avowed belief, and hence they have no 'firm, definite, abiding, precise idea' of the unseen and the eternal world. And this suggests the explanation of the fact, that naturalists and scientific men are so 'apt to regard the study 'of natural religion as little connected with philosophical pur-'suits,' and to stop short, in detecting the marks of infinite skill, of that seemingly inevitable inference which would lead their thoughts up to the Infinite Artificer.

To pursue our analysis: the learned Author proceeds to remark, that 'the evidence for the existence of mind is to the full 'as complete as that upon which we believe in the existence of 'matter.' This subject is resumed in Section V., and followed up in a note, in which the Author exposes the flimsy and fallacious reasonings of the atheistic author of the '*Système de la Nature.*' The remainder of this section is occupied with giving a few brief but striking illustrations of the evidences of Creative Wisdom which are furnished by the constitution and functions of the human mind, and by the operations of instinct in the brute creation.

In Section IV., Lord Brougham has gone a little out of his straight course, in attempting to shew the unsoundness and insufficiency of the *argumentum à priori*, or the demonstration of the Being and attributes of God from abstract reasoning, as conducted

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by Dr. Clarke and other metaphysical writers. In one point of view, we agree with his Lordship, there can be no absolutely *à priori* reasoning upon the subject, since the argument cannot be conducted independently of experience and consciousness; and it is impossible to prove that the existence and attributes of the Deity would have been discoverable or demonstrable by mere reasoning, in the absence of all existence *à posteriori*, since no such condition could exist. But we cannot admit that the argument *à priori*, as generally understood, is so completely useless and unsatisfactory as Lord Brougham would represent. He objects, that it would follow as a consequence of such argument, that the existence of God is a necessary, not a contingent truth; 'and that it is not only as impossible for the Deity not to exist 'as for the whole to be greater than the sum of its parts, but 'that it is equally impossible for his attributes to be other than 'the argument is supposed to prove they are.' Now we maintain this consequence to be no objection. We contend that the existence of God *is* a necessary truth, inasmuch as the atheistic hypothesis is a pure absurdity; and that it *is* as impossible for the Deity not to exist, and for his essential attributes to be other than they are, as for the whole to be greater than the sum of its parts. Lord Brougham observes, in exposing the sophistry of the materialists, that 'we cannot, in any instance, draw the inference of 'the existence of matter, without at the same time exhibiting a 'proof of the existence of mind.' The celebrated argument of Descartes, *Cogito, ergo sum*, had, in this sense, he remarks, a correct and profound meaning. In like manner, it may be said, we cannot prove the existence of mind, or frame to ourselves the idea of existence, without its involving the idea of a First Cause of existence, who must be of necessity Self-existent. The act of thought includes the idea of conscious existence; and from the idea of conscious existence, that of its Author is rationally inseparable. We might therefore parallel the argument of Descartes (which may be termed an abbreviated syllogism, in which the minor proposition is understood) with another of equal logical strength—*Sum, ergo Deus est.* The self-existence of the Creator of all things is as certain a truth, as impossible to be otherwise, as his existence: it is included in the idea of God, and therefore forms part of the proposition, There is a God. It is moreover a truth that could not be proved *à posteriori.* We may infer the Divine wisdom, power, and goodness from the manifestation of those Attributes; and 'their contraries,' it may be admitted, 'are not things wholly inconceivable.' 'Perfect as 'the frame of things actually is,' remarks the learned Writer, 'a 'few apparent exceptions to the general beauty of the system 'have made many disbelieve the perfect power and perfect good-'ness of the Deity, and invent Manichean theories to account

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'for the existence of evil';—a proof, by the way, how imperfect and uncertain are the deductions of Natural Theology in the absence of Revelation. But we cannot infer from the works of God, either his self-existence, his eternity and immutability, or his absolute perfection. These are discovered to us, primarily, by Revelation; but they are susceptible also of demonstration by reason. Not by the argument from the existence of time and space *, (which is, after all, as Lord Brougham justly remarks, reasoning *à posteriori*,) but by shewing that the contrary, if not 'inconceivable,' would be an irrational notion, as involving a contradiction or absurdity. That the Cause of all being must be self-existent, is not more evident and certain, the terms being understood, than that, as the Cause of all perfection, he must be all perfect. Otherwise, though a cause would be assigned in the Divine Existence, for the existence of other beings, there would be perfections attaching to created beings, for which no cause would be assignable: they would be effects without a cause. And the absurdity would not be greater, that is involved in the supposition of contingent qualities without a cause, than that which attaches to the notion of contingent existence without a cause. In other words, we might as rationally suppose a finite being to have come into existence of itself, as suppose it to possess qualities of power, wisdom, and goodness for which it was not indebted to its Author, or as suppose that the Author of all power, and wisdom, and goodness, is less than infinitely powerful, wise, and good. 'And whereas all caused being,' remarks the Author of the Living Temple, 'is, as such, to every man's understanding, confined within certain limits, what can the Uncaused, Self-existent Being be, but most unlimited, infinite, all-comprehending, and most absolutely perfect? Nothing, therefore, can be more evident, than that the Self-existent Being must be the absolutely Perfect Being.'

This, however, it may be said, is still arguing from effects to their cause, which is the argument *à posteriori*. As we infer from the marks of design in the works of the Creator, the wisdom of the Designer, so we infer by rational deduction, the goodness of God from the quality of goodness in created beings, and from the sense of goodness which he has implanted in us. But although we might infer the wisdom and goodness of the Creator, we could not certainly prove from the manifestation of those perfections, that He is absolutely and perfectly wise and good;

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* The unsatisfactory nature of this argument, we have had occasion to shew, in reviewing the acute, ingenious, but unsound reasoning of Mr. Drew, in our review of his work on the Divine Attributes. See Eclectic Review, Second Series. Vol. XXI., pp. 289—306.

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—that "God is light, and in Him is no darkness;"* because there exist qualities in the creature, and effects in the visible universe, which are of an evil nature, and which would therefore seem to imply a limitation at least in the exercise of those infinite attributes. Nor would it be easy, as it seems to us, by the mere force of reasoning *à posteriori*, to disprove and convict of absurdity the Manichean theory. The absolute perfection of God must either be regarded as purely a matter of faith, in spite of present appearances to the contrary,—a doctrine of Revelation; or, if capable of being demonstrated by reason, it must be by shewing that it is a necessary truth, the contrary of which involves absurdity.

Lord Brougham expresses his astonishment, that so profound a thinker, and, generally speaking, so accurate a reasoner as Clarke, should have supposed that he could deduce from the self-existence of God his infinite Perfection. 'Prior to all experience,' he remarks, 'no one could ever know that there were such things as 'judges or governors; and without the previous idea of a finite 'ruler or judge, we could never gain any idea of an eternal and 'infinitely just ruler or judge.' What, then! because we arrive at the knowledge of abstract and necessary truths by means of previous ideas of actual and sensible things, does this prove that there are no such things as necessary truths or self-evident propositions? Without the previous ideas obtained by perception, it is certain that the mind would be incapable of exercising the faculty of reasoning: does this prove that mathematical truth depends upon experience and observation? We must, in our turn, express surprise, that so acute a logician as Lord Brougham should have imputed inconclusive reasoning to Clarke, upon no better ground than his own mistake in confounding the *history* of the intellectual phenomena (to which the explanation of our arriving at abstract ideas belongs) with the laws of reasoning. We arrive at the idea of eternity, undoubtedly, from our experience of succession, which suggests the idea of time; but does it follow from this fact, that the Eternity of God is an idea derived altogether from our consciousness, having no foundation in the nature of things, or a truth demonstrable only by induction from physical facts?

We have already said, that all reasoning must assume something that is known; and he who would prove there is a God, must assume—if this is indeed to be termed an assumption—that he, the conscious reasoner, exists. But Truth does not depend upon our knowledge of it. That God is, is a fact wholly independent of our belief. We give existence to nothing, by ascertaining its reality. The foundation of our knowledge, therefore,

* 1 John i. 5.

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can never be correctly represented to be in ourselves, but only the means of our discovering or receiving it. Now, among those means is the faculty of pure reasoning, which deals with abstract ideas and necessary truths. If there can be such a thing at all as *à priori* reasoning upon any subject, surely it may be applied to the nature of HIM of whom we cannot rationally deem otherwise than that, as the Eternal Cause and Fountain of all Being and all perfection, He must in all his perfections be infinite. Even the atheist could hardly refuse to admit that this is the true notion of the Being whose existence he denies. The argument *à posteriori*, invaluable as it is for the purpose of illustration, and far better adapted to affect the mind, and to awaken emotions of piety, than any abstract reasoning, yet fails as a perfect demonstration. In the absence of certain knowledge derivable from Revelation and Reason, that argument would seem to rest the perfection of the Divine character on a balance of probabilities,—on the preponderance of good over evil, either at present or in futurity; and it would suspend the highest obligations of the creature upon the evidence obtainable by this philosophical induction. To argue the Divine Perfections from present appearances and probable anticipations, is to prove what is clear by what is problematical, and to build certainty upon mystery. If proof is wanted in respect to what it is insane to doubt, the demonstration *à priori*, properly conducted, seems to us the only effectual refutation of the cavils of scepticism, not so much as to the existence, indeed, as to the necessary and absolute perfection of the Deity.

The arguments of the ancient Theists, Lord Brougham remarks, were in great part drawn from metaphysical speculations, some of which resembled the argument *à priori*; and occasionally their expressions seem to glimmer with the reflected light of the Heavenly Oracles. But, continues the noble Author:—

'They were pressed by the difficulty of conceiving the possibility of creation, whether of matter or spirit; and their inaccurate views of physical science made them consider this difficulty as peculiar to the creative act. They were thus driven to the hypothesis, that matter and mind are eternal, and that the creative power of the Deity is only plastic. They supposed it easy to comprehend how the Divine Mind should be eternal and self-existing, and matter also eternal and self-existing. They found no difficulty in comprehending how that Mind could, by a wish or a word, reduce chaos to order, and mould all the elements of things into their present form; but how every thing could be made out of nothing, they could not understand. When rightly considered, however, there is no more difficulty in comprehending the one, than the other operation,—the existence of the plastic, than of the creative power: or rather, the one is as incomprehensible as the other. How the Supreme Being made matter out of the void, is not easily

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comprehended. This must be admitted. But is it more easy to conceive how the same Being, by his mere will, moved and fashioned the primordial atoms of an eternally existing chaos into the beauty of the natural world, or the regularity of the solar system? In truth, these difficulties meet us at every step of the argument of Natural Theology, when we would penetrate beyond those things, those facts which our faculties can easily comprehend; but *they meet us just as frequently, and are just as hard to surmount, in our steps over the field of Natural Philosophy.* How matter acts on matter—how motion is begun, or, when begun, ceases—how impact takes place—what are the conditions and limitations of contact—whether or not matter consists of ultimate particles, endowed with opposite powers of attraction and repulsion, and how these act—how one planet acts upon another at the distance of a hundred million of miles—or how one piece of iron attracts and repels another at a distance less than any visible space—all these, and a thousand others of the like sort, are questions just as easily put, and as hard to answer, as how the universe could be made out of nothing, or how, out of chaos, order could be made to spring.'

pp. 94—96.

In the fifth section, Lord Brougham treats of the deontological or ethical branch of Natural Theology, and shews that it rests upon the same kind of evidence with moral science, and is, strictly speaking, as much a branch of inductive knowledge. In the first place, the proofs of the separate and future existence of the soul, afforded by the nature of mind, are shewn to be facts belonging alike to Psychology and to Natural Theology: and next, the proofs of immortality derivable from the condition of man in connexion with the attributes of the Deity, are shewn to be as truly parts of legitimate inductive science as any other branch of moral philosophy. In the former part of this section, the reader will find much that is valuable and admirable. We cannot refrain from noticing the ingenious argument against Materialism; 'that if the mind ceases to exist at death, it is the 'only example of annihilation which we know.' The argument for the separate existence of mind, and for its surviving the body, founded upon its surviving a total change of the body to which it is united, in all its parts,—'a chronic dissolution' during life,—we are afraid must be pronounced more ingenious than conclusive, since what is required to be proved is, the separate existence of the soul after the interruption of the complex life which connects it with its material vehicle*. The argument relating to the probable designs of the Creator, though conducted in a becoming spirit, is of necessity unsatisfactory; for the inductions of moral

* In fact, it has been remarked, that Lord Brougham's argument proves too much, since it would go far towards establishing the immortality of animals.

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philosophy upon such points are nothing better than mere speculation and conjecture. The only clear and certain evidence of the will and intentions of the Supreme Governor is confessedly to be obtained from Revelation.

The sixth section is occupied with an examination of Lord Bacon's doctrine of Final Causes; it being the Author's object to shew, that the Father of Inductive Philosophy was not adverse to such speculation when kept within due bounds. The seventh section examines the true nature of inductive analysis and synthesis, and exposes some important errors prevalent on this subject.

The Notes, to which we have already referred, are on the following topics. I. Of the Classification of the Sciences. II. Of the Psychological Argument from Final Causes. III. Of the Doctrine of Cause and Effect. IV. Of the "*Système de la Nature*," and the Hypothesis of Materialism. V. Of Mr. Hume's Sceptical Writings. VI., VII., VIII. Of the Ancient Doctrines respecting Mind, the Deity and Matter, and the Immortality of the Soul. IX. Of Bishop Warburton's Theory concerning the ancient Doctrine of a Future State. X. Of the Character of Lord Bacon.

Upon the whole, the volume must be regarded as, under all the circumstances, an extraordinary production, displaying the versatile, brilliant, and all-excursive mind of the noble Author in a new *phase*, and affording honourable indications of a sincere desire to promote the best interests of his fellow men. Lord Brougham is evidently conscious that the purest fame is neither that of the great lawyer, nor of the accomplished orator, nor of the astute politician, nor even of the man of science, but such as attaches only to the memory of those who have laboured to make their generation more wise and good; and never can ambition take so useful a direction as in prompting endeavours that have this aim. We trust that his Lordship's performance may, on the one hand, prove extensively beneficial to a class of readers little accustomed to have their attention directed to any theological inquiries. And should it, on the other hand, serve to recommend the study of the works of God to good men, it will answer a not less useful purpose. In His works, as well as in His word, God reveals himself to those who seek Him, "as he does not unto the world." It were a worthy object, to rescue Natural Theology out of the hands of those philosophers who would fain construct a scientific religion that might perchance rival the religion of faith. '*Deo erexit Voltaire*,' inscribed the unhappy enemy of Christ on the porch of his church at Ferney. But if Revelation is true, there is but one "way to the Father"; and "without faith, it is impossible to please Him."

We should be glad to feel warranted in receiving this volume

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as a protest against that tacit exclusion of religion from scientific and useful knowledge, which has been advocated on the hollow and delusive plea, that religious truth is altogether matter of controversy*. What has not been controverted? The existence of mind, of matter, of Deity, has been disputed. Science owes every thing to controversy. Religion has nothing to fear from it. To exclude the highest, most essential, and most certain of knowledge from popular literature upon such ground, is, *teste* the noble Author of this Treatise, as contrary to true philosophy as it is impious.

Art. II. *Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of Sir Matthew Hale, Knt., Lord Chief Justice of England.* By J. B. Williams, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. Sm. 8vo, pp. xxiv, 408. London, 1835.

THE life of Sir Matthew Hale presents one of the most instructive and exemplary characters of the British Nepos. In his singularly equable and prosperous course amid troublous times, we seem to have a striking verification of the truth, that "Godliness has the promise of this life as well as of that which is to come." One of these promises is, "Discretion shall preserve thee"; and never was the virtue of discretion without cunning or simulation more finely exemplified. In early life the friend and disciple of Selden and Usher, his high reputation at the bar is evinced by his being one of the counsel assigned to the Earl of Strafford in 1640, and to Archbishop Laud on his arraignment in 1644. He was nominated by the parliamentary party to assist, as counsel, the commissioners who had to treat with those of the King as to the reduction of Oxford; and again, was retained by the Oxonians against the Parliament on the questions mooted with reference to the celebrated visitation of the University. He afterwards appears as counsel for the eleven members of Parliament who, in 1647, becoming obnoxious to Cromwell, were impeached by the army; and he is, on authority which appears to us satisfactory, believed to have been engaged on behalf of Charles I., and to have afforded the arraigned monarch the aid of his professional advice. In the State trials

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* It seems that even the republication of Dr. Paley's Natural Theology under the auspices of the Diffusion Society, was objected to by certain colleagues, under the apprehension that it might open the door of *religious controversy* among the Committee!! Can those individuals be much less than atheists who could speak of such a subject as related to controversy?

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under the Commonwealth, he is found appearing as counsel on behalf of the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lords Capel and Craven; and 'such was the power of his argu-'mentation,' in the last of these cases, 'that the Attorney Ge-'neral threatened him for appearing against the Government.' Again, when the unfortunate Christopher Love was arraigned for treason in 1651, the plea against the charge and evidence was entrusted to Mr. Hale; and though his efforts proved unsuccessful, Love, in a tract left behind him, bears testimony to the ability displayed by his counsel, which he attributes to 'Divine assistance'. Such a man could not be overlooked in Cromwell's politic arrangements. On his installation as Protector, one new judge only was made, and that was Hale; who not without avowed scruples accepted the proffered dignity, influenced, it is said, by several eminent royalists. In 1654, he was returned to Cromwell's second Parliament as one of the five Knights of the Shire for the county of Gloucester, at no expense to himself, and in opposition to another candidate. His exertions in Parliament were directed to the moderating so far as possible of the violence of parties. Of the Parliament summoned in 1656, he appears not to have been a member; but in that which was summoned by the new Protector, Richard Cromwell, in 1658, he represented the University of Oxford. In the famous Convention Parliament, Hale appeared as one of the Members for Gloucestershire, and he took a prominent part in the proceedings for restoring the exiled monarch. He was one of those who conceived the opportunity to be a favourable one for limiting the prerogative; but Monk's selfish policy defeated his 'pa-'triotic suggestion'. Hale had afterwards the honour of being nominated one of the Committee for bringing in the Act of Indemnity. He framed, carried on, and supported the Bill, which, on the 11th of July, 1660, passed the Commons.

There was obviously nothing in Hale's professional or political career, thus far, that rendered it inconsistent with the general tenor of his principles, to accept of a legal appointment under the restored government. Yet, in a private document, he sets down among his reasons for desiring to be spared from any place of public employment, that his having 'formerly served under a 'now odious* interest' might, 'by them that understand not, or 'observe not, or will willingly upon their own passions or interest 'mistake' his 'reasons for it, be objected even in his very prac-'tice of judicature, which is fit to be preserved without the least 'blemish or disrepute in the person who exerciseth it.' His reasons were, however, overruled, and on the 7th of Nov. 1660, Hale was created Lord Chief Baron of England.

* Misprinted, 'new, odious.' p. 81.

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'"What but Christianity," asked the late Mr. Knox, with equal propriety and force, "could have given to Judge Hale that uniform ascendancy over every thing selfish and secular, by means of which he so undeviatingly kept the path of pure heroic virtue, as to be alike looked up to and revered by parties and interests the most opposite to each other? Is there in human history, any fact more extraordinary, than that the advocate of Strafford and Laud, and of King Charles, (had leave been given for pleading,) should be raised to the bench by Cromwell? And again, that a judge of Cromwell's should be not only reinstated by Charles II., but compelled by him, against his own will, to accept of the very highest judicial trust? Such is the triumph of genuine *Christianity;* a triumph which is, in some degree, renewed, wherever the name of Hale is even professionally repeated: since the appeal is evidently made, not more to the authority of the judge, than to the integrity of the man."

'Like his great contemporary, Marshal Turenne, Lord Hale avoided the presence of his sovereign as well as the praise of men; and thus, for a time, escaped the honour usually consequent upon his new office. This the Chancellor observed, and alluring him, at length, to his own house, at a time when the king was there, presented the modest Chief Baron; and he was knighted.' pp. 84, 5.

In May 1671, on the death of Sir John Keyling, Sir Matthew Hale succeeded him as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, which he resigned in Feb. 1675-6, on finding his health no longer equal to the duties of the office. He expired at his seat in Gloucestershire, on the Christmas day following, in the 67th year of his age.

Such was the public career of this great and good man, in whose private character, as portrayed by Burnet and Baxter, and still further illustrated by the assiduous research and judicious pains of his present Biographer, the hidden life of the Christian, and the genuine image of Christ, were exhibited with less of imperfection than attaches to many even of the brightest examples of modern times. The 'fragrant memorial of his virtues,' by Bishop Burnet, has happily served to make posterity acquainted with the character of this 'blameless' lawyer, whose integrity has passed into a proverb. Upon that invaluable piece of biography, the present Memoir is founded; but Dr. Williams has, by means of the Notes of Baxter and Stephens, the Judge's own manuscripts, and other sources of information, considerably enlarged the Bishop's narrative; and he modestly apologizes for having found it necessary to recast and re-write the entire Memoir. The undertaking, he tells us, 'has been strictly that of an amateur,—'prosecuted under the pressure of duties rendering more than 'occasional progress impracticable.' Of the Author's indefatigable zeal as a biographical and bibliographical antiquary, his Lives of the Henrys (Philip and Matthew) have furnished ample evidence. The present volume displays the same lawyer-like

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minuteness and accuracy, in combination with an enthusiastic admiration of the subject of his memoir. The volume ought to be in the possession of every young lawyer; but the example of Sir Matthew Hale, which, powerfully contributed, during his lifetime, to remove the vulgar prejudices cherished by many against persons of that profession, is equally deserving of being studied by readers of every class, and cannot be studied without advantage. The Christian public are under obligations to Dr. Williams for the manner in which he has executed such a task. As a specimen of the style of the composition, we cannot do better than select the comparison between Coke and Hale, with which Dr. W. closes his estimate of the Judge's writings.

'Hale's professional works, eminent alike for their precision of sentiment, their comprehensive learning, and their deep research, have, uniformly, associated him with the brightest luminaries; not excepting Coke himself, the mighty "Colossus of our law"; and so ably have they been characterised in the citations made, or referred to, as not only to account for the comparatively little space devoted to them in the present volume, but to render observations superfluous. A comparison, however, between the two great judges thus brought together, may not, unfairly, be attempted; and with that, the account of the "genius, learning, and writings" of Lord Hale, shall close.

'Coke, with all his greatness, and there can be no motive to diminish it, was *merely* a lawyer; "the whole of his philosophy lay in the Statutes;" his notions, consequently, in spite of his regard for "the good education of youth," were narrow and confined. Hale, equally sagacious, and equally profound, was a philosopher likewise; a man of general science, the advocate of "industrious education;" and a "very good divine." Coke was not only subtle, but sometimes insolent, and even ferocious; as in the case of Raleigh, and the state prisoners; and always politic. Hale, while capable of feeling intense indignation, discovered, almost invariably, consummate prudence and self-control; nor was he ever so devoted to policy, as to yield his independence, or trifle with his honour. Coke wrote, and commonplaced, with remarkable, if not infallible, accuracy. Hale discovered the same aptitude. Coke, though using his eyes, and constantly accounting for things, with "uncommon and singular reasons," contented himself with the preservation of what he found. Hale, on the other hand, deduced consequences, as well as ascertained principles, and impressed all his communications with his own mind. Coke, completely as he exhausted every subject, is utterly defective in order and method. Hale, while every where evincing the same thoughtful comprehension, arranged with an accuracy bordering upon excess. Coke is invariably slovenly, abounding in quibbles, and quaintness, and pedantry; is often insipid; and never bold. Hale, if deficient in elegance, is uniformly energetic, seldom trite, makes no effort to shine, and uses a style at once masculine, lucid, and convincing. Coke, notwithstanding his laudable conduct in the House of Commons, and occasional opposition to the chief executive magistrate,

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leaned to the court, interfered with its intrigues, was among the highest prerogative lawyers, and used, as in the case of Essex and Southampton, the grossest adulation. The atmosphere of the court, HALE studiously avoided; he delighted in the shades of privacy; and not merely cherished a strong bias to the rights of the subject, but was even zealous against unlawful power; and, with the most unflinching firmness, pursued his own straightforward course, with as little regard to frowns, as smiles.

'In many respects they were *alike*. Both were splendid examples of industry and attainments. Both rose, by gradual and meritorious stages, to the chief seat of justice. Both achieved wonderful objects, amidst continual cares and weighty occupation. Both reasoned, and inferred, with an adroitness that is truly enviable. Both delighted to immure themselves among ancient records and the rarest manuscripts. Both drew copiously from them, and with equal fondness. The works of both are a vast mine of erudition; and, notwithstanding defects, chiefly incidental to their day, both will continue to be the beacons and lights of all other lawyers.' pp. 323—326.

Art. III. *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., &c., &c.* With Details of the Commerce and Resources of the Eastern Archipelago, and Selections from his Correspondence. By his Widow. A new Edition, in 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xvii, 905. London, 1835.

IT does not consist with our usual practice, to notice republications; but we are, on the present occasion, induced by the attractiveness and seasonable appearance of the volumes before us, to depart from a convenient rule. The first edition of this Memoir was published five years ago, in quarto, and received from us the commendatory notice which its intrinsic value demanded *; but it was not adapted for extensive circulation: its bulky form, its costliness, its cumbrous apparatus of official documents and explanatory statements, necessary in the first instance to do justice to the public character of Sir Stamford Raffles, precluded its obtaining general perusal, and thereby making all classes of readers familiar with the actions and motives of one of the most distinguished Englishmen of his age. It was expedient that his biography should contain, on its first appeal to the public judgement, all the materials for the full development of a noble character, imperfectly known, and slowly, though surely, making its way to fame through a host of prejudices obstinate against conviction. Kindred spirits had already done justice to Raffles. Whatever doubts they might have entertained, had been cleared

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* Eclectic Review, 3rd Series, Vol. IV. pp. 1—22.

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away by his own luminous exposition of the circumstances in which he was placed, and of the policy by which those circumstances were encountered and controlled; but minds of meaner cast had beset the path of this eminent man, throughout the whole of his bright career: he had been vexed and thwarted by the envy of subordinates, the jealousy of equals, the narrow views of superiors; and, at the close of his course, when he was entitled to expect not a mere acquittal, nor even a measured approbation, he received from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, an official paper, so narrow in its views, so niggard in its praise, and so cordial in its small cavillings, as to disgrace, not only the men who sanctioned it, but those who could allow it to pass without a recorded protest.

Under these circumstances, it was necessary to support the leading statements of Sir Stamford's Life by extensive discussion and evidence; but these having effected their intention, and controversy having long since been set at rest on these points, it has been felt desirable that an abridged memoir of his Life, equally full and explicit as to facts, but omitting the documents which are not of permanent interest, should be given to the public under the same authority as that which decided on a somewhat different plan in the first publication. The present volumes accordingly contain all the more interesting matter and illustrative details of the quarto, omitting only those documents and statements which are an incumbrance to the book as a work of literature. These volumes are handsomely printed, reasonably priced, and excellently edited. The maps and plates are, with one or two exceptions, those of the first edition. Many readers of that volume will be glad of the opportunity thus advantageously afforded, of renewing their acquaintance with a book of uncommon interest, and with the story of a man who reflected honour on his country and his kind; and to those who have not seen the original publication, we strongly recommend the purchase of the present abridged Memoir, which is published in the hope of diffusing more widely an example adapted to 'encourage a spirit of 'true patriotism in the cultivation and exercise, for the good of 'others, of two of God's best gifts,—Time and Talents.'

As, in our former notice, we gave an outline of the active and able career of the subject of this Memoir, we shall not on the present occasion give any abstract of the work, but content ourselves with giving a few specimens of the interesting details it comprises. The first volume is for the most part occupied with details relating to Sir Stamford's memorable administration as lieutenant-governor of Java, during its occupancy by the British, and illustrating the history and geography of the Indian Archipelago. His letters to Lord Minto are replete with curious and valuable information. The following extracts from a letter, or rather Me-

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moir on the Malay states, and the detestable policy of the Dutch in those seas, may serve to recal attention to a subject which has not hitherto received an adequate consideration. The various groupes of states are enumerated as follows:

'1. The states of the Malay peninsula. 2. The states of the Island of Sumatra. 3. The states of the Island of Borneo. 4. The states of the Sunda Islands, comprehending the chain of islands which extend from the Straits of Sunda to Timor and Celebes, exclusive of Java. 5. The states of Celebes. 6. The states of Sulu and Mindranawi. 7. The states of the Moluccas, comprehending Ceram and Banda. 8. The states of Jelolo, or Little Celebes. 9. The Black Papua states of New Guinea and the Papua Islands in its vicinity.'

The most obvious and natural theory of the origin of the Malays, is, that they did not exist as a separate and distinct nation until the arrival of the Arabians in the Eastern Seas; and that they have been separated from their original stock, like the Chuliahs of the Coromandel Coast, and the Mapillas of Malabar, by the admixture of Arabian blood, and the introduction of the Arabic language and Mussulman creed.

'In ancient times, the Malay chiefs, though possessing the titles of Sultan, or Rajah, and in full possession of authority within their own domains, yet all held of a superior, or Suzerain, who was King of the ancient and powerful state of Majopahit, on the island of Java, and who had the title of Bitara. Malacca was one of the first states that shook off this allegiance, and became in the end so powerful as to hold a great part of the Malay peninsula, and of the opposite coast of Sumatra, in a similar dependence, though the sovereigns of these states retained the titles of Rajahs, or Sultans, and exercised their authority within their own territories.' Vol. I., p. 79.

It is well known that Chinese settlers and itinerant adventurers have spread themselves all over the Malayan Archipelago. In all the eastern Dutch settlements, the favourite policy of those cold-blooded merchants has been, to depress the native Malay or Javanese inhabitants, and to give every encouragement to the Chinese, 'who follow the general practice of remitting the fruits 'of their industry, instead of spending them where they were ac-'quired.

'The Chinese, in all ages equally supple, venal, and crafty, failed not at a very early period to recommend themselves to the equally crafty, venal, and speculating Hollanders. They have, almost from the first, been the agents of the Dutch, and in the island of Java, in particular, they have almost acquired the entire monopoly of revenue farms and government contracts. At present many of the most respectable Dutch families are intimately connected with the Chinese in

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their contracts and speculations; and it is only very lately that Marshal Daendels sold the whole provinces of Pasuki to the Capitan China, or head Chinaman of Surabaya. It is even rumoured that this is not the only instance in which the Marshal has assigned the whole provinces over to the unfeeling oppression of the Chinese, for the purpose of raising temporary resources in money. The Chinese have, in Java, been generally left to their own laws, and the regulations of their own chiefs; and being merely temporary residents in the country, they devote themselves entirely to the accumulation of wealth, without being very scrupulous concerning the means. When, therefore, they acquire grants of land, they always contrive to reduce the peasants speedily to the condition of slaves. The improvement of the people, which has never been an object with the Dutch, is much less so with the Chinese; and the oppression which they have exercised in the vicinity of Batavia has not failed to open the eyes of the Dutch themselves. A late report of the counsellors of Batavia on this subject accordingly states, that "Although the Chinese, as being the most diligent and industrious settlers, should be the most useful, they are, on the contrary, become a very dangerous people, and are to be remarked as a pest to the country; and that there appears to be no radical cure for this evil but their extermination from the interior, a measure which cannot now be effected." Of the degree of oppression which they are in the habit of exercising towards the peasants, some idea may be formed from the following fact:—The staple grain of Java is rice, and the established rate of ground-rent for rice-grounds in Java is 1-10th of the crop. Wherever the Chinese are the land-holders, however, they exact, as rent, 5-8ths of the produce of the ground. Wherever they have formed extensive settlements in Java, accordingly, the native Javanese have no alternative but that of abandoning the district, or becoming slaves of the soil; besides, the monopolizing spirit of the Chinese frequently exercises a very pernicious control over the necessaries of life, and the produce of the soil, even in the vicinity of Batavia. If we consider the suppleness and insinuating address of the Chinese, how apt they are on all occasions to curry favour, how ready they are to proffer assistance when there is no danger, and when they perceive that it falls in with their own interest, we may depend upon their utmost efforts being used to ingratiate themselves with the English. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance to be early on our guard against this pernicious and increasing influence, which preys on the very vitals of the country, draining and exhausting it for the benefit of China. In all the Malay states, the Chinese have made every effort to get into their hands the farming of the port duties, and this has generally proved the ruin of the trade. In addition to these circumstances, it should be recollected that the Chinese, from their peculiar language and manners, form a kind of separate society in every place where they settle, which gives them great advantage over every competitor in arranging monopolies of trade. It also gives them an opportunity of aspiring after political ascendancy, which they have often acquired in the inferior Malay states. This ascendancy of the Chinese, whether of a commercial or political nature, should be cau-

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tiously guarded against and restrained; and this perhaps cannot be better done than by bringing forward the native population of Malays and Javanese, and encouraging them in useful and industrious habits.' Vol. I., pp. 81—83.

These observations are in a high degree applicable also to the Arabs who frequent the Malay countries, and, under the specious mask of religion, prey on the simple natives.

'The Chinese must, at all events, be admitted to be industrious; but the Arabs are mere drones, useless and idle consumers of the produce of the ground, affecting to be descendants of the Prophet, and the most eminent of his followers, when in reality they are commonly nothing more than manumitted slaves: they worm themselves into the favour of the Malay chiefs, and often procure the highest offices in the Malay states. They hold like robbers the offices they obtain as sycophants, and cover all with the sanctimonious veil of religious hypocrisy. Under the pretext of instructing the Malays in the principles of the Mahomedan religion, they inculcate the most intolerant bigotry, and render them incapable of receiving any species of useful knowledge. It is seldom that the East is visited by Arabian merchants of large capital, but there are numerous adventurers who carry on a coasting-trade from port to port; and by asserting the religious titles of Sheikh and Seyyad, claim, and generally obtain, an exemption from all port duties in the Malay states. They are also very frequently concerned in acts of piracy, and great promoters of the slave trade. This class of adventurers it will be our object sedulously to repress, but a regulated trade with any of the commercial states of Arabia, as Muscat, Mocha, or Jidda, may prove extremely advantageous to the Malay countries.' *Ib.*, pp. 83, 84.

Another class of '*interlopers*,' against whom the vigilant attention of the Governor General is invoked, it would be more difficult to deal with: they are—the Americans!

'Of late,' continues the Memoir, 'they have become still better acquainted with many of these islands, from their vessels having been employed by the Dutch. If such active and enterprising traders, who are certainly not particularly well affected to the English, be permitted to trade to the Eastern islands on equal terms with the English, it will inevitably be injurious to our commercial interests. But if they are permitted the free range of the Archipelago, perhaps it would be difficult to devise a measure more injurious to our political influence, as well as our commercial interests. The Americans, wherever they go, as they have no object but commercial adventure, and as fire-arms are in the highest request, especially among the more Eastern isles, these would be considered as the most profitable articles. They have already filled the different clusters of islands in the South Seas with fire-arms, and they would not fail to do the same in the different Eastern islands.' *Ib.*, p. 86.

Both the Dutch and the Portuguese, as a principle of commer-

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cial policy, introduced a nominal Christianity among the inhabitants of these islands.

'There are now several small islands in the Malay archipelago inhabited almost entirely by Christians of the Catholic persuasion, as the islands of Sanggir and Siaŭk, situated between Jelolo and Mindanawi. In many other islands the Protestant persuasion has made very considerable progress, and teachers in the flourishing times of the Batavian regency were dispersed over all the low chain of islands which extend from Bali and Lambok to the great island of Timor. The islands in which the Christian faith has been most extensively diffused are, the great island Endé, or Manggerai, the isles of Solor, Salerang, Lomblim, and Ombai, the great island Timor, and the several small islands in its vicinity, as Savo, Roti, and Samba. In many of these islands the natives, having no written character of their own, have been instructed in the Roman character, and taught to read Malay and other dialects in it. There have also been various religious formularies printed for their use, and translations have been executed for the use of these Christians in some of their languages, which have little or no affinity to the Malay. The propagation of Christianity among these islands is obviously liable to none of the objections which have been urged against it in our Indian possessions. A great proportion of the natives are still Pagans, under the influence of a wild and almost unintelligible superstition, the principles of which are not recorded in books, but are handed down like stories of ghosts, fairies, and witches, with all the uncertainty of tradition. Accordingly, in most instances, the people, though they stand in great awe of the priests, as enchanters, or dealers with the invisible spirits, are very little attached to the superstition. Many of them are said to be very desirous of procuring instruction, and in some places they look up with a degree of veneration to the Moslems, as a people who have received something which they still want. Besides, the attachment of the Malays to the religion of Islam is by no means of that strength as to emancipate them from their old usages, nor to inspire them with that contempt and hatred for other religions which is found in many of the older Moslem kingdoms. On the advantages which must accrue from protecting Christianity in these Eastern Islands, and by favouring its propagation in preference to the doctrines of Islam, where it may be so easily propagated, it is unnecessary to enlarge, in addressing your Lordship. Permit me, however, to allude to one remarkable fact, which may serve to illustrate the necessity of attending to the subject as a matter of public importance. In our present settlement of Malacca, the impossibility of procuring servants for wages compels almost every person to have recourse to slaves, and a considerable proportion of these are Pagans, being chiefly Battas from the centre of Sumatra, Balis from Bali, Dayaks from Borneo, besides natives of Timor and the more easterly islands. Of all these slaves that fall into the hands of the English, there is perhaps not a single one that becomes a Christian, but the whole of them become Moslems, and despise and hate their masters as infidels. Such is the woeful effect of our supineness and indifference, which, if they should extend

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to the East, would certainly not tend to the progress of general improvement among the Malays.' Vol. I., pp. 102—104.

To the penetration, the patriotic spirit, and the heroic perseverance of Sir Stamford Raffles, this country is mainly indebted for the destruction of the Dutch monopoly of the trade of the Eastern seas. For a long time, he had to maintain, as it were single-handed, a contest with the Dutch colonial authorities on the one part, and with those of the East India Company on the other. It was not without difficulty, after a personal interview with Lord Hastings, that he obtained the sanction of the Bengal Government to the splendid enterprise of hoisting the British flag at Singapore. 'I have at last,' he writes (Nov. 1818), 'succeeded, in making the authorities in 'Bengal sensible of their supineness in allowing the Dutch to 'exclude us from the Eastern Seas; but I fear it is now too 'late to retrieve what we have lost.'

'Of the delicacy and difficulties of the trust confided to Sir Stamford, some idea may be formed, when it is considered, that before he had reached Penang, on his way to the eastward, the government of that settlement had failed in an attempt to acquire such a station, had declared its conviction that the period had passed in which any such station could be obtained within the Archipelago, and on his arrival protested in the strongest manner, and exercised its power and influence in every possible way, against his proceeding towards the attainment of the important object intrusted to him; while the Dutch authorities, having, as they thought, already succeeded in occupying every station, had not hesitated to declare their supremacy over the whole Archipelago, and to publish their prohibitory regulations for the exclusion of British commerce, and the exercise of their own sovereignty throughout the Eastern Seas.

'Sir Stamford, determined to accomplish the duty intrusted to him, proceeded in person down the Straits of Malacca, and in ten days after quitting Penang hoisted the British flag, on the 20th of February, 1819, at Singapore, as he had anticipated upon leaving Bengal. The commanding situation of this settlement embraced all the objects which he expected and desired.

'Sir Stamford conceived it of primary importance to obtain a post which should have a commanding geographical position at the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca; which should be in the track of the China and country traders; which should be capable of affording them protection, and of supplying their wants; which should possess capabilities of defence by a moderate force; which might give the means of supporting and defending the commercial intercourse with the Malay states; and which, by its contiguity to the seat of the Dutch power, might afford an opportunity to watch the march of its policy, and, when necessary, to counteract its influence.

'The occupation of this station proved to the varied and enterprising population of the Archipelago, that the power and commerce of the British nation had not entirely sunk under the encroachments of the

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Dutch; and it also proved a determination to make a stand against them, and to maintain the right of free commerce with the Malay states.' Vol. II., pp. 11, 12.

Sir Stamford thus expresses his hopes and feelings upon the subject so near his heart, in different letters.

'Singapore is every thing we could desire. It will soon rise into importance; and with this single station, I would undertake to counteract all the plans of Mynheer. It breaks the spell; and they are no longer the exclusive sovereigns of the Eastern Seas. . . . . We are within a week's sail of China, close to Siam, and in the very seat of the Malayan empire. This, therefore, will probably be my last attempt. *If I am deserted now, I must fain return to Bencoolen, and become philosopher.*' Vol. II. pp. 13, 14.

'Almost all that I attempted in Sumatra has been destroyed, from a delicacy to the Dutch: if this last effort for securing our interests also fails, I must be content to quit politics, and turn philosopher.' *Ib.*, p. 16.

'Our object is not territory, but trade, a great commercial emporium, and a *fulcrum*, whence we may extend our influence politically, as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession, we put a *negative* to the Dutch claim of exclusion, and at the same time revive the drooping confidence of our allies and friends. One free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly; and what Malta is in the West, that may Singapore become in the East.' *Ib.*, p. 19.

In the following year (1820), he thus writes to the Dutchess of Somerset:—

'You will be happy to hear that we have completely turned the tables on the Dutch. The occupation of Singapore has been the death-blow to all their plans; and I trust that our political and commercial interests will be adequately secured, notwithstanding the unhandsome and ungenerous manner in which ministers have treated me individually, or the indifference they have shown to the subject. I was perfectly aware that they would not like the agitation of the question; but they ought to have been aware that it could not be avoided, and that however easy it may be in the Cabinet to sacrifice the best interests of the nation, there are spirits and voices engendered by the principles of our constitution that will not remain quiet under it.' p. 65.

To his friend Mr. Marsden, Sir Stamford thus lays open his feelings under the apprehension that the Home Government, then directed by the evil genius of the Castlereagh-Bathurst policy, might a second time destroy all the results of his patriotic exertions.

'I have lived long enough in the world to appreciate what is valuable in it; and the favour of ministers or courts never appeared to me equal to the conscientious conviction of having done one's duty—even the loss of fortune, honours, or, I might add, health. I have

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more satisfaction in what I have done since my return to India than with all my former endeavours; and the more I am opposed, the more my views are thwarted, destroyed, and counteracted, the firmer do I stand in my own opinion: for I am confident that I am right, and that when I appear at home, even those who are most opposed to me will be the first to acknowledge this. They do not, and will not, look at the question in its fair and true light; and such appears to be the spirit of *persecution*, that it would be idle to oppose it at this distance. I shall, therefore, bend with the blast, and endeavour to let the hurricane blow over me: the more violent it becomes, the sooner will it expend itself, and then it will be time for me to raise my head, to show the injury and devastation which has been spread abroad, and the folly of the course which has been pursued.

'"The only mischief in this line of policy is this, that it will force me to become a more public and prominent character than I would wish. My ambition is to end my days in domestic peace and comfort and literary leisure. A busy scene will oppose this, and though I may become a greater man, I perhaps may not become a happier one.

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'"After all, it is not impossible the ministry may be weak enough to abandon Singapore, and to sacrifice me, honour, and the Eastern archipelago, to the outrageous pretensions of the Dutch. In this case, I may be recalled sooner than I expect, perhaps immediately. This I am aware of, but I should be best contented with things remaining *even as they are* for two or three years to come; I should then be better prepared for the contest; for a contest it must come to, sooner or later, and the longer the adjustment of our differences with the Dutch, on a *broad* and *just* footing, is delayed, the better must it be for our interests.

'"I shall not fail to look forward, and to be prepared for this contest, come when it will; and if I cannot carry my plans here, they must prevail in England eventually."' Vol. II., pp. 128, 9.

During the first two years and a half after the establishment of this important station, so unaccountably overlooked by the British Government, no fewer than 2389 vessels entered and cleared from the port of Singapore, of which 383 were owned and commanded by Europeans, and 2506 by natives, their united tonnage amounting to 161,000 tons. Such was the result of the bold step of declaring Singapore a free port, open to ships and vessels of every nation free of duty, in which Sir Stamford shewed himself to be far in advance of the wretched commercial policy that had hitherto governed our Eastern affairs. His position was indeed a most extraordinary one. He had to assume the office of a legislator as well as Governor of Singapore; and 'framed a 'short code of laws and regulations for the preservation of peace 'and good order in a settlement which *existed for upwards of* '*five years entirely on his responsibility and the confidence re-* '*posed in him individually.*' From this responsibility neither the Bengal Government nor the Court of Directors would relieve

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him at the time. It was not till the increase of trade and population had fully justified all his plans, that his 'provisional' legislation and admirable administration received the tardy and somewhat reluctant approval of the higher authorities. But the fact was, as his Biographer remarks, that

'every act which tended to benefit his country generally, and to promote the interests of the people more immediately subject to his authority, interfered in the same degree with the principles of monopoly on which the East India Company have founded their policy.

'It was the opinion of Sir Stamford, that during the infancy of our intercourse with India, the union of merchant and legislator might exist without injury to the general interests of the country; but that it was a short-sighted policy which induced the reluctance to share with competitors those benefits formerly enjoyed by the Company alone; and that, as it is impossible for the Company to compete with the private trader, it would be for their honour and advantage to withdraw from this field. By being known as Legislators and Governors only, by encouraging general trade, and removing all obstacles to general intercourse, they would in reality increase their revenue, and secure the support of the public.

'Sir Stamford, as a servant of the Company, was bound indeed to promote their peculiar and corporate interests; but he looked beyond the mere question of the profits of a retail trade; and he felt that no Government could prosper unless it went hand in hand with the improvement of the people. That the Company have not reaped the results of his labours cannot be imputed to him.' Vol. II. pp. 376, 77.

Lady Raffles has discharged her delicate task with singular propriety. She has left the reader to infer from the statement of facts and the record of letters and documents, the merits and virtues of her admirable husband. She has abstained from the language of just eulogy which would have been expected from any other Biographer; but the reader may wish that the marking features of his personal character had been more distinctly portrayed. His efforts to suppress slavery—his exertions to promote the propagation of Christianity in the Eastern Seas—his scientific enthusiasm—his domestic simplicity of taste and manners—his fortitude and resignation under overwhelming calamities, furnish the traits of a moral portrait which it is at once delightful and profitable to contemplate.

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Art. IV.—1. *Testamentary Counsels and Hints to Christians on the right Distribution of their Property by Will.* By a retired Solicitor. pp. xi. 107. London, 1835.

2. *A Practical Guide to Executors and Administrators;* designed to enable them to execute the Duties of their office with safety and convenience: comprising a Digest of the Law, Stamp Office, and other Directions, Forms, Tables of Duties and Annuities, &c., &c. Intended also for the use of Attorneys and Solicitors. By Richard Matthews, of the Middle Temple, Esq., Barrister-at-Law; Author of "A Digest of the Criminal Law." 12mo. pp. viii. 352. Price 8*s.* London, 1835.

IT is a rule almost universal in its application, that pursuits which far precede acquired information are rarely popular. Now it so happens that professional detail generally fixes its inquiries upon objects which lie beyond the reach of persons who have not been gradually enured to their observation; and if knowledge of this class be simplified to the capacities of the uninstructed, it at once unequivocally loses that peculiar character which alone rendered it valuable to the *few*.

We are no enemies to 'the diffusion of useful knowledge,' nor are we yet convinced (though many persons have been led to adopt a different, and, in our view, most erroneous conclusion) that the *extension* of knowledge has ever had the effect of prejudicing, or has even the remotest tendency to impede its *advancement*. There are certain showy errors which for a time become popular, and, though received at first only by the weak and undiscerning, pass unconsciously into the class of proverbial fallacies. Of these a misdirected zeal gladly avails itself, and when cemented together with prejudice, it requires no slight effort of a better information to explode and dissipate them. Such was the fallacy to which Pope gave currency, when he exclaimed:

'A little learning is a dangerous thing.'

And now that the authority of this oracular position is losing its hold, the error to which we have already alluded seems destined to fill its place in the declamations of the bigoted, and the minds of the unthinking. We are told that science can no longer be expected to make those rapid advances which once marked its progress, for what it has gained in diffusion, it has lost in power: the wedge of gold, according to these sophists, has been beaten out into thin leaf. But who that regards it rightly, does not perceive that knowledge is a thing unlike in its distribution to any physical good; that, though by division bread may waste away, and water be exhausted, yet, like the barrel of meal, and the widow's cruse of oil, learning, whilst it cheers and nourishes the receiver, "doubly blesseth" the giver? Here,

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the very act of imparting is in itself a means of improvement. And we might as wisely fear that the sun should weaken itself by lighting up a world into day, as suspect that knowledge could ever waste its energies by shedding intellectual light over the dark places of national ignorance.

It matters little to the argument, even if we are called on to admit it, that before information was so widely diffused, the comparative number of proficients in science was *then* greater than *now*. The students of an earlier period had peculiar difficulties to contend with, and few ventured to assume this character, whose intellectual qualities did not ensure them a more than ordinary advance in the paths which they had selected. But now-a-days, so great are the facilities which learning holds out to its disciples, that many assume the toga, who neither by birth, nor by talent, are entitled to its citizenship.

The higher branches of knowledge must, for all practical purposes, be still confined to a few individuals. Of this we feel well assured: but truly it affords no reason that the general information which these more exclusive classes of study embody, should not occasionally be drawn off from sealed fountains to serve the purposes of a more extended usefulness. It is this consideration, unused though we may be to legal disquisition, which has induced us to notice the little works, the titles of which head this article. The design of the "Counsels" will be best explained in the Writer's own words:—

'This treatise enforces the duty of making prompt testamentary arrangements, gives a brief view of the laws affecting wills, and refers to the different parties entitled to the serious and benevolent consideration of testators; it also contains a chapter on the mortmain act, and advice as to the persons who should be selected for guardians and executors. These hints are illustrated by a variety of facts, which have come within the professional knowledge of the Writer. In the Appendix will be found various useful documents, and a table shewing the devolution of an intestate's property, together with the special customs which prevail in London and York on this point.'

Preface, pp. vii, viii.

The opening chapter, on 'the duty of testamentary arrangements,' concludes with a caution not more sound than necessary.

'The hints now offered are not intended to supersede the necessity of seeking professional advice, but rather to show its importance.' . . . . . 'A will should be carefully prepared in the season of health; it is always prudent to employ a respectable and *experienced* (how are the young men to live?) solicitor, or other competent person, for it will be found that the first expense is the least.'

Entirely do we coincide with the Writer in considering professional aid as almost indispensable on such an occasion. There fre-

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quently exists an unwillingness in the mind of a testator to unbosom family arrangements to the minute scrutiny of a professional adviser. The secrecy of a solicitor's office, how strictly soever maintained, is not inviolate. And the draft-drawing, the fair copying, and the engrossing by clerks and articled young gentlemen, afford no tempting prospect to the testator, who views with nervous apprehension the least unveiling of his designs. Yet, to counterbalance this, it should be remembered, that the laws of England form possibly one of the most complicated systems of jurisprudence ever framed, and in no branch is simplicity of parts less evident than in such as relate to testamentary dispositions. Necessarily embracing every class of property, its legal and its equitable relations, this one off-shoot from our legal system extends its endless ramifications over the whole structure of jurisprudence. Nor is it a superficial knowledge of law, nor even an acquaintance with a few leading principles or generally adopted forms that will fairly entitle an individual to withdraw the labour and the profit of will-making from the hands of his solicitor. In a treatise on the law of legacies, held by the profession in very general repute, nearly a thousand cases are referred to. And when, added to this, the statute law, and the thoroughly indispensable explanations which must be mastered, even putting forms out of the question, are remembered,—really we do not envy the necessary labours of an amateur A homely but useful proverb tells us, that there is such a thing as being penny wise and pound foolish; and if Sir Edward Sugden can be relied on, the passion for private will-making amply realizes the idea. 'It is,' says that distinguished lawyer, 'quite shocking to reflect upon the litiga-'tion which has been occasioned by men making their own wills.' Indeed, were we disposed to censure this little book, it would be only on the ground that, affording a clew to legal information, it may, perhaps, on the Writer's part unwittingly, tempt beyond their depth not a few, whom its prudent cautions shall fail to influence. We remember to have heard a medical man say, that Buchan's Domestic Medicine, that stock-book of our nurseries and our medicine-chests, had given the profession more practice than it had deprived them of. In all sincerity we express the hope that these Counsels may never be subjected to the same dubious approval. We are aware that these views are fully enforced in pages 7 and 8; but their importance demands something more than a mere casual notice.

The chapter on 'the provision to be made for widows,' is entitled to serious consideration; and most entirely do we agree with this Writer, in deprecating the unwise arrangement which would make a widow's interest in the property of her husband terminate on a second marriage. It reminds us of Herod's policy, who, to embalm himself in the recollections of the people, ordered that

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the chief nobility of Judea should be put to death on the day of his decease; determined that if the people could not mourn for their king, they might at least be led to grieve for their country. A husband should endeavour so to live, that for his *loss*, not for the fettering policy of a jealous will, the gray hairs of his widow should be brought down with sorrow to the grave.

The Writer of these Counsels seems to dispose somewhat summarily of the questions of primogeniture and unequal distribution of property. 'It is presumed that a Christian parent will generally 'feel it right to direct the distribution of his property amongst all 'his children in equal shares.' (p. 27.) Now, in spite of this presumption, it strikes us that some regard must be had to the present state of society. Sons, especially the elder branch of the family, generally receive, in proportion to the parent's property, a larger division than the daughters. In forming family arrangements, this principle cannot be overlooked. The daughter with a fortune of £10,000, is looked upon as fairly entitled to form as respectable a connexion in life as the son with £20,000; it would therefore, at least in our conception, savour of injustice, for a parent, by dividing his property equally, to put back the son in his social standing, at the same moment advancing the daughter to a position which the father's property scarcely entitles her to maintain. Nor is the argument materially affected, by supposing the daughter to remain unmarried; for, in this case, the property fairly required to support a single lady, should not obviously equal the portion to be divided amongst the son's family. We do not like to speak of "marrying, and giving in marriage" quite in this commercial spirit; but injustice must not in any case be perpetrated because delicacy refuses to interfere.

We would commend to the attention of our readers the chapter 'On the provision to be made for poor relations, friends, and ministers.' It is indeed 'a rather' hard as well as a 'singular 'fact, that legacies often roll into the laps of preachers to whom 'God has given a sufficiency of this world's goods, but the de-'pendent minister with a large family is generally passed by.'—(p. 45.)

There are some very serious counsels to professors of religion, in the chapter 'On the Claims of the Redeemer's Cause.' We shall avail ourselves of one or two sentences.

'It has been properly remarked, in the report of a public society, that it is usual, in making wills, to remember those persons and objects who hold the nearest place in our affections. Why then should Christians so often forget the friend they have above?.....Is it right in a rich man, who has no children or immediate connexions in a dependent condition, to give the great bulk of his property to increase the pride and responsibility of those who are already rich. Should not such a man, after devising part of his wealth to relations, friends, or servants, to

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convince them of the sincerity of his love, give a large portion of it for the spread of Christianity, and to increase the comforts of the poor, who, while he lived, were refreshed by the streams of his hospitality.' pp. 52, 54.

We are aware that misapplied endowments will throw a stumbling-block in the way of some; but, surely, there are societies labouring in the cause of Christ, which seek not future endowments, but present means of usefulness. Poor, from the mighty sphere of exertion which on all sides opens upon them, and poorer still, from the contracted spirit of the Christian giver, they demand at least, that if the stream of Christian liberality has been diverted from its legitimate channel during the testator's life, at any rate, in death, the fountain should be opened.

The Appendix contains much that is valuable.—Table No. 1, 'On the Devolution of an Intestate's Property,' affords a clear summary of the law of distribution;—though we can scarcely agree with the Writer, that dower is an interest too immaterial for notice: we are convinced, that if, instead of compiling a table, he had been perusing an abstract of title, this position would never have been hazarded. So, No. 5, of the same table, requires in our view a slight qualification. Any property of the wife's previous to her marriage, which during coverture the husband neglects to reduce into possession, is not recoverable by the husband after the wife's death.

Nor is the explanation of law terms, from its brevity, quite satisfactory. To know that an assigner is one who assigns property, and that an assignee is one to whom it is assigned, will never entitle a man to aspire to the woolsack. And we should fear that the definition of an estate at will, would possibly mislead any one who had not been previously told, that our courts of law always construe them into the more certain tenancies of estates from year to year.

These are, however, minor blemishes, scarcely perceptible by any but professional or reviewing eyes. Setting these aside, we cordially recommend these faithful Counsels of a Retired Solicitor to the candid attention of the Christian reader.

The object and nature of the second work noticed at the head of this article, are almost sufficiently explained by the title-page. The great responsibility which the office of executor or administrator entails upon him who undertakes it, Mr. Matthews remarks, renders it absolutely necessary for his own comfort and safety, that he should have a proper understanding of its various duties and requirements; a misapprehension of which is often attended by the most disastrous consequences. The work is written in a plain and luminous style, divested of technicalities so far as possible; while the confidence of the reader is warranted and sustained by a continued reference to decided cases and the

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standard authorities, which will render the volume a useful compendium for professional purposes. The statutes relating to the probate and legacy duties are given at length in the form of notes. The Appendix of Forms and Tables greatly enhances the value of the work; and there is—what is indispensable in such a book—an excellent index.

Art. V.—*A Protestant Memorial, for the Commemoration, on the Fourth Day of October,* MDCCCXXXV, *of the Third Centenary of the Reformation;* and of the Publication of the First entire Protestant English Version of the Bible, Oct. 4, MDXXXV. By Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D., Author of the Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, 12mo. pp. 84. Price 1*s.*, or 10*s.* per doz. London, 1835.

THE Lutheran Churches of Germany have no fewer than three secular commemorations of the Reformation, at different periods of every century: *viz.*, 1st. in the year 17, on account of Luther's publication of his theses against the sale of indulgencies, which is considered as the commencement of the Saxon Reformation; 2d. in the year 30, on account of the presentation of the Confession of Augsburg; and 3d. in the year 34, on account of the publication of the entire Bible in the German language, by Luther. On the 21st of November, last year, all the Lutheran Churches in Germany, as well as the Moravian Brethren in this country, celebrated the last of these secular commemorations with great solemnity. This year, Geneva celebrates the third centenary of her Reformation. The French Protestant Churches, it is understood, will commemorate the Reformation in that country next year. England has assuredly not less reason for gratefully and devoutly celebrating her emancipation from the spiritual thraldom of Popery, than the countries of the Continent; and we are glad to find that, without waiting for any royal order in council, or decree in convocation, or motion in Parliament, the proposal has been suggested and favourably entertained by Protestants of different denominations, to observe the 4th of October next, in religious commemoration of the English Reformation.

Like the Lutheran Churches, we might fix upon several distinct epochs as almost equally memorable. Wiclif's controversy with the Mendicant Monks in 1360, which may be considered as the beginning of the first English Reformation;—the spirited refusal of the Parliament of 1366, to pay the tribute claimed by the Roman Pontiff;—the elevation of Wiclif to the chair of divinity at Oxford in 1372; and, could the precise date be ascertained, his Translation of the Scriptures into the yet unformed vernacular tongue;—are all events as worthy of memorial to Englishmen, as any historic fact connected with the career

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of Luther can be to our Saxon neighbours. It is true, that 'the 'morning-star' of that early reformation set in gloom, and was followed by a long interval of darkness, occasioned by the civil wars and the regained ascendancy of the priesthood; but why should we post-date the actual break of day, because it was subsequently overclouded? All the principles of the Reformation are to be found in the writings of our great Proto-Reformer. John Huss, who may be called a disciple of Wiclif, suffered in 1415; Jerome of Prague, in 1416; Lord Cobham, in 1418. From 1457, the Episcopal Church of the United Brethren dates its foundation. In 1516, Zwingle began to preach the Reformed doctrine. Only ten years after, in 1526, Tindal's English Version of the New Testament was printed at Hamburg. Bilney, the spiritual father of Latimer, was apprehended for preaching the doctrines of the Reformation, in 1527, and suffered in 1531. Tindal was apprehended at Antwerp in 1534, and strangled in 1536. The persecution of the Lollards of Buckinghamshire took place much earlier, from A. D. 1508 to 1528; shewing how widely those doctrines were diffused in this country, before the name of Luther had been heard of; that, in fact, the light of Divine truth had never been extinguished in the land, from the time of Wiclif to that of Latimer. The twelfth article of accusation against Thomas Mann, who was apprehended in 1511, and burned in Smithfield in 1513, alleges, that 'since the time of his abjura-'tion, he had said, that he and his wife had turned six or seven 'hundred people unto those opinions.' The year 1534 is memorable for the act of Parliament abolishing the papal jurisdiction, and establishing the King's supremacy, in this country. Protestantism, as a political *cause*, dates from the solemn protest of the princes and free cities of the Empire against the intolerant decree of the imperial Diet, in 1529. The Confession of Augsburg was presented to the Diet in the following year. The first Helvetic Confession was drawn up in 1537. The Articles of the Anglican Church were agreed on in 1552. And Protestantism was *restored* in England, after the sanguinary interval of the reign of Philip and Mary, in 1558.

Such are some of the principal chronological facts connected with the progress of the Reformation. But the present year is the tercentenary of an event which, from its important results, may most appropriately be fixed upon as an era of our religious history; and it will be seen, that it corresponds precisely to the third of those secular periods which are commemorated by the Lutheran Churches. In 1535, (the year after the publication of Luther's Bible,) Miles Coverdale published at Zurich, the first entire English Protestant Version of the Bible *ever printed**.

* It is necessary thus to qualify the statement of Mr. Horne, since

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Of this ever-to-be-remembered work, which, though superseded by other Translations, has, in some respects, never been surpassed, Mr. Horne gives the following account in the useful little Memorial he has put forth on the occasion.

'ACCOUNT of the first entire Protestant English Version of the Bible, published by Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter during the Reign of King Edward VI.

'In the year 1535, this most valuable present to English Protestants was completed abroad, under the direction of Myles Coverdale, a man greatly and deservedly esteemed for piety, knowledge of the Scriptures, and diligent preaching; on account of which qualities King Edward VI. advanced him to the see of Exeter. This first translation of the whole Bible ever printed in English is generally called "Coverdale's Bible:" it is a folio volume, and from the appearance of the types it is now generally considered to have been printed at Zurich, in the printing office of Christopher Froschover. The following is the title-page of this extremely rare and curious volume.

> 'Biblia. The Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of the Douche and Latyn into Englishe, M. D. XXXV.

'This translation is dedicated to King Henry VIII., whom Coverdale in his dedication honestly tells, that the Pope gave him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, "only because his highness suffered his bishops to burne God's word, the root of faith, and to persecute the lovers and ministers of it;" but at the same time he intimates his conviction that this title will prove a prophecy; that, "by the righteous administration of his Grace the faith shall be so defended, that God's word, the mother of faith, should have its free course thorow all Christendome, but especially in his Grace's realme." As to the translation itself, he observes in his dedication and epistle to the reader, that it was "neither his labour nor his desire to have this work put into his hand; but 'when others were moved by the Holy Ghost to undertake the cost of it,' he was the more bold to engage in the execution of it. Agreeably, therefore, to desire, he set forth this 'special' translation, not in contempt of other men's translation, or by way of reproving them, but humbly and faithfully following his interpreters, and that under correction. Of these, he said, he used five different ones, who had translated the Scriptures not only into Latin, but also into Dutch. He further declared, that he had neither wrested nor altered so much as one word for the maintenance of any manner of sect, but had with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated out of the foregoing interpreters, having only before his eyes the manifest truth of the Scriptures. But because such different translations,

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two English Versions of the whole of the Scriptures appeared in the fourteenth century. The earliest was that of Wiclif: the second, that of the unknown Author of the "*Elucidarium Bibliorum.*"

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he saw, were apt to offend weak minds, he added, that there came more understanding and knowledge of the Scripture by these sundry translations, than by all the glosses of sophistical doctors; and he therefore desires, that offence might not be taken, because one translated 'scribe,' and another 'lawyer,' one 'repentance,' and another 'penance,' or 'amendment.'"

'The following specimen contains the nineteenth Psalm, conformably to the numeration in the Hebrew Bibles, as translated by Coverdale, by whom it is numbered xviii., according to the order found in the Septuagint Greek and in the Latin Vulgate versions.

'"The XVIIJ. A PSALME OF DAUID.

'The very heauēs declare the glory off God, ād the very firmamēt sheweth his hādye worke. One daye telleth another, and one night certifieth another. There is nether speach ner lānguage, but their voyces are herde amōge thē. Their soūde is gone out into all londes, and their wordes into the endes of the worlde.

In thē hath he sett a tabernacle for ye Sō ne, which cōmeth forth as a brydegrome out of his chambre, and reioyseth as a giaunte to rū ne his course. It goeth forth frō the one ende of the heauen, and runneth aboute vnto the same ende agayne, and there maye no mā hyde himself frō the heate therof. The lawe of the Lorde is a perfecte lawe, it quickeneth the soule. The testimony of ye Lorde is true, and geueth wisdome euen vnto babes. The statutes of the Lorde are right, and reioyse the herte: ye cōmaundemēt of ye Lorde is pure, and geueth light vnto the eyes.

The feare of the Lorde is cleene, and endureth for euer: the judgmentes of the Lorde are true and rigtuous alltogether. More pleasunt are they then golde, yee then moch fyne golde: sweter then hony and the hony combe. These thy seruaunt kepeth, and for kepinge of them there is greate rewarde. Who can tell, how oft he offendeth? Oh clēse thou me fro my secrete fautes. Kepe thy seruaū te also from presumptuous synnes, lest they get the dominion ouer me: so shal I be vndefyled & innocēt frō the greate offence. Yee the wordes of my mouth and the meditaciō of my herte shal be acceptable vnto the, o Lorde, my helper and my redemer."

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'From Coverdale's Dedication to Henry VIII., it seems probable that his translation was permitted to be read by the people: for in the year 1536, shortly after it was printed, a royal injunction was issued to the clergy to provide a book "of the *whole Bible*, both in *Laten*, and also in *English*, and lay the same in the quire for everye man that will to loke and reade theron," in every parish church; which was certainly equivalent to an express approbation of Coverdale's Bible, as there was no other at that time in English. Dr. Geddes (*Prospectus for a new Translation*, p. 88.) says of this translation, "From Genesis to the end of Chronicles, and the book of Jonah, are by Tyndal; the rest of the Old Testament by Coverdale. The whole New Testament is Tyndal's." But from the collation of Lewis, it is evident that Coverdale corrected Tyndal's translation. Fulke (*Defence of the English Translation of the Bible*) relates, that "when Coverdale's translation was finished, and presented to Henry, he gave it to Bishop Gardiner and some others to examine. They kept it so long, that at last Henry had to call for it himself. When they delivered the book, he demanded their opinion of the translation. They answered, that there were many faults in it. 'Well,' said the king, 'but are there any heresies mentioned in it?' They replied, 'There were no heresies they could find.' 'If there be no heresies,' said Henry, 'then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.'"

'Coverdale called his version a "special" translation, because it was different from the former English translations: its noble simplicity, perspicuity, and purity of style are truly astonishing. It is divided into six tomes or parts, adorned with wooden cuts, and furnished with scripture references in the margin. The last page has these words: "Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde M.D. XXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October." Of this Bible there was another edition in a large 4to, 1550, which was republished, with a new title, 1553; and these, according to Lewis, were all the editions of it which were ever published. (*Lewis's History of English Translations of the Bible*, pp. 91—104.) Copies of Bishop Coverdale's version of the Bible are preserved in the following libraries, viz.: of the British Museum and Sion College, in London; of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth; in the Public Library at Cambridge; in the Library at All Souls' College, and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and in the Library of the Baptist Academy at Bristol.'*

pp. 24—28.

This is not the place for entering into any remarks upon the Translation itself; but we cannot forbear to notice the singular statement of the title-page, which represents it to have been made 'from the Douche (German?) and Latyn into English.' Tindal, whose version forms the basis of this Bible, published three editions of his New Testament in 1526, 7, and 8. Two years

* We have a copy of this valuable work, but it is in *small* 4to.:—unfortunately, the title page is wanting. It is in the Old English letter.

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later, his translation of the Pentateuch appeared at Hamburgh, with another edition of his New Testament. The Psalms and the Prophet Jonah were also printed separately in his lifetime; and he translated the other books of the Old Testament to the end of Nehemiah. Now, whatever translations into Latin and Dutch, or German, Coverdale may have used, either in his own part of the work, or in correcting Tindal's, it is certain that Tindal himself made use of the originals*, and his translation bears every internal mark of originality.

But to return to our immediate subject, the connexion between the printing of the first complete edition of the English Bible and the Reformation: the anger, alarm, and vindictive cruelty of the Popish party, which were stirred up by the translation, and especially by the printing of the Scriptures, may teach us duly to estimate the momentous effects of this application of what John Fox styles, 'the Divine and miraculous invention of printing.' 'And herein,' says the venerable Martyrologist, 'we have first to behold 'the admirable work of God's wisdom, for, as the first decay and 'ruin of the Church before began of rude ignorance and lack of 'knowledge in teachers; so, to restore the Church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man THE ART OF 'PRINTING, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of 'Huss and Jerome, A.D. 1416†. Printing, being opened, instantly ministered unto the Church the instruments and tools 'of learning and knowledge, which were good books and authors 'which before lay hid and unknown. The science of printing 'being found, immediately followed the grace of God which 'stirred up good wits, aptly to conceive the light of knowledge 'and of judgement; by which light, darkness began to be espied, 'and ignorance to be detected, truth from error, religion to be 'discerned from superstition.'‡

Again, he elsewhere thus dilates upon the benefit of this glorious invention.

'What man soever was the instrument, without doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer thereof, as he was of the gift

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* See his Prologue upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, in the edition of the Testament printed in 1533. The learned reader may also be referred to the proof of the fact, adduced in Mr. Walter's "Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Peterborough," 1828.

† The secular celebration of the invention of printing was held at Haerlem with great pomp on the 16th of July last. This would fix the date to 1435. Fox mentions the year 1450 as 'famous and memorable for the invention.' The Bible was, in fact, first published in that year, from metal types.

‡ Tract Society's edition of British Reformers. Wiclif to Bilney, p. 281.

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'of tongues. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to 'the gift of tongues: for as God then spake with many tongues, 'and yet all that would not turn the Jews; so now, when the 'Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of 'books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the gospel.

'Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath 'given this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great utility 'and necessity it serves, it is not hard to judge, whoso wisely 'considers both the time of the sending, and the sequel which 'thereof ensueth.

'And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use 'of man, this is to be marked, that when the bishop of Rome 'with all the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarchs, 'archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, lawyers, doctors, provosts, 'deans, archdeacons, assembled together in the council of Con-'stance, had condemned poor John Huss and Jerome of Prague to 'death for heresy, notwithstanding they were no heretics, and 'after they had subdued the Bohemians and all the world under 'the supreme authority of the Romish see; and had made all 'Christian people obedienciaries and vassals unto the same, having, 'as one would say, all the world at their will, so that the matter 'now was past not only the power of all men, but the hope also 'of any man to be recovered—in this very time so dangerous and 'desperate, where man's power could do no more, there the blessed 'wisdom and omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his 'church; not with sword and target to subdue his exalted adver-'sary, but with printing, writing, and reading, to convince dark-'ness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So that, 'by this means of printing, the secret operation of God hath 'heaped upon that proud kingdom a double confusion. God of 'his secret judgment, seeing it was time to help his church, found 'a way by this faculty of printing, not only to confound his life 'and conversation, which before he could not abide to be touched, 'but also to cast down the foundation of his standing, that is, to ex-'amine, confute, and detect his doctrine, laws, and institutions 'most detestable in such sort, that though his life were ever so 'pure, yet his doctrine standing as it doth, no man is so blind 'but he may see, that either the Pope is antichrist, or else that 'antichrist is near cousin to the Pope; and all this doth and will 'hereafter more and more appear by printing.

'The reason whereof is, that hereby tongues are known, know-'ledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the 'Scripture is seen, the doctors are read, stories are opened, times 'compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger 'pointed, and all, as I said, through the benefit of printing. 'Wherefore, I suppose, that either the Pope must abolish print-'ing, or he must seek a new world to reign over; for else, as this

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'world standeth, PRINTING DOUBTLESS WILL ABOLISH HIM. But 'the Pope, and all his college of cardinals, must understand, that 'through the light of printing the world beginneth now to have 'eyes to see, and heads to judge. He cannot walk so invisible in 'a net, but he will be spied. And although through might he 'stopped the mouth of John Huss before, and of Jerome, that they 'might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure; yet, in-'stead of J. Huss and others, God hath opened the press to preach, 'whose voice the Pope is never able to stop with all the puissance 'of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, 'and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of 'the Gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven, 'and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and 'what is known in one nation, is opened to all.

'The first and best were for the Bishop of Rome, by the bene-'fit of printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will not, let 'him well understand that printing is not set up for nought. To 'strive against the stream it availeth not. What the Pope hath 'lost, since printing and the press began to preach, let him reckon. 'First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow 'thereby was given to all friars and monks in the world! And 'who seeth not that the pen of Luther following after Erasmus, 'and set forward by writing, hath set the triple crown so awry on 'the Pope's head, that it is never likely to be set straight again?

'Briefly, if there were no demonstration to lead, yet by this 'one argument of printing, the Bishop of Rome might understand 'the counsel and purpose of the Lord to work against him, 'having provided such a way in earth, that almost how many 'printing presses there are in the world, so many block-houses 'there are against the high castle of St. Angelo; so that either 'the Pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at 'length will root him out. For if a man wisely consider the hold 'and standing of the Pope, thus he may repute with himself, that 'as nothing made the Pope strong in time past, but lack of 'knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians; so contrariwise, 'now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his 'papacy so much as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judg-'ment, that is to say, the fruit of printing. Whereof some expe-'rience we see already, and more is like, by the Lord's blessing, 'to follow. For although, through outward force and violent 'cruelty, tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of men daily, no 'doubt, are instructed through the benefit of printing. And 'though the Pope doth now hold by cruelty, and in times past 'by ignorance, had all under his possession: yet neither must he 'think that violence will always continue, neither must he hope 'for that now, which he had then; forsomuch as in former days 'books were scarce, and of such excessive price, that few could

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'attain to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying, which 'books now, by means of this art, are made easy unto all men.

'Moreover, for defect of books and good authors, universities 'were decayed, and good understandings kept in ignorance, while 'begging friars, scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped 'up all books that could be gotten into their own libraries; where 'either they did not diligently apply them, or else did not rightly 'use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would 'have perused them. In this then so great rarity, and also 'dearth of good books, when neither they which could have books 'would well use them, nor they that would could have them to use, 'what marvel if the greediness of a few prelates abused the blind-'ness of those days, to the advancement of themselves? Where-'fore, Almighty God of his merciful providence, seeing both 'what lacked in the church, and how also to remedy the same, 'for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this 'excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular com-'modities at one time came to the world. First, the price of all 'books is diminished. Secondly, the speedy help of reading 'more furthered. And thirdly, the plenty of all good authors 'enlarged. By reason whereof, as printing of books ministered 'matter of reading; so reading brought learning, learning showed 'light, by the brightness whereof blind ignorance was suppressed, 'error detected, and finally, God's glory, with the truth of his 'word, advanced.'

To the art of Printing, Europe owes at least the *permanence* of her political and religious reformation. This discovery rendered it impossible to put down the insurrection of mind, to arrest the progress of principles that spread with the subtile swiftness of electricity. As long as the vernacular Scriptures could be multiplied only by the slow process of transcription, it was possible for the vigilance of the Romanists to frustrate the pious zeal of those who were making these noble efforts to give a wider circulation to the word of life. In the year 1408, Archbishop Arundel issued the intolerant and impious decree, 'That no one 'should thereafter translate any text of Holy Scripture into Eng-'lish, by way of a book, a little book, or tract; and that no book, 'little book, or tract of this kind should be read, that was com-'posed lately in the time of John Wiclif, or since his death.' This constitution, we are told, led to great persecutions; and many were the persons who were 'not only sentenced to pay 'heavy fines, and to undergo long incarceration, but even to be 'burned at the stake, as the Bishop's registers indisputably 'prove!'* Similar efforts were made to suppress the circulation of Tindal's New Testament and other printed editions of the

* Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, p. lxxii.

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Scriptures; but the press multiplied copies faster than Tonstall and his colleagues could buy or seize them to burn them. Ha- the discovery of printing taken place two centuries earlier, the re formation begun by Wiclif would probably never have been arrested and turned back. But for the press, the reign of Elizabeth might, perhaps, have proved as disastrous to Protestantism, as that of Henry Bolingbroke was to the cause of which his father had been the great protector. But Puritanism had to sustain it, what Lollardism wanted,—the printed Scriptures, the unsheathed sword of the Spirit, the unsealed water of life, the iron seed that springs up a harvest of armed men. The pen of Wiclif had made the Man of Sin to tremble on his throne. His writings, carried to Bohemia by a native of that country, who had become acquainted with them at Oxford, made John Huss a Reformer; and the sermons of John Huss, found by Luther in the library of the monastery at Erfurd, first opened the eyes of Luther*. But now, that pen was miraculously transformed and multiplied by the press, so as to be changed from a missile into a battery. Writings had wings, but the press had the speed and irresistible force of lightning. It sowed Wiclifs in every land, and raised up Husses and Luthers a hundred-fold. Oh give thanks unto the Lord for this blessed miracle of printing, the greatest boon bestowed upon the Church since the apostolic age. What the application of steam, the grand discovery of our own age, is in mechanics, the invention of printing has proved in the world of morals. A copy of one of the Gospels may now be printed at the cost of a penny! What would Tindal, and Coverdale, and Fox have said, how would their hearts have leaped, could it have been predicted to them that such would one day be the case! What assurance would it have given them, that the light then kindled should never be put out!

It is true that the full benefit of this discovery has never been reaped till now, within our own times. Three hundred years have elapsed since the first English Bible was completed at the press; and to that circumstance we may look back as, under

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* See Turner's History of England, Vol. II. 4to, p. 432. The link between Wiclif's labours and the Bohemian Reformation affords a striking instance of the wonderful manner in which political events are Divinely over-ruled and disposed for the interests of the Church of Christ. 'The marriage of Richard II. with a Bohemian princess connected the two countries by a friendly intercourse. The Queen's Court was attended by several Bohemian knights and noblemen: she favoured the principles of our Reformer: and one of her countrymen, who had studied at Oxford, taking with him into Bohemia the writings of Wiclif, as a precious treasure lent them to several persons, and among others to John Huss.'

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Divine Providence, the era of that flood of scriptural light which has swept away the gross darkness of Popery from our land. To the English Bible, Protestant England owes every thing that has ennobled her literature, and made her deserving of the name of the Evangelist of nations. But, for nearly three hundred years, the English Bible was in the hands of comparatively a small proportion of her population; and almost every where else, there was a dearth, in some parts a famine, in others an absolute destitution of the word of God. Forgetful of our own debt of gratitude for the English Bible, we had suffered the Welsh, the Irish, the Gaelic highlanders on our own soil to remain in almost total deprivation of the heavenly gift. We boasted of our Protestantism, and declaimed against Popery, but suffered the main engine of Protestantism to remain comparatively idle, and the very principle of the Reformation to be as it were in abeyance. Whatever man designed in the invention of printing, there can be no question with a devout believer in the Providential government of the world, that what God designed as its chief end was, the multiplication and diffusion of His own word, the written Scriptures. But this design had become obscured by the multifarious purposes to which the press is also capable of being applied; and in this, as in other cases, the children of this world had proved themselves wiser in their generation than the children of light. All sorts of literature, good and bad, sweet and bitter, had been poured forth from this fountain, according to the quality of the leaves thrown into it; yet, the leaves of the tree which are for the healing of the nations, and which would have made the bitter waters sweet, were sparingly and distrustfully used. Without a metaphor, the Bible was jealously doled out by an ecclesiastical monopoly. The spirit of the Reformation was bound and manacled; and not by a Popish, but by a Protestant hierarchy. The Bible was a Lollard in the olden time. It was a Puritan afterwards. It has been treated as a Sectarian, a Dissenter in our own days,—a very unsafe and dangerous person to go abroad without a prayer-book to watch over it. The formation of an Institution for the sole purpose of distributing the Scriptures, was angrily and furiously opposed by a large majority of the Heads, and Dignitaries, and Ministers of a Protestant Church. The utility of the object was openly denied by some now occupying high places in the hierarchy. With matchless consistency, the very same High-Church party who are shocked and scandalized at the burning of Protestant Bibles by the Papists, quarrelled with the Dissenters for their zeal in distributing that very same Bible which themselves acknowledged as authorized by their own Church. To this very day, the British and Foreign Bible Society is regarded by a majority within the Church of England as a sectarian institution; and its principle,

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the fundamental principle of Protestantism, has not yet gained any thing like recognition and approval from the greater number of the Prelates of the Anglican Church!

What the discovery of printing was to the pen, (may we not say?) the institution of the Bible Society has proved to the printed Bible. It has had at least all the effect of a new invention. It has called into a new application, the familiar principle of moral and social combination; and though it has not improved the mechanical facilities of the press, it has brought a moral power to act upon the mechanism, which has had the effect of prodigiously augmenting and multiplying its operations and results. Not only has it created a demand by producing a supply, which supply is, in turn, perpetuated by the demand which it feeds and stimulates. Not only has it increased to an indefinite extent the circulation of the extant Scriptures. It has given birth also to a polyglott apparatus absolutely unparalleled, and which would have appeared in anticipation little short of miraculous. It has conferred the gift of tongues upon the baptized press. It has refracted the light of heaven into all the shades of colour that may suit the varying organs of the intellectual sense. It has re-opened conduits long closed, and poured a living stream through the waterless desert. The British and Foreign Bible Society with all its affiliated institutions, is the great phenomenon of the age, bearing the same relation to the Revived Christianity of the nineteenth century, that the discovery of Printing did to that of the sixteenth. As the *translation* of the Scriptures was the distinguishing feature and seminal principle of the *First* Reformation, begun by Wiclif; and the *printing* of the Scriptures was that of the *Second* Reformation, begun by Tindal and Bilney, by Luther and Zwingle; so, the *diffusion of the printed Scriptures in all languages*, by the united efforts of Protestant Christians, is that of the *Third* Reformation, which is destined, we trust, to consummate the triumph of Revealed Truth.

The fourth of October next is, then, with great propriety, selected as the era of the second of these great events, being the third centenary of the memorable publication of the first entire Bible in our vernacular language. For the language in which Wiclif preached and wrote was scarcely English, the language not having yet settled into its permanent form and orthography; whereas Coverdale's Bible is still perfectly intelligible. And there is this great advantage attending the fixing upon this era, that it connects the commemoration of the Reformation with a great principle, rather than with any political circumstance; it points our attention to an occasion of devout gratitude as little connected as possible with human instrumentality; it celebrates an event in which all denominations of Protestants are alike in-

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terested, and lifts us out of the region of ecclesiastical controversy, and reminds us in what respect all Protestants who are true to the principle of the Reformation, are brethren. Mr. Horne has fixed upon a very good text, in anticipation, for his sermon on the 4th of October: viz. Acts xxiv. 14, 15: — we will take the liberty of suggesting a still better for the occasion, Phil. iii. 16. "Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing." We thank him, however, for his short sermon, and for the useful historical information which he has compressed into this Protestant Memorial. We have been particularly pleased with his third section, containing an extract from Sir Humphrey Lynde's "*Via Tuta*," published in 1630, which is an admirable specimen of the *argumentum ad hominem*, and turns the tables upon the Papists most adroitly. With this extract, commending the Tract itself to the favourable notice of our readers, we shall conclude this hasty article.

'Admit, that Protestants should allow a possibility of salvation to all believing Christians in the bosom of the Roman church, (which never yet was granted,) what do our adversaries infer from hence? Therefore (say they) *It is the safer way to persist in that Church, where both asides agree, than where one part stands single in opinion by themselves.* Now surely, if that be the safer way, wherein differing parties agree both in one, I will join issue with them in this very point. And if in this I make not good, that *we* are therefore in the safer way, because *they* agree in the principal points of controversy with our doctrine, I will reconcile myself to the Roman church; and creep upon all fours to his holiness for a pardon.

'First then *we* say, there is a Heaven and a Hell. It is true, say *they;* but there is a Purgatory, there is a *Limbus Infantum* also. In the first part they join with us, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'*We* say, we shall be saved by the merits and satisfaction of Christ Jesus. It is true, say they; but there are likewise merits of saints, and satisfactions of our own, helpful and necessary to salvation. In the first part they join with us, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'*We* say, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Eucharist, are two proper Sacraments instituted by Christ. It is true say they; but there are five more to be received, as true and proper Sacraments, *de fide*, for an article of belief. The first two they confess with us, in the latter five they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'*We* say, that the images of Christ and his Saints are ornaments and memorials of the absent, and may in some cases serve for history. It is true, say they; but there is also worship and veneration due unto them. In the first part they agree with us, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

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'*We* say, with the Evangelist: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." (Matt. iv.) It is true, say they; but there be saints and angels also, that are to be invocated and adored. In the first part they join with us, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'*We* say, that Christ is the Mediator and Intercessor betwixt God and man. It is true, say they; but the saints and angels are our intercessors and mediators also. In the first part they join with us, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'*We* say that Christ is the Head and Monarch of the Church. It is true say they; but there is likewise another visible head of the church, which is the Pope. In the first part they join with us, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'*We* say, that Peter had a Primacy of Order, that is, a firstship among the Apostles. It is true, they say; but withal he had a supremacy of power and jurisdiction. In the first place they join with us, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'*We* say, there are two-and-twenty Books of Canonical Scripture. It is true, say they; but there are other books also; as namely, Tobit, Judith, the Maccabees, &c., that are Canonical. In the first part they approve all that we hold, in the latter they stand by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'*We* say, Scripture is the Rule of Faith. It is true, say they; but there are traditions likewise, and unwritten verities, that must be added to the Scriptures. In the first part they join with us, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, where both sides agree.

'Lastly, *We* say there are Twelve Articles of the Creed, and this is the Tenet and Confession of all Christian Churches. It is true, say they; but there are Twelve Articles more, published by Pope Pius the Fourth, to be received of Catholics. In the first place they confess all that we hold, in the latter they stand single by themselves: and that is the safer way, by our adversaries' confession, where both sides agree.' pp. 50—53.

Art. VI. *A Dictionary of Geography, ancient and modern:* comprising a succinct Description of all the Countries of the Globe. By Josiah Conder. Small 8vo, pp. 724. Price 12*s*. London, 1834.

THIS singularly comprehensive volume exhibits what we are almost inclined to term a waste of labour. Knowing something of the way in which these things are commonly got up, we were prepared to encounter such an application of the 'paste-'and-scissors system' as custom has now fairly licensed; although, knowing also something of the Author, we were at the same time

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quite certain that an adoption, partial or general, of the usual plan, would never with him be allowed to supersede a constant appeal to ultimate authorities in all cases of doubt or importance. We have, however, done him great injustice in these anticipations; for he has produced a work of extensive and original research, exemplifying an economy of space and a condensation of matter, such as we have no present recollection of having met with elsewhere. In a form that makes it really convenient either for the library table, or, if we may be allowed the phrase, as a book of passage, we have a mass of information of the highest practical value to the traveller and the student, got together with a patience and skill that could only have been acquired by long and successful application to geographical studies. The style, too, which is in most similar works either sterile or slovenly, has evidently been an object of much care: it varies, judiciously, with the matter, and the readers of the following splendid passage will readily acknowledge that a painter's eye and a poet's feeling may find opportunity to shew themselves even in a treatise on geography.

'A description of the natural history and vegetable productions of Brazil would occupy a volume. The Brazil-wood-tree, from which the country takes its name, *(Cæsalpinia Brasiletto,)* called by the natives *ibiri pitanga,* is the same as the Sapan-wood of the East Indies: it is a government monopoly, and owing to the improvident manner in which it has been cut down, is becoming scarce. Other species of trees yielding valuable dyes, forest-trees of all descriptions, some furnishing beautiful woods for cabinet work, others timber for ship-building, abound in the low lands. The prevailing character of the forests is a magnificence, arising from the infinite diversity, richness, and luxuriance of the vegetation, of which the untravelled European can have no conception. The various tints of a Brazilian forest are described as ranging from a light yellow green to one bordering on blue, mingled with red, brown, and deeper shades approaching to black. The silver-tree is of a brilliant white; the rose-wood-tree bears large golden blossoms, which beautifully contrast with the dark green of the double-feathered leaves; the Brazil-wood-tree puts forth large flowers of a purple hue; the head of the mangoa is brown; and here and there, the dark brown of a Chilian fir appears among the lighter foliage, like a stranger amid the natives of the tropics. The effect of the flowering parasitical plants, which entwine about the forest-trees, and sometimes form, by interlacing, an almost impenetrable barrier, is compared to that of gay parterres in the air. The *flora* of Brazil is peculiarly rich. Nor is the animal kingdom less distinguished by its variety and profusion. Butterflies, rivalling in splendour the colours of the rainbow, myriads of the most brilliant beetles, sparkling like jewels on the leaves and flowers, birds of the most splendid form and superb plumage, above all, the various species of humming-birds, rivalling in beauty and lustre, rubies, emeralds and sapphires, lizards and serpents of scarcely less brilliant colours, squirrels and troops of gregarious monkeys, with a

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variety of the gallinaceous tribes, toucans, orioles, fly-catchers, woodpeckers, and different kinds of the melodious thrush, are among the winged or creeping tenants of the forests; and even the campos, or mountain plains, abound with birds, reptiles, and insects, as well as deer, tapirs, and peccaries. The luxuriance and richness of the vegetable world is attributable to the prevalent moisture, which gives it an advantage over most other hot countries. In the exuberance of evergreen foliage, which forms the peculiar characteristic of the New Continent, in the number of its finely wooded mountains, the sources of countless springs, in the abundance of large streams, in the character even of its deserts without sand, and the impervious forests, the tropical region of Brazil has, indeed, the pre-eminence over every other part of the globe.' pp. 96, 97.

The plan takes in much that would hardly be expected from a mere announcement of the general subject. Geography, ancient as well as modern; the physical aspect and the political condition of countries; the distinct races of mankind; are not only exhibited on the grand scale, but their various details are carefully investigated. Important cities, the different seas, rivers, and mountain chains, are fully and distinctly described; and an explanation, both clear and ample, of technical terms is given in alphabetical order. We shall select a portion of the admirable summary of the leading facts connected with climatology.

'The sea exerts an important equalizing influence on the temperature of the globe; and while it tempers the heat of tropical regions, it also mitigates, in some instances, the cold of maritime or insular regions. Greenland, under the 60th parallel, notwithstanding its southern exposure and the neighbourhood of the sea, has, indeed, a much more rigorous climate than Lapland under the parallel of 72°, with a northern exposure. But the latter is separated from the arctic region by a vast expanse of ocean; while Greenland, gradually widening, extends at least as high as the parallel of 82°. The remarkable difference between the insular climate and the continental climate, is strikingly exemplified in Norway and Lapland, both enjoying a more temperate climate than any other country in the same latitude. Norway, exposed to the moist and temperate atmosphere of the ocean, enjoys a singularly mild winter, but receives little of the sun's rays in summer; partly from the humidity and mistiness of the air, partly from the declivity of the land towards the N. Lapland has a colder winter, but a warmer summer. Accordingly, it is found that such plants as require only a few weeks of warm weather to bring them to maturity, succeed in Lapland, while they will not grow in Norway; whereas those which are easily killed by a severe frost, flourish better in Norway, than in Lapland. Thus, in Great Britain, on approaching the Land's End, neither the apricot, the vine, nor the greengage is found to ripen for want of sufficiently powerful sunbeams; while such is the mildness of the winter, that the myrtle and other green-house plants grow luxuriantly in the open air. At Dublin, the difference between the summer and the winter temperature amounts to 20°; at

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London, to 24°; at Vienna, to 37°. Comparing the two extremes, we find the summer temperature of Vienna 69°; that of Dublin 59°. Every kind of fruit and grain therefore ripens more perfectly in the continental than in the insular situation. On the other hand, the winter temperature of Vienna is 32°; that of Dublin 39°: consequently, many tender shrubs flourish in Ireland, which will not grow at Vienna, about 350 miles nearer to the equator. What is termed botanical geography, is closely connected with the science of climatology. The vine, for instance, is found to succeed only in those climates where the annual mean temperature is between 50° and 63°; or the mean temperature may even be as low as 48°, provided the summer heat rises to 68°. The region of vineyards, or the climate of the vine, occupies a zone of about 20° in breadth in the Old Continent, and not more than half that breadth in the New World. The olive requires a mean temperature between 58° and 66°.' pp. 161, 162.

As a specimen of another class of articles combining historical with geographical matter, we take the following.

'TURK. TOORK. This name, which, like the appellation Parthian, is said to signify wanderer, is given with doubtful propriety to the Ottoman nation, who, though a branch of the Turco-Tatarian family, are more properly Turkmans than Turks, and have become blended and incorporated with the nations they have conquered, so as to form a mixed but now distinct race. By the Ottomans themselves, the term *Turk* is regarded as a contumelious appellation nearly equivalent to boor; while, by the nomadic tribes, to whom it properly belongs, it is considered as an honourable name. Thus, Tamerlane, usually called the Mogul conqueror, in his correspondence with Bajazet, distinguishes himself and his country by the name of *Türk*, and stigmatises the Ottoman nation as *Turkmans*. In like manner, his illustrious descendant, Sultan Baber, the founder of what is improperly called the Mogul dynasty in Hindostan, always speaks of himself in his Memoirs as a Turk, while of the Moguls he speaks with mingled hatred and contempt. The language in which his Memoirs are written is the Jaghatâi Turki dialect. According to a curious piece of legendary genealogy preserved by an Oriental writer, the ancestor of the Turkish nations was Toork, the eldest son of Japheth; and Tatar and Moghul were twin-brothers, between whom the great-great-grand-son of Toork divided his dominions. The historical fact disguised under this legend is, that the word Turk is used by the Arabian geographers as the generic designation of the various hordes inhabiting Eastern and Western Tatary, or Scythia within and beyond Imaus; but the word seems specifically to belong to the great western branch, usually called Tatars. The ancient Parthians, and perhaps the Medes, were of this family, as are several of the tribes now inhabiting Northern Persia. The Kajar tribe, to which the reigning family of Persia belongs, is Turkish, and that dialect is the court language of the empire. The Tatars scattered throughout Russia, from the Crimea to Kasan, are also of the same family. Pliny ranks the Turks among the Sarmatian tribes; and Pomponius

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Mela speaks of the *Thyssagetæ* and *Turcæ* as inhabiting the region near Mæotis. The Turkmans or Trukmans are pastoral nomades, inhabiting the plains watered by the Oxus, whence they have spread over the Caspian provinces, to Armenia, Asia Minor, and Syria; and a branch of this nation have settled in Macedonia, where they have preserved uncorrupted their Asiatic character. In Syria and Koordistan, they come in contact with the pastoral Koords; but their respective manners and customs are in many particulars remarkably opposed. The Koords are plunderers: the Turkmans are esteemed honest. The latter give their daughters a dower: the former receive a premium for them. The Turkmans speak a dialect of the Toorki: the Koordish bears a close affinity to the Hindoostanee. The Turkish nomadic tribes of Persia are estimated at about 320,000; the Turkmans of Ajerbijan, &c. being rated at 12,000. The Koordish tribes amount to about 210,000. The language of the European Turks or Ottomans has received so large an admixture of Arabic and Persian, as to be denominated on that account, *Mulemma*, the pied mare.' pp. 677, 8.

It will be seen from this slight sketch, that the book is not a mere gazetteer, but that it rests its claims to public patronage on higher grounds. It is, in fact, a work of science made universally intelligible and accessible. The possession of such a book would, in our youth, when there were no such books, have saved us incredible labour and disgust; and its presence, now that we are no longer young, will spare us many a tedious search and much time-wasting reference.

Art. VII. *Italy*. By Josiah Conder. In 3 Vols. 12mo. pp. xlviii, 1227. London, 1834.

THAN 'Italy,' a more rich and noble subject for historical and topographical illustration cannot possibly be presented to the man of taste or science; but the difficulties which lie in the way of its adequate treatment, are at least commensurate with its interest and importance. The materials are ample, but they are so various in quality and character, as to demand not only the utmost circumspection in dealing with them, but a degree of original knowledge nearly equivalent in precision and extent to the matter collected for examination. Authorities are vexatiously conflicting; and as the race is not always won by the swift, so, the trustworthiness of a writer, in the present case, is not uniformly in proportion to his abilities or his means of observation. For instance, no one would risk the comparison, in point of talent, between the spirited sketches of Forsyth, and the heavy elaborations of Woods: yet, the latter is incomparably the surer guide, and has only missed by a strange want of tact in the con-

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coction of his volumes, the credit of being the great architectural guide of the Italian tourist *.

Another difficulty, and a very formidable one too, lies in the redundancy of the materials. A library of alarming extent might be formed out of merely the modern works that have been written about Italy; and this we take to be one of the most tangible explanations of the fact, that while every body has a great deal to say on the general subject, the quantity of specific knowledge that is gained either by reading or hearing, is incredibly small. Some of the most popular and highly praised of these productions—books that are in every one's hands, and of whose value the boldest critic does not venture to raise a doubt—contain the smallest possible quantity of available information; while others of higher intellectual character, seem to have been sent into the world for the pure purpose of shewing how completely great research and sound knowledge may be neutralised by a wrong principle of selection. Obviously, then, the student and the general reader require a guide through all this confusion. They want to know where may be the safe starting-point, which is the true road, and where the proper end of their journey. Either of these is easily missed, and error in this matter occasions

* Mr. Woods's work is selling at half-price, and we do not wonder at it, much as we regret its unmerited fate;—unmerited, we mean, on the score of intrinsic worth, though rendered inevitable by mismanagement. Mr. W. seems to have entertained a very erroneous notion of his own qualifications as a writer, and he exhibits accordingly an unfortunate propensity to be unprofitably excursive. His authorship is indifferent, but his professional criticism is remarkably sound; and if he had resolutely discarded all his travelling common-place, multiplied his wood-cut diagrams, and rejected such uninstructive illustrations as the 'Arch at Orange,' the 'Ruins of Selinus,' or the 'Palatine Hill,' he would, with the further precaution of supplying omissions and correcting dates, have furnished us with one of the most valuable works of its kind and time. He somewhere, if we rightly recollect, expresses an intention of putting aside technical phraseology, without, however, keeping very strictly to his pledge. For instance, not being architects by profession, we were somewhat puzzled by the term '*Scheme Arch*,' and, not having, at the time access to metropolitan authorities, we took local counsel on the matter. From three individuals, two of them architects, in a large and increasing county town, we received the three following explanations: any arch *greater* than the semi-circle—any arch *less* than the semicircle and *greater* than the quadrant—any arch *less* than the quadrant! We wish not to be understood as objecting to the use of technicalities; many of them are extensively understood, and they are almost always more expressive than periphrase: we would use them freely, but our index or our annotation should be glossarial.

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much trouble, even if detected and retrieved. The only way of meeting these difficulties, is to have recourse to the self-same method that in all other departments of human knowledge has been found effectual,—the compilation of a work that shall be at once collective and critical. Law, history, theology, science, have all their digests, and in none of these can the urgency be greater than in that branch of intellectual pursuit which forms the subject of the volumes before us.

We will frankly confess, that when we began to handle these volumes, we felt considerable misgiving as to the Author's discretion in attempting to melt down such a mass of material in so small a crucible; and we had strong suspicions that the process of reduction must have been somewhat violent, savouring rather of the alchymist than the philosophic experimenter. Quite aware that an accomplished writer could hardly fail to make a pleasant and instructive book on so pregnant a subject, we were still unprepared for the completeness of the present publication. It is not merely a skilful abridgement, nor is it simply a judicious selection: it combines both these characters, blended together by the skilful employment of searching but liberal criticism, pervading the work, and communicating both originality and homogeneousness to materials as various as the sources whence they are derived. Essentially, then, this production is both a digest and an index, at once giving the information demanded, and supplying not only the means of enlarging it to any required extent, but of forming an accurate judgement concerning the value of the primary authorities. An extract from the Preface will at once point out, more distinctly than any thing we could add, the object of the work, and give some notion of a part, and a part only, of the difficulties that lay in the way of its adequate execution.

'So wide are the discrepancies in the varying reports of our best writers, even upon points which it might seem easy to verify, or impossible to mistake, that it has often been a matter of no small perplexity, to ascertain which statement might be most safely depended upon. Not to speak of the varying estimates of the area of Italy, given by Humboldt at 10,000, by Malte Brun at 15,000 square leagues; the reader will find, for instance, the height of the Falls of Terni stated, by different travellers, at 1060, 800, 266, and 200 feet; that of the Torre d'Asinello at Bologna, at 256, 327, 348, 376, and 476 feet; the Val di Chiana, at 60 miles in length and 3 in breadth, and again at 40 miles in length by from 7 to 12 in breadth; the height of the aqueduct at Spoleto, at 250 feet and 238 yards, &c. But in numberless instances, these variations have been too unimportant to notice, though they have materially added to the difficulty of the Writer's task. Who would have expected to find the accurate Gibbon guilty of the gross blunder of making the Mincio flow *into* the Lago di Guarda?

'It will be obvious, that these volumes, if the Editor has competently fulfilled his task, claim to be considered in a higher light than

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that of a compilation; that they are rather a condensation of our knowledge of Italy, drawn from the most authentic sources, and reduced, by a careful collation, to distinctness and accuracy. Two objects have been kept in view; the one, to supply the traveller with all the information, historical and topographical, requisite to enable him to enjoy and understand the scenes and objects which crowd upon his attention or deserve his research; the other, to enable him, when

——— "once again
In his own chimney nook,"

to recall those scenes and occurrences dear to recollection; and at the same time to afford to the less privileged reader, *cui non contigit adire Corinthum*,—in other words, who has never seen Rome,—the best compensation for being denied the pleasure of crossing the Alps, in a full and faithful account of the most interesting country in the world.' pp. xix—xxi.

Our readers will not expect from us any thing approaching to an analysis of the volumes before us, and yet, without the application of some such process, we should not be dealing fairly either by them or the Author. Very briefly, therefore, we shall pass through the principal divisions in their order, rather allowing the Writer to speak for himself in the few extracts we shall have occasion to make, than entering into discussions which would be, in the present instance, completely out of place. Passing over the preface, which contains some admirable criticism on the leading authorities on Italian travel, we come at once to the work itself; and as a fair example of the composition and concentration of the work, we shall cite a fragment or two of the introductory part.

'In modern geography, Italy, like Germany, comprehends a groupe of countries forming a grand natural division of the European continent; allied by a common language and a general similarity of customs and institutions, but united by no political bond, having no common centre, and distinguished by a considerable diversity of physical circumstances and of moral and political condition.

'The natural limits of this region are formed by the great Alpine barrier, which presents a steep, unbroken acclivity towards the plains of Lombardy; but the lines of political demarcation deviate considerably from this natural boundary, and modern Italy extends beyond the Alps, on the north-west, to the Lake of Geneva, and westward, in Savoy, to the course of the Rhone . . . . .

'Italy is divided, by its variety of surface and climate, into four distinct zones or regions, which are thus distinguished. The first, comprising the whole of Lombardy and a part of Romagna to the slopes of the Apennines on the side of Florence, is about 260 miles in length, and 150 at its greatest breadth, from the Alps to the Gulfs of Genoa and Venice, and the Apennines; lying between the parallels of 46° 30′ and 43° 30′. The cold in winter is here often very severe,

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the thermometer falling occasionally several degrees below the freezing point; and neither the olive-tree nor the orange-tree flourishes, except on the sheltered shores of Genoa, the borders of the lakes, and some other favoured spots. The second zone extends over Tuscany and the Papal dominions, from Florence to Terracina and the course of the Sangro; descending two degrees of latitude nearer the Equator. In this region, the winters are mild enough to allow the olive-tree and wild orange-tree to flourish; but the sweet orange and other delicate fruits cannot be brought to perfection in the open air. The summer heat, at Florence and Rome often rises to 90° Fahr.; but in the former city, the winter is prolonged by the vicinity of the Apennines. The third climate, lying between the parallels of 41° 30′ and 39° 30′, comprehends the northern part of the kingdom of Naples. In this region, the Seville orange and the lemon thrive almost without culture and without shelter. Yet, in winter, frosts occur in places raised but little above the level of the sea; and at Naples, the thermometer occasionally descends a few degrees below the freezing point, while in summer it often rises to 96°. In the fourth region, that of the Further Calabria and Sicily, the thermometer very rarely sinks to the freezing point, and snow is seldom seen, except on the volcanic summits of Etna. The palm, the aloe, and the Indian fig-tree flourish in the open air, and the sugar-cane thrives in the low grounds. The vegetation resembles that of the finest parts of Africa. The south wind is extremely disagreeable in this burning climate; but the *sirocco*, or south-east wind, is in the highest degree oppressive; vegetation droops and withers beneath its influence, and the human frame is afflicted with languor and dejection.' Vol. I., pp. 2—6.

In connexion with the subject of climate, the Writer has entered into a highly interesting investigation of the causes and circumstances of malaria; and he will be found to have compressed into a few pages the main facts and reasonings that tend to throw light on that insidious and destructive agent. The ancient and modern divisions having been exhibited in tabular forms, and the questions of surface and population satisfactorily disposed of, the Author enters Italy by Savoy, and exhibits much descriptive and discriminative skill in his dissertation on the passes of the Alps, and the marches of Hannibal. The valleys of the Vaudois give opportunity to tell the story of that persecuted community. The northern lakes, Turin, Genoa, are all, especially the latter, extensively illustrated by clear and striking descriptions, frequently given in the very words of the travellers from whom they have been extracted. Milan closes the first volume. Then Lombardy, Venice, Bologna, Florence follow in succession. From the Florentine illustrations we are strongly tempted to copy the able summary of the various criticisms on the Medicean Venus, but we pass on to a rich painting of the Vall' Ombrosa.

' The road to this "grand solitude," from Florence, winds up the

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right bank of the Arno for thirteen miles, to Pelago, where the river is diminished to a rural stream. At that village, distant from the abbey about seven miles, the carriage road ends, and the path turns up the valley through which descends the beautiful stream of Acquabella, that once gave name to the solitude. This valley is diversified by some farm-houses and hamlets belonging to the abbey in the days of its prosperity. A rude bridge crosses the torrent higher up, from which begins a steep ascent up a narrow, paved way, winding among the luxuriant chesnut-woods that clothe the declivities. After ascending for nearly three hours, the traveller reaches some beautiful pine-woods, enclosing a verdant lawn; and, on emerging from their shade, finds himself in front of a large, handsome, but formal building. One side is defended by dark forests; on the other, towers a lofty mountain, clothed with hanging wood nearly to its top, and divided from the lawn only by a deep, narrow dell, down which a small stream falls in cascades. A little bridge crosses the stream below the fall, and leads to a steep path conducting to an overhanging cliff, on which stands the hermitage called the *Paradisino*, consisting of a few rooms and a chapel. The prospect which it commands, is most extensive, comprising a distant view of Florence, the vale, and the sea; while the fore-ground is composed of the grand scenery of the Apennines, —the dell, the water-fall, the convent, the park-like lawn, with its black girdle of forest, and the mountain beyond.

'From May to October, this is a delicious retreat from the heats of the plain; but often, long before

> —— "autumnal leaves have strewn the brooks
> In Vall' Ombrosa, where Etruscan shades
> High over-arched embower,"—

the streams themselves are arrested in their rapid course, by the icy blasts that sweep down from the neighbouring mountains; and during the long winter, the inhabitants are generally "buried in snow, or enveloped in clouds, and besieged by bears and wolves;" a circumstance which Eustace mentions, as serving to "deepen the religious awe and veneration that naturally brood over monastic establishments."'

Vol. II., pp. 392, 393.

Pisa, Sienna, Naples, Rome, occupy the last volume; and if we could manage it without injury to the general effect, we should be liberal both in abstract and extract. We have, however, seldom—perhaps never—met with a work so little suited to either. Singularly compact and comprehensive, it is only by citation on a large scale that it could be fairly dealt with: this we cannot venture on, and must, therefore satisfy our critical conscience with an emphatic reference to the volumes themselves, and with a striking quotation from the historical introduction to the account of the Eternal city.

Rome.

'Rome is the hereditary name of a dynasty of cities. Though frequently overthrown, its site has never been entirely deserted; so that,

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as Dr. Burton expresses it, "it stands as a link in the chain which connects ancient and modern history; and in this part, the continuity has never been broken." But it is the continuity of succession. "There are in fact," says Mr. Forsyth, "three ancient Romes substantially distinct; the city which the Gauls destroyed, that which Nero burned, and that which he and his successors rebuilt." In other words, there is the Rome of romance, the classic Rome of Augustus, and the restored Rome of Nero and Aurelian. There may be said to be also three modern Romes,—that of the middle ages, that of Leo X., and that of the nineteenth century. A slight review of the principal revolutions of which its site has been the theatre, forms an almost indispensable introduction to any attempt at topographical description.

'"The foundation of Rome, and to what people the Eternal City originally belonged, are precisely the matters of which we know nothing." Such is the peremptory decision of the sceptical, the incredulous Niebuhr. Yet, the foundation of Rome has served as one of the most important eras in history. The earliest calculation assigns to it a date almost a century previous to the Olympiads; but the received chronology fixes it in the first year of the 7th Olympiad, or 432 years after the fall of Troy (B.C. 753).

'"Every thing at Rome indicates an Etruscan origin. The whole of the original constitution was Etruscan, established by the sacred books of that nation. The whole religious system was Etruscan. . . . But, about the time which is stated as the foundation of Rome, the Sabines were in progressive movement along the river. The city of Tatius was a Sabine settlement on the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, close upon Etruscan Rome. Rome was thus a double city, like the Greek and Spanish *Emporiæ*, and some cities of modern Europe. But, before the time of Tullus, this twofold State had already become a single republic. All this is antecedent to history: it is not Latin; it is older than the Latin character of Rome. The latter was derived first from Tullus, through the union with Alba in his reign, and through the forcible incorporation of so many Latins under his successors, so that the earlier inhabitants were absolutely blended with them into Latins. Their language became perfectly unintelligible to later ages (like the songs of the *Salii* and the *Arvales*); and this accounts for the destruction of all historical notices of those times."

'Such is Niebuhr's hypothesis (for it is nothing more) respecting the origin of this city. "According to Antiochus of Syracuse," remarks Mr. Cramer, "the name of Rome was known as far back as the time of the *Siculi*, the first possessors of Latium. That Saturnia was a name once given to Rome, or, at least, to one of the seven hills, and probably to the Capitol, seems very generally admitted by ancient writers." And this name, the learned Author supposes, must be referred to the *Siculi*. Again, "the settlement of Evander and his Arcadians on the Palatine hill, appears likewise to be supported by the concurrent testimony of ancient writers." This Evander, we are to consider "as one of those numerous Pelasgic adventurers who, after the settlement of the *Tyrrheni* and the expulsion of the *Siculi*, mi-

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grated from Greece into Italy. The arrival of Evander in Latium is an interesting fact in the history of that country, as he is said to have introduced a knowledge of letters and other arts with which the Latins were then unacquainted."

'But who were these nations—the Pelasgians, the Sicilians, the Tyrrhenians, the Etrurians, the Sabines, the Latins? The vague and conflicting authorities of ancient writers, the philosophical researches and learned hypotheses of modern antiquaries, serve but to shew how arbitrary is the meaning attached to such designations. If, however, turning from the bewildering discussions respecting the nomenclature, filiation, and distribution of these various tribes, we confine ourselves to a general view of the state of society at this early period, we shall find sufficient evidence that Italy, like other countries of a similar geographical character, was originally occupied by races distinguished less by their physical lineaments, than by their modes of life and the degree of civilization to which, as the result, they had severally attained. In all countries which admit of the breeding of domestic animals, the pastoral is the first stage of social life; and by the wants and circumstances attendant upon that mode of life, the rude institutions of the infancy of nations are created and moulded. The mountains and high table-lands, in temperate or warmer regions, are the chosen territory of those tribes whose property consists chiefly in their flocks; while the owners of herds must descend with the rivers to the plains. The shepherd is of necessity a wanderer; and the first migrations, probably, were those of pastoral tribes, who sought room for their multiplied flocks. Wherever the wild animals abound, he is also of necessity a hunter; and the transition is easy, from the habits and character thus induced, to those of the bandit and of the warrior. Thus, the pastoral and the military character, which seem at first view so opposite to each other, are, in reality, nearly allied; and the metamorphosis is explained, by which the shepherd becomes a king. The herdsman of the plains is naturally, perhaps, less roving in his habits, and more pacific. He is soon compelled to unite to his other cares the labours of tillage. With agriculture originates fixed property, and towns are formed for mutual defence. This is the second stage of civilization.

'The physical features and climates of the country must, of course, powerfully contribute to determine the shape which society shall in these rude stages assume. In a region where the maritime plains are liable, in summer, to intolerable heat, or to pestilential exhalations from the undrained levels, the first permanent settlements will be in the mountains; and on shores subject to the predatory visits of corsairs, we shall find the towns placed, by way of precaution, at some distance from the coast. The climate and the soil will also regulate the nature of the habitations, in the construction of which the arts will first be developed; according as a defence is required chiefly against the violence of summer's rains or winter's cold, and as the forest, the rock, or the skin and hair of the herds, affords the readiest and most effectual protection, the dwellings of nomade hordes will be either the cavern or the portable hut or tent. The hunter slings

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his hammock in his pine-cabin, or piles up a hearth of stones with the wreck of the mountain. The inhabitant of the bare, clayey plains becomes a potter and a builder.

'In the mean time, the seas will have bred up a race of bold adventurers, traders or pirates; and maritime settlers of a foreign nation are led, by chance, necessity, or a spirit of adventure, to take possession of the harbours, and to spread themselves up the line of the rivers. Accustomed, perhaps, to the suns of more southerly climes, they are better able to sustain the summer heat of the low plains; and by means of traffic, they contrive to provide themselves with the necessaries of life. This presents to us another stage of society, and one which has always been the most closely connected with the advancement of knowledge and the development of useful invention. Such has been the history of Italy . . . .

'The city of Romulus is stated to have occupied at first only the Palatine mount, the square area of which would not, Mr. Simond says, "quite cover the garden of the Tuileries at Paris, or St. James's Park in London; and its elevation, only 198 feet above the sea, is not twice the height of the largest trees in either of those gardens." Yet, its compact and detached form, defended by the Tiber and the marshes, might recommend it as an eligible post; and its height would be sufficient, according to the modes of ancient warfare, to render it a place of strength. Its unhealthy situation, however, and the deficiency of wholesome water, would sufficiently account for its not having been preoccupied by the natives. The earlier inhabitants of Italy, the founders of those towns to which Rome herself conceded a prior antiquity, were all built on mountains, in a purer air, and in situations protected as well by nature as by the Cyclopean walls with which they were surrounded. To maritime settlers, on the other hand, its distance from the sea would have rendered it ineligible. Strabo remarks, that the situation of Rome was originally fixed upon by necessity, and not by choice, and that no one, judging from its situation, would have predicted its future prosperity. Cicero, in the newly discovered fragments of the *De Republica*, speaks of the happy choice which Romulus made of a site for his city, in language which implies the insalubrity of the region. And Livy makes Camillus enumerate the advantages of the situation, in terms which confirm the idea, that it was chosen by necessity, and that those advantages were equivocal: he speaks of "the healthiness of the *hills*, the convenience of the river for bringing provision from the inland regions, and also from the sea; the sea not too distant, and not so near as to expose the city to the attacks of corsairs; and the situation of the city in the middle of Italy."' Vol. III. pp. 146—159.

'Of Imperial Rome, nothing was entire but the Pantheon, even in the days of Poggio (A.D. 1430). Of the monuments described by the learned Florentine, and of which some fragments still remain, the following catalogue comprises all that can be with any certainty identified:—The Coliseum; the Triumphal Arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine (then almost entire); those of Drusus, of Dolabella and Silanus, and of Gallienus; the Baths of Diocletian, of Caracalla, and of Constantine; a part of those of Titus; the theatre of Marcellus;

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the few remains of that of Pompey; the two bridges of the Tiberine island; the Ælian bridge; the Mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian; the two historical columns; the inscribed obelisks; the column of Phocas; the Septimian arch in the *Velabrum;* the *castellum* of the Claudian aqueduct; two or three of the city gates. The other ruins and fragments are either anonymous, or the names given to them by antiquaries must be considered as arbitrary and questionable.

'But of what consequence is it to be able to give a name to the pillars, walls, or foundations which baffle the learned labours of the antiquary and topographer? What difference does it make, whether they determine the remains of an Ionic portico to be that of the Temple of Concord or the Temple of Fortune? To enjoy the genuine pleasure derived from these speaking relics of antiquity, the visiter will do well to waive all these curious inquiries, which tend only to bewilder the imagination, and to fritter down every feeling of enthusiasm. Having acquired a general idea of the topography of the ancient city,—having satisfied himself (as he easily may) respecting the situation of the Forum and the localities of prominent historic interest, and identified the few unquestionable monuments of the Republic and the Empire —he will do well to abstain from further inquiries, which leave no alternative between implicit acquiescence in the current nomenclature of the ruins and a total scepticism. Rarely would the name of the temple or the tomb, if ascertained, inspire any peculiar emotions. Few are the associations of moral grandeur connected with the history or monuments of Rome. The classical enthusiast turns with comparative disgust from the vestiges of the capital of the Cæsars, in search of the scanty memorials of the free city. The only era that interests *his* imagination, is the golden age of historical romance. To the moralist, on the other hand, it is the fate of

"The great Queen of earth, Imperial Rome,"

that gives its chief interest to the scene. There have been ecclesiastical antiquaries who have seemed to think it "of little importance that the Capitol was ever inhabited by any others than the monks of *Ara-cœli*, or that the court of Augustus preceded that of the Popes." Apart from all these, the connoisseur, who cares little about either Cæsar or Pontiff, finds in Rome an inexhaustible field; to him, however, the treasures of the Vatican far outshine all the historic glories of the seven hills. "The works of the fine arts," Dr. Burton remarks, "are the only objects which it is impossible not to admire and be satisfied with."

'As a place of residence, Rome is neither gay nor cheerful; and its climate, delicious as it is in winter, is both insufferably hot and unhealthy in summer. The surrounding country is a desert. What then renders this city so peculiarly attractive? Not, we apprehend, its antiquities, its architecture, its paintings, its scenery, or its historic associations,—not either of these separately considered, but the picturesque combination of the whole, together with the almost exhaustless variety of feature which solicits the attention and charms the imagination. Other cities may be far more beautiful, but Rome is per-

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haps the most richly picturesque city in the world. The hills, insignificant in themselves, seem made to display the buildings to the greatest advantage. The architecture, both ancient and modern, is for the most part faulty in principle, often incongruous in its elements, impure in taste; but it has one redeeming characteristic,—it always combines well with the landscape, and, by its richness, variety, and grandeur, atones for the want of simplicity and of a chaster elegance. At Rome, the spectator is dazzled with the multiplicity of objects; and the decaying ruins are relieved by the modern magnificence. "It is not," remarks Mr. Woods, "any one thing you see, any more than one point of history that you have to remember: multitudes of fragments are included in one view, not very perfect and distinct in their forms, yet, sufficient to excite the imagination. They crowd on the eye, as the scenes of history on the memory."

'In spite of all he may have seen elsewhere, and of all the views and drawings that may have familiarised to his eye particular buildings, Rome is still "a new world to an architect." "The paradise of artists, it is full of their objects and recollections." With much that may disappoint or disgust, it can scarcely pall or weary; and thus, whatever be the nature of the first impressions which the city awakens, few places seem to have an equal power of fascinating the traveller, and of detaining him a willing resident till his feelings settle into a sort of local attachment.' pp. 205—9.

On looking back over our comments, we feel that they contain but a meagre criticism of a work and a subject of which the value and importance fairly demand from us more than we have found it easy to accomplish. We take our leave, then, of these volumes, recommending them to the traveller for their comprehensiveness and portability; to the general reader for their interesting character and for the accessibility of their information; and to all instructors of youth as the best foundation for a thorough mastery of Italian story,—of all histories the most important and the most extensive in its bearings, whether we take it in its relation to modern or to the olden times.

Since the first publication, a valuable Itinerary has been added to each volume.

Art. VIII. *Road Book from London to Naples.* By William Brockedon, F.R.S., Member of the Florentine and Roman Academies of the Fine Arts, &c. Illustrated with twenty-five Views from Drawings by Stanfield, Prout, and Brockedon, engraved by W. and E. Finden. 8vo. London, 1835.

THOSE readers of our journal who are already on their road to Naples, may justly reproach us for being at least a month too late in our recommendation of this—to them indispensable companion. We are sorry for it. The volume was delayed in

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its way to our hands; but to those who have been disappointed of the opportunity, or have not the means, of making so distant an excursion,—to tarry at home travellers, or to those who, having crossed the Alps, wish to fight their travelling battless o'er again,—or to those ladies or gentlemen who have tables in boudoir, drawing-room, or library, appropriated to scrap-books, keepsakes, and other ornamental literature with which the exquisitely beautiful illustrations of this Road-book entitle it to rank;—to each and all of these classes of purchasers, our recommendation will be in good season, as the time is only approaching for such in-door pleasures. As a book of plates, it is one of the most delightful Landscape Annuals—we of course anticipate other volumes—that has yet appeared. The Illustrations are, as announced on the title-page, twenty-five in number. Five are assigned to France, two to Savoy, five to Northern Italy; then we have Florence, Pisa, the Lake of Thrasymene, the Valley of the Nar, Terni, Civita Castellana, Rome, Velletri, the Pontine Marshes, Terracina, Mola di Gaeta, Naples. Dover makes the twenty-fifth. There are also maps of the route, along which these scenes and objects occur.

The distinguishing merit of Mr. Brockedon's book, putting aside its graphic embellishments, which do credit to both the pencil and the graver of the respective artists, is, that it is all it professes to be—a Road-book, and the most complete of the kind, as to all the details of information which a tourist stands in need of, that we have ever met with. And as the information is not collected at second-hand, but supplied by the Writer's ample experience, the directions may be depended upon, which is a great matter. It is in fact, so far as regards the route described, a complete traveller's directory. Mr. Brockedon is, moreover, a trustworthy Cicerone, and, being himself an artist, is qualified to direct the traveller to the objects most deserving of his attention. Of the vivacity with which he describes, we shall present to our readers a specimen, in a picturesque account of the road from Spoleto to Rome.

'Soon after leaving Spoleto, the road winds up the Monte Somma, a tedious ascent, with its never-failing accompaniment, a swarm of beggars. When the "*tanta fame!*" and "*Carita per la grazia di Dio!*" fail, flattery, amusingly applied, often succeeds. A set of unsuccessful young beggars, having once failed here, with the usual cant and cry, to obtain a *baioccho* from the ladies in an English carriage, suddenly stopped, and one of them gazing with rapt admiration, exclaimed, "*Che belli occhi! Ah! come sono belle queste donne Inglesi!*" This capital bit of performance provoked a hearty laugh, and loosened the purse-strings. The descent towards Terni is much wilder than on the other side of the mountain; and the route, nearly the whole way to Terni, is through a savage, but pic-

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turesque glen. Few pass through it, without thinking of its fitness for the haunts of banditti; and not a face or figure is to be met in the journey through it, that removes the impression.

'There are several good inns at Terni: the Europa is excellent. The moment the traveller arrives, he is surrounded by applicants offering their cars and mules for an excursion to the *Caduta del Marmore*, the celebrated cataract, about four or five miles distant. The charge at the inn for a light carriage, to take four persons, is thirty-five pauls; for the driver six; and if asses be taken to continue the excursion beyond where the carriage can be driven, four pauls each, which includes *buono mano;* a cicerone for the party, who considers his services indispensable, seven pauls: to these are to be added fifty beggars, whose attendance must be bought off. The drive to the falls is very fine, especially near the village of Perpiguo, which is perched on a rock in a striking situation; but from the mean and unglazed windows, it seems to be inhabited only by the poor, the wretched, and, from the appearance of the inhabitants, the dishonest. On the left of the road a point commands a fine view of the Valley of the Nera or Nar, which is very picturesque. Beyond the village the road ascends the hill, passing some large old olive trees, and attains the top of the falls, where the scene is strikingly impressive. The vast mass of water gushing from its channel into the gulph below,—the roar,—the spray wreathing and reeking up from the awful cauldron, are most appalling. If the visitor has sufficient firmness of feet, and steadiness of head, and the demands are not serious upon either, he can descend by a path which winds down among the tufo rocks, formed by the deposit of the waters of the Velino, to a building which has been erected opposite to the fall, and about one hundred feet below its summit, upon a jutting rock that overhangs the abyss hundreds of feet, into which the water falls below. There is nothing more fearful to contemplate, than the roar and the foaming of the waters, as they pass the windows of this house in their descent. It is horribly beautiful. The first epithet applies to the cataract; the second to the Iris, which, whenever the sun shines, plays over the gulph of terror. An eternal verdure is spread over the rocks, promoted by the spray which constantly falls around. From the building a path leads down to the valley, which can be crossed by a bridge incrusted with calcareous deposit. From below, the view of the whole cataract is magnificent. The carriage, when the party leaves it to go to the top of the fall, is usually directed to be driven down into the valley, where it waits to take back the visitors through the grounds of the Villa Graziani to Terni. The whole scenery of the beautiful valley of the Mera, above the town, is highly picturesque, each successive point giving some new and beautiful landscape to the traveller. This excursion, which occupies three or four hours, has no parallel in the grandeur and beauty of the class of objects which it commands; and in describing them, even the pen of Lord Byron must be said to have failed.

'The ruins of the colossal bridge of Augustus at Narni, which consisted of three large arches, is a fine example of such a Roman structure: one vast and lofty arch remains nearly perfect. The scenery around Narni, and especially near this bridge, is very beautiful. The

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steep hills on each side of the river are richly wooded; and down the stream, seen through the noble arch that remains, the Hermitage of St. Casciano rising among the woods, is an object of singular beauty. Narni is finely situated on a hill commanding an extensive view of the Valley of the Nera, bounded in the distance by the Apennines. Near the town, the passes through a deep fissure in the rock, the sides of which, in many places, have been excavated, and the cells thus formed are inhabited. The old towers and walls of Narni are highly picturesque, and come admirably into view on leaving it to proceed towards Otricoli.

'The route now varies in character; the prospect is extensive towards the south; the olive-grounds are more numerous; and from some high ground before reaching Otricoli, the Tiber is seen winding its course towards Rome. The prospect has a vast extent; the old town is seen on a hill with a few towers and religious houses, and here the first view of Mont Soracte, rising above the Campagna, is obtained. Beyond Otricoli, the scenes, though often beautiful, are less rich than on the confines of Tuscany. Before reaching Borghetto, the Tiber is crossed over a fine bridge built by Augustus, whose numerous structures of this class certainly entitled him to the distinction of Pontifex Maximus, which was assumed, and is still borne, by the priest-sovereigns of the "eternal city": but though a pope cannot boast of building this bridge, he does most pompously of repairing it; and many inscriptions indicate that Sistus V. restored this fine work. Borghetto is a wretched place—an epithet that will apply with justice to nearly all the towns and villages in his Holiness's territory. Situated amidst the finest scenes, the heart sickens in looking upon the degraded state of man under the curse of a government which paralyses his energies.

'On approaching Civita Castellana, the deep ravine is observed through which a tributary to the Tiber flows. This gorge is crossed by a stupendous bridge, which Simond states is raised 250 feet above the stream. The effect of entering this place over the fearful depths of the ravine, and under the dark walls of the town, is impressive, and excites emotions of which description would fail to give the least idea. The sketch-book of travellers in Italy teem with the materials for landscape furnished at Civita Castellana. Its towers, convents, and fortress, the palace raised by Pope Alexander VI., now a state-prison, its wall and aqueduct, the precipices overhanging its deep ravines, the Campagna, and proximate Mont Soracte, afford endless combinations; and the inns, La Posta, and the Croce Bianca, may be endured for the pleasure of a short stay in so picturesque a spot.

'From Civita Castellana, the Flaminian Way continues its course to the Milvian Bridge, near Rome, passing through Riguano and Prima Porta. Until within these sixty years, it was the chief road to Rome from Civita Castellana; about that time the new branch to join the road from Viterbo to Rome, now generally followed, was made by order of Pius VI.

'Nepi is a miserable, though a picturesque place, but its dark walls, towers, and fort, over-hanging a deep ravine, across which there is an ancient aqueduct, which still conveys water to the town, shew that its

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former importance must have been considerable. Though much of the country now passed through is uncultivated, it varies in hill and dell, rocks and underwood; and is often beautiful for the colours, as well as the forms of its objects. Mont Soracte is a striking feature here, from its proximity to the route, as it rises magnificently above the intervening Campagna. This character of the country continues to Monterosi, near to which the two roads from Florence to Rome, by Sienna and by Perugia, unite.

'If circumstances should oblige the traveller to rest at Monterosi or at Baccano, let him decide in favour of the best of the bad, and stay at Monterosi: the accommodations at either are what Colman calls "much of a muchness;" but Monterosi has the advantage in point of salubrity. Baccano is situated in a hollow, near a little, foul, sulphureous pool, whose fetid odours infest the spot, and curse it with malaria. Soon after leaving Baccano, from some high ground, Rome, in the distance, presents itself, and seems to every traveller who sees it for the first time, to have been the sole object of his journey. The intense anxiety with which this speck in the Campagna is sought for from this point, and the feelings to which its discovery gives rise, belong to that class which cannot be suppressed or affected, but by those who do not deserve to enjoy them.

'But even the appearance of St. Peters, and the excitement which it raises, cannot subdue the painful contemplation of the desolate Campagna: the eye stretches over a scene of varied undulation to the distant Alban hills. Of pines, ilexes, underwood, broom, and rank grass, there are enough to shew that the withering spirit of the Campagna does not extend to its vegetation. Even the herds of buffaloes do not appear to be cursed with the malaria; it blights only the energies of man, and marks, as with an awful retribution, the successors of that empire which oppressed, like an incubus, the world it conquered.

'Here and there remains of fortified houses, and castles of the middle ages, are seen; but deserted and worthless, except for a place in the sketch book of the artist. The appearance of individual and social misery has accompanied the traveller ever since his entry into the states of St. Peter; even through the beautiful valleys of the Topino, the Clitumnus, and the Nera. Nothing flourishes but the Church, the convent, and the priest: these rear their heads proudly and unfeelingly amidst the social desolation and wretchedness they have so much aided to produce; and with impious presumption, dare to tell their besotted adherents that the patrimony of St. Peter is under the immediate protection of Heaven!

'Through this scene of desolation the road winds and undulates: about three miles from Rome, some ruins are passed, among others those of an ancient tomb, vulgarly reported to be Nero's; but an inscription can yet be traced, which shews it to have been the sepulchre of P. Vibius Marianus. At length the road reaches the yellow Tiber, which is crossed at Ponto Mole, or Milvio, where the great battle was fought between Constantine and Maxentius, in which the latter was drowned, and the former gained an empire. Thence the route approaches the city, passing by numerous deserted villas and houses, and between their walls and gardens, until it arrives at the Porto del

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Papalo, where the passports are demanded; and unless a Lascia Passare, directed by the traveller to await his arrival, be found here, the carriage will be accompanied to the Dogano de Terra for search. On the frontiers of the states, bribery may evade this annoyance, but here such a leave to pass is absolutely necessary to avoid detention and delay. The Piazza del Populo is a striking entrance to Rome. Beyond the obelisk are three streets; the central one, the Strada del Corso, continues direct to the capitol; that on the right, the Strada di Ripetta, leads to the Tiber; and the third on the left, is the Strada del Babuino, leading to the Piazza di Spagna; and towards the Monte Quirinale. In front, the three streets are divided by the churches of St. Maria de Montesanto, between the Babuino and the Corso, and St. Maria di Miracoli, between the Corso and the Ripetta. On the left side of the Piazza del Populo are the terraces leading up to the public gardens on the Monte Pincio.

'The best hotels are found in the Piazza di Spagna, where the Europa, or les Isles Britanniques, are usually resorted to, until apartments are hired in the Via Condotti, or some other salubrious situation.' pp. 131—139.

Art. IX. *Switzerland.* By William Beattie, M.D. Illustrated in a Series of Views, by W. H. Bartlett, Esq. Parts I. to XI. Price 2*s.* each. London.

WITH, or perhaps without, the exception of Italy, the landscape scenery of Switzerland has been more extensively and popularly illustrated than that of any other region of continental Europe. The lithographed drawings of Villeneuve, full of spirit but somewhat mannered, will, we believe, when completed, furnish the most comprehensive series, but its size and expensiveness will prevent its obtaining so large a circulation as its merit would otherwise secure. The subjects are admirably selected, and their management is able and artist-like. The figures are by Victor Adam, the cleverest handler of a small population that we know; and those who would possess the best and fullest exhibition of Swiss landscape, cannot do better than procure the entire work. In our own country, we can, at the present moment, recollect but one completed attempt to effect the same purpose; but, although by no means an uninteresting or unsuccessful effort, it was in all respects inferior to that which we have just described, and its price was such as to compel the proprietors of shallow purses to a prudent abstinence. No such objection, however, can apply to the series now lying before us. The Numbers are really, not relatively, cheap; their execution might well justify a higher charge; and as they necessarily comprise a large division of the entire work, they may be safely taken as a pledge that there shall be no failure in care and elaboration.

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The subjects in general are of high interest, and they are sufficiently varied to suit every taste. It would of course be inconvenient to pass through the series as they lie, and it seems invidious to make a selection; yet we venture, 'without prejudice,' as the lawyers say, to mention two or three, not as being absolutely the best, but as having struck us while looking over the work. Mr. Bartlett's drawing of the Lake of Lungern, must have been a beautiful and expressive work of art, and Mr. Wallis has employed his graver on it with much skill in rendering the reflection of rich scenery in water clear, calm, and deep. The Lake of Lucerne from the Righi, is a wide and misty view of rock, and meer, and distant glaciers, well engraved by Motham. Jeavons has given two good plates of the Jungfrau and Airolo; and the 'Castle of Chillon' is beautifully treated by Wallis, from an 'effect' by Creswick. Benjamin has supplied some good specimens of mountain scenery; and Woolnoth exhibits his accustomed talent in the Via Mala. Starling has been successful in the view of Martigny, and Hill's Lake of Thun, though rather hard, is creditable to his skill.

Art. X.—*The Salvation of Britain introductory to the Conversion of the World.* A Discourse delivered before the London Missionary Society, at the Tabernacle, Moorfields, on Wednesday, May 13, 1835. By John Blackburn, Pastor of the Congregational Church, Pentonville. With Notes. 8vo., pp. 86. Price 2*s.* London, 1835.

IT requires no small portion of historical and political information, to be able to understand the true moral position of Great Britain at the present moment, and to appreciate the immense responsibilities connected with an empire which throws that of the Roman world into the shade. A steady, patient effort of serious attention can alone enable even a well informed person to obtain a distinct and yet comprehensive idea of the circumstances of our national position—an insignificant Island of the German Sea, the Political Metropolis, the Commercial Centre, the heart of the World; swaying the destinies of more than a sixth portion of the human race, who are actually under the British sceptre, and extending its influence over all the nations of the earth. If Great Britain were truly and thoroughly pervaded with the spirit of Christianity, the conversion of the world would no longer seem a remote or improbable event. The promotion of religion at home, then, must have a tendency to advance that final cause of the mighty ascendancy of commercial influence and political power which has been committed to this nation. God has not dealed so with any people; and never did

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a people occupy a position which gave an equal opportunity of becoming the benefactors of all other nations.

This most interesting fact, Mr. Blackburn has made the basis of his instructive and eloquent discourse. In the first place, he assumes, and justifies the assumption, that Divine Providence designs to make this country an instrument of blessing to the heathen. In the second part, he urges the Christian obligations which rise out of our position. '*It is our duty, then, to seek* '*the conversion of our countrymen for the sake of the world.*

'The unprecedented connexion which our countrymen sustain by conquest, commerce, or colonization, with remote heathen nations has been already described. Let it be remembered, then, that every British seaman, who touches a heathen port—every British soldier, who guards a heathen fortress—every British merchant, who trades in a heathen bazaar—every British gentleman, who presides in a heathen court, is regarded by the idolaters who surround him as a Christian, because he is a Briton.

'Thus, to our countrymen, who occupy stations in the military and civil service, or who are connected with commercial enterprises amongst the African and Asiatic nations; to them I say, has been delegated the task of exhibiting, to the tribes of Africa and the East the Christianity of Europe. How imperfect that representation has been, you must well understand. The melancholy discrepancy between the sacred books, and the personal characters of English residents has often excited the surprise and the disgust of the more thoughtful heathen. The utter want of conformity to the spirit of Christianity, in its professed disciples, has been a fearful hinderance to the successful prosecution of missionary labours in various parts of our colonial Empire; and the conversion of many of the poor heathen to the Mahometan faith has been ascribed, I fear with too much truth, to the fact, that the votaries of the false prophet have, by their good character and conduct, become more attractive to the thoughtful pagans, than our nominal Christians from Europe. Do not missionary records testify, that British seamen have been employed to tempt the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands to abandon Christian temperance, and to renounce the chastity of the Gospel? And have not the British votaries of gold on the shores of Australasia been amongst the most inveterate, and determined, and reckless assailants of our missionary enterprise in that quarter of the globe? Let it be remembered, that the progress of civilization, and the power of conquest, which the heathen witness in our countrymen, naturally invest every one of them with an importance in the eyes of savage and semi-barbarous nations which we cannot estimate. What a Briton approves, they will readily imagine deserves their regard; and what he may condemn, they will with equal readiness neglect and despise.

'Now, my hearers, is any thing so likely to raise the character of our representative Christianity abroad, as to improve the state of religion at home? And how strenuous ought to be our efforts, how fervent our prayers, that a Christian influence may be diffused amidst

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our population, who are likely to possess such peculiar opportunities to allure the heathen by their virtues, or to repel them by their crimes!

'There is another aspect in which this subject may be viewed with advantage.

'Our superabundant population have now, for many years, sought on the shores of our remote colonies such an inheritance for their children as our national difficulties forbid them to anticipate at home. Those distant regions have remained till now in all the wildness and all the quietude of their native loneliness; and assuredly, it would be far preferable that no human eye should ever range over their beauteous scenes, and that no human hand should clear and cultivate their virgin soil; better that no human voice should awaken the wild echoes of their rocks and valleys, than that profane and godless men should desecrate those primeval forests, God's fairest temples on earth, and carry the evidence of their revolt against his moral government into those awful sanctuaries which his own hands have reared.

'But, already many myriads have emigrated from our shores, and, I fear, to a melancholy extent uninfluenced by Christian principle. These bands of colonists have gone forth as seedling nations, and will attain, by the growth of a century or two, to the height and amplitude of empires. Remember, my brethren, that it is little more than two centuries ago, when the pilgrim Fathers of the American States left their native shores to find a home in the Western Wilderness, and now their children constitute the most intelligent and Christian republic in the world.

'What the continent of America was to them, that the woods and plains of Canada and Australia are to our modern emigrants. But, then, observe the contrast! Those primitive settlers were men of God, who left their own country to secure the privilege of worshipping Him "in spirit and in truth." They were anxious, supremely anxious, that their children, their servants, and their poor Indian neighbours should learn to know and love our God.

'Thus they obtained the services of faithful and learned ministers; and to plant churches, and to found schools, were amongst the earliest efforts of these infant communities. Now, can we anticipate, my brethren, that our children's children will find in the future inhabitants of Canada, Australia, and of Southern Africa, as we are privileged to do in North America, brethren in the faith of Christ, and in the freedom of British institutions, when those colonies are occupied by men, who, to so fearful an extent, are regardless of all religion? How are the poor stupid aborigines of New Holland, or the wild Indians of the American forests to be brought, clothed, and in their right minds, to sit at the feet of Jesus, when those who bear his name around them, exemplify so little of the hallowed influence of his Gospel? But these are trifling considerations, when compared with the important consequences which will result from a recent act of the Imperial Parliament.

'For ages the wide-spread territories of British India have been inaccessible, even to the subjects of the British crown. Henceforth, however, it will be lawful for any natural-born subject of this realm

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to proceed to any part of that mighty peninsula, to traverse those territories, or to settle amongst their idolatrous inhabitants. Can we doubt, therefore, my hearers, that, in a few years, a large British population will overspread the plains of Hindostan, and by the purchase of property, the improvement of agriculture, the extension of trade, and the ties of intermarriages, exert an influence unprecedented in history?—But what will that influence be? Will our countrymen, like "the remnant of Jacob in the midst of many people, be as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass;" or, will they be like the locusts of Egypt, "that covered the face of the whole earth, that did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees?" "will the land before them be as the Garden of Eden, but behind them a desolate wilderness?" These are most anxious inquiries. Our venerated missionaries have translated the Bible into the dialects of India; and are the Hindoos, with the Christian Scriptures in their hands, to receive from the unholy lives of British settlers a fatal evidence of their infidelity and irreligion?

'Now, in all these rising nations, the English language will be diffused, and English literature will be studied. Here, again, opens upon us another topic of melancholy interest. Our national literature, it is true, is imbued with a large amount of sound morality and genuine religion; yet it is to be deplored, that some of the most distinguished writers in the English language have betrayed, in their classic works, an unhealthy state of moral feeling, or a melancholy disregard of revealed religion. Already, as we learn on unquestionable evidence, the writings of Gibbon, Hume, Bolingbroke, Shakspeare, Byron, and others, are familiar to the minds of educated Hindoos; and every work that in our own land shall attain to the reputation of standard excellence, will soon be read in every quarter of the earth where our mother tongue is known. Oh! my brethren, have we not occasion to strive and pray, that the salt of true religion may so correct and sanctify the fountains of British literature that they may send forth abundance of living water for the refreshment of the nations?" pp. 39—45.

'There are many considerations of policy which may excite us to care for the diffusion of pure Christianity amongst our pagan fellow-subjects. Other nations have possessed large dominions, and a vigorous commerce, which have passed away. We may trace the transition of empire from Nineveh to Babylon, from Greece to Rome, and the flight of commerce from Tyre to Alexandria, from Venice to Lisbon, from Amsterdam to London, and we shall learn that righteousness exalts a nation, but that sin is the ruin of any people. A regard, therefore, to our profit and our power, might prompt us to diffuse the blessings of the Christian faith amongst the inhabitants of our distant settlements. But can we expect the blessing of Heaven to rest upon this selfish expedient? Assuredly not. If we wish the approbation of God to rest upon the efforts of national rectitude and mercy, we shall seek to perform them as in His sight and for His glory. As we recognise the responsibility of the nobleman who possesses a large domain to care for the social comfort and moral improvement of his numerous and dependent tenantry, so let us acknowledge the greater

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responsibility of our country to the God of nations, who has intrusted to our public stewardship the mighty British empire. Let us but fulfil the task assigned to us, with a single regard to the glory of God, and then we may await the course of His all-wise Providence with calm resignation. Only let the inhabitants of our possessions in India, in Canada, or the Pacific Ocean become Christian, and if they are retained by our Sovereign, they will form the brightest jewels of his crown; or, if lost to his sceptre, they will become educated, free, and happy communities, to diffuse, in their turn, civilization and Christianity amongst more distant tribes.' pp. 48—50.

Art. XI. 1. *Sacred Classics, Vol. XIX.* Christian Philosophy; or an Attempt to display, by internal Testimony, the Evidence and Excellence of Revealed Religion. By Vicesimus Knox, D.D. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. Henry Stebbing. 12mo. London, 1835.

2. *Sacred Classics, Vol. XX.* Theological Treatises: viz., God's Prescience of the Sins of Men; the Vanity of this Mortal Life; and the Redeemer's Dominion over the Invisible World: selected from the Works of the Rev. John Howe, M.A. With a Memoir of the Author, by Thomas Taylor, Author of "The Life of Cowper," &c. 12mo. London, 1835.

WE are extremely glad to notice a reprint of Knox's "Christian Philosophy"; a work little known, and, if we mistake not, long out of print, but highly deserving of a place in the theological library. The work was undertaken under the not ill-founded apprehension that the popular Apologies for Christianity, and argumentative treatises in defence of Revelation, had 'contributed to the amusement of retired scholars almost 'persuaded of Christianity,' much more than to either the conversion of the infidel, or the instruction of the people.

'Dry argumentation,' remarks Dr. Knox, 'and dull disquisition unanimated by the spirit of piety and devotion, will never avail to convert unbelievers, and to diffuse the doctrines of Christianity. Life, death, heaven, and hell, are subjects of too much importance to be treated by a sincere mind, duly impressed by them, with the coolness of a lawyer giving an opinion on a statute or case, in which another's property or privileges are concerned. The spirit of piety seems to have been wanting in some of the most logical and metaphysical defenders of Christianity. They speak of Christ, when they are examining the truth of the doctrine, with calm indifference, as if they were dull virtuosos discussing the genuineness of a medal, or the authenticity of a manuscript, valuable only as an amusing curiosity. If St. Paul had been no warmer an advocate than certain famous apologists for Christ's doctrine, he would never have prevailed with the Gentiles

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to relinquish their polytheism, and we of this island should, at this day, have remained in the darkness of idolatry. Without the spirit of piety, all proofs and defences of Christianity are a dead letter. The multitude will not even read them; and infidels, if they do not despise them too much to attend to them at all, will only read to find fresh matter for cavil and objection.

'I may be wrong in my theory. I therefore appeal to fact. The fact is evident, that, notwithstanding all that has been written to demonstrate Christianity, by argument drawn from reasoning and history, infidelity has increased, and is every day increasing more and more. Let those who think the dry argumentative apologies irresistibly convincing, now bring them forward, and silence the gainsayers at once. The demonstrations of a Huet, the evidences of a Clarke, the reasonings of a Locke, a Grotius, a Hartley, should be presented in the most striking manner, by public authority; and if they are really efficacious in producing conviction, we may be assured that infidelity will vanish at their appearance, like the mists of an autumnal morning, when the meridian sun breaks forth in full splendour. But the truth is, they are already very much diffused, and yet the Christian religion is said to be rapidly on the decline.

'Therefore it cannot be blameable to attempt some other method of calling back the attention of erring mortals to the momentous truths of revelation.

'I have conceived an idea that our old English divines were great adepts in genuine Christianity, and that their method of recommending it was judicious, because I know it was successful. There was much more piety in the last century than in the present; and there is every reason to believe that infidelity was rare. Bishop Hall appears to me to have been animated with the true spirit of Christianity; and I beg leave to convey my own ideas on the best method of diffusing that spirit, in his pleasingly-pious and simple language.

'"There is not," says the venerable prelate, "so much need of learning as of grace to apprehend those things which concern our everlasting peace; neither is it our brain that must be set to work, but our hearts. However excellent the use of scholarship in all the sacred employments of divinity; yet, in the main act, which imports salvation, skill must give place to affection. Happy is the soul that is possessed of Christ, how poor soever in all inferior endowments. Ye are wide, O ye great wits, while ye spend yourselves in curious questions and learned extravagances. Ye shall find one touch of Christ more worth to your souls, than all your deep and laborious disquisitions. In vain shall ye seek for this in your books, if you miss it in your bosoms. If you know all things, and cannot say 'I know whom I have believed,' you have but knowledge enough to know yourselves completely miserable. The deep mysteries of godliness, which, to the great clerks of the world, are as a book clasped and sealed up, lie open before him, (the pious and devout man,) fair and legible; and while those book-men know whom they have heard of, 'he knows whom he hath believed.'"

'Christianity indeed, like the sun, discovers itself by its own lustre. It shines with unborrowed light on the devout heart. It wants little

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external proof, but carries its own evidence to him that is regenerate and born of the Spirit. "The truth of Christianity," says a pious author, "is the Spirit of God living and working in it; and when this Spirit is not the life of it, there the outward form is but like the carcass of a departed soul."

'Divinity has certainly been confused and perplexed by the learned. It requires to be disentangled and simplified. It appears to me to consist in this single point, the restoration of the divine life, the image of God, (lost and defaced at the fall,) by the operation of the Holy Ghost.' pp. 10—13.

Aware of the prejudices which he had to encounter on the part of the *soi-disant* orthodox of his own Church, Dr. Knox proceeds cautiously, bespeaking the attention of his reader, in the first instance, to a series of citations from the writings of men who were the ornaments of their own times, and are still honoured as authorities; such as Dr. Gloucester Ridley, Bishop Taylor, John Smith, Dr. Isaac Barrow, Bishops Bull, Pearson, Sanderson, Smalridge, and Horsley, as well as Drs. Scott, Isaac Watts, Lucas, and Doddridge.

Since the time of Archbishop Laud, the Author remarks, 'the 'most celebrated defenders of Christianity have thought it pro-'per to expatiate with peculiar zeal on the excellence of natural 'religion. They probably had reasons for their conduct; but 'it must not be dissembled, that, in extolling Natural Religion, 'they have appeared to depreciate or supersede Revelation. The 'doctrine of supernatural assistance, *the great privilege of* '*Christianity*, has been very little enforced by them, and indeed 'rather discountenanced, as savouring of enthusiasm, and claim-'ing, if true, a decided superiority over their favourite religion 'of nature.' After remarking, that the profligate court of Charles II., 'in its endeavours to discredit the Dissenters, 'many of whom were admirable scholars and divines,' contributed much to explode all doctrines concerning the Spirit, he adds:

'The sect of Christians denominated Quakers, certainly entertain many right notions respecting Divine influence: and therefore, as the Quakers were disliked by the Church, the doctrines which they maintained were to be treated with contempt. . . . Consequently, aspiring clergymen, wishing to avoid every doctrine which could retard their advancement, or fix a stigma of heterodoxy upon them, were very little inclined to preach the necessity of Divine illumination. They feared the approbrious name of enthusiasts or hypocrites, and so became ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. In process of time arose the sect of the Methodists, who, however, they may be mistaken in some points, are certainly orthodox in their opinions of the Divine agency on the human soul. They found it in the Scriptures, in the liturgy, in the articles, and they preached it with a zeal which to many appeared intemperate, and certainly was sometimes too little guided by discretion.'

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The consequence was, Dr. Knox remarks, the perpetuation of the prejudice which led 'regular divines of great virtue, learning, 'and true piety' to suppress the 'main doctrine of the Gospel', 'lest they should countenance the Puritan, the Quaker, or the 'Methodist, and lose the esteem of their own order or of the 'higher powers'. A tremendous charge, but one which is too well sustained by notorious fact; and to this, more than to other circumstances, Dr. Knox justly attributes the progress of Infidelity in this country during the last century.

The fourth section, 'on the proper evidence of the Christian 'Religion', we shall give entire.

'"None," says St. Paul, "can say Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost." If, then, St. Paul be allowed to have understood the Christian religion, it is certain, that mere human testimony will never convince the infidel, and produce that faith which constitutes the true Christian. Our theological libraries might be cleared of more than half their volumes, if men, seeking the evidence of Christianity, would be satisfied with the declaration of St. Paul, and of the great Author of our religion.

'There is a faith very common in the world, which teaches to believe, as an historical fact, that a person of the name of Jesus, a very good man, did live on earth, and that he preached and taught, under the direction of God, or divine Providence, an excellent system of morality; such as, if duly observed, would contribute to their happiness, and recommend them to divine favour. But this kind of faith is not the right faith; it believes not enough, it is not given by the Holy Ghost; for he, in whom God dwelleth, confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world; but they who acknowledge Jesus only as a good man teaching morality, know him not as a Saviour. Socrates taught fine morality, and so did Seneca, Epictetus, and many more; but they had not, and could not teach the knowledge which leadeth to salvation.

'"Illuminating grace," says Dr. Gloucester Ridley, "consists not in the assent we give to the history of the gospel, as a narration of matters of fact, sufficiently supported by human evidence; for this may be purely the effect of our study and learning. The collating of copies, the consulting of history, the comparing the assertions of friends, and the concessions of enemies, may necessitate such a belief, a faith which the devils may have, and doubtless have it. This sort of faith is an acquisition of our own, and not a gift. But 'faith is the gift of God.'

'"There may be a faith," continues Dr. Ridley, "which is not the work of the Spirit in our hearts, but entirely the effect of human means, our natural faculties assisted by languages, antiquities, manuscripts, criticism, and the like, without any divine aid, except the bare letter of the revelation; and as this faith may rise out of human abilities, so may it be attended with pride in our supposed accomplishments, envy of others' superior skill, and bitter strife against those who mistake or oppose such truths; and is therefore no manifestation

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of that Spirit which resisteth the proud, and dispenses its graces only to the humble. This wisdom descendeth not from above. But the true saving faith, at the same time that it informs the understanding, influences the will and affections; it enlightens the eyes of the heart, says the apostle: it is there, in the heart, that the Christian man believeth; and if 'thou believest with thine heart, thou shalt be saved;' while infidelity proceedeth from an averseness of our affections,—'from an evil heart of unbelief.'"

'Is it not therefore strange, that learned apologists, well acquainted with Scripture, should, after reading these strong declarations, that the heart must be impressed before faith can be fixed in it, studiously avoid every topic which addresses itself to the affections, and coldly apply themselves to the understanding, in a language and manner which might become a mathematical lecturer solving a problem of Euclid.

'Infidelity is increasing, and will continue to increase, so long as divines decline the means of conversion and persuasion which the Scriptures of the New Testament declare to be the only effectual means; so long as they have recourse to human reason and human learning only, in which they will always find opponents very powerful. The Lord opened the heart of Lydia, and then she attended to the things that were spoken of Paul. The Lord opens the hearts of all men at some period of their lives; but the vanity of the world, the cares of gain, the pride of life, shut them again, and reject the Holy Ghost. It is the business of divines to dispose those who are thus unfortunate and unwise, to be ready to receive the divine guest, should he again knock at the door of their hearts; but in doing this, they must preach the true gospel, which is not a system of mere human morality or philosophy, but the doctrine of grace.' pp. 24—27.

We shall give another extract, taken from the concluding section, which is chiefly a recapitulation.

'To call the attention of men to Christianity, and to render its true genius and nature better known, is the scope of this little book; a book by no means intended to promote the interest, or gratify the pride of any particular division or subdivision of Christians, but to serve the common cause of all human beings, by maintaining the divine origin, describing the real essence and energy, and diffusing the powerful efficacy of that sublime philosophy, which, under the immediate operation of an all-wise and benign Deity, promises to tranquillize life, and conduct man, through paths of peace, to realms of eternal felicity.

'What then is the principle of this philosophy, which gives it a decided superiority over all that has been taught in the groves of Academus, the Portico, and the Lyceum? It is (as I hope has been evinced in the preceding pages) a beam of light from the Father of lights; *a lumen de lumine*, "light of light;" the breath of the power of God, restoring degenerate human nature to that image which it lost at the fall, and re-establishing it in primeval dignity. The Holy Ghost, it appears, is the divine Being, now and for ever engaged in

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effecting this happy renovation; in producing a change which no human wisdom could ever accomplish, without supernatural assistance; without that gift which our Lord gave to men after his ascension.

'The elegant refinements of human philosophy may furnish a pleasing amusement for those who possess the advantages of a classical education, and of literary leisure. The Christian philosophy alone is calculated for all mankind; this alone can bring peace at the last; peace, during the continuance of life, as well as its close; a transcendant peace, called in Scripture, the 'peace of God, which passeth all understanding;' and which certainly constitutes that supreme good of man, in selecting which, human philosophy could never yet finally agree. Happily, it is a kind of philosophy to which every human being, consistently with God's equity, may attain; requiring not cultured intellects, nor a life of academical seclusion, but faithful, fervent prayer, accompanied with sincere, though imperfect obedience. "If ye, being evil," says our Saviour, "know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" Nothing is to be desired by mortal man, in comparison with this gift—"the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ." The end, it appears, to be pursued by this philosophy, is the attainment of the Spirit's influence; the means, prayer and obedience. Such is the sum and substance of Christian Philosophy; a title which I have chosen, because, from a strange perverseness, a great part of the world, too often guided by names, is willing to listen to philosophy, while it closes the iron doors of prejudice against the voice of religion.

'The divine energy announced to mankind in the glad tidings of the gospel, under the name of gifts and grace, operating, now and for evermore, on every human heart prepared to admit it, appears, from what has been advanced in these pages, to be the living, everlasting gospel, still accompanying the written word, and conveying illumination, sanctification, consolation. It would not cease to operate, being sent down from heaven on our Lord's ascension, even if it were possible that ink and paper, by whose instrumentality the written word is transmitted, were utterly lost. It originates from Omnipotence, and cannot entirely rely, for its continuance or effect, on means merely human, weak, contingent, and perishable. He who once views the gospel of Jesus Christ in this light; he who considers it as a vital influence from heaven, and recognizes its energy on his heart, as he will do, in consequence of prayer and obedience, will want no other proof of the truth and excellence of Christianity. He will have the witness in himself; and stand in no need of the schoolmen's folios, the verbal subtleties of the critic, or the acrimonious disputes of the polemic. He will find, that some of the most learned men, the most voluminous writers on theological subjects, were totally ignorant of Christianity. He will find that they were ingenious heathen philosophers, assuming the name of Christians, and forcibly paganizing Christianity, for the sake of pleasing the world, of extending their fame, and enjoying secular honours and lucrative pre-eminence.'

pp. 266—269.

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These extracts will convey to our readers a sufficient idea of the work. Some of the Author's expressions may be excepted against; and we do not pledge ourselves to an unqualified approval of his theological views, which exhibit the same deficiency, the same approach to Quakerism, that we had occasion to point out in those of his accomplished namesake *. As a divine, the Author of this volume would have been classed by Bishop Jebb's Correspondent with 'the superstructure men'; and it will be seen that he had imbibed his views chiefly from theological writers of that school, so well characterized by Mr. Alexander Knox as excelling in their views of the religion of the heart, and all that concerns the Christian μετανοια, but as being, in respect to the Christian πιστις, somewhat deficient,—the school of Cudworth, Smith, Scougal, and Lucas †. Notwithstanding this slight deduction from the value of the book, we consider it at the present moment adapted to be eminently useful, by placing in full light the initial, if it be not the fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith, and by tending to counteract those false views of Religion as a mere science, which would substitute a baptized Infidelity for the Truth of the Gospel and the Mystery of Godliness.

Of the second volume noticed at the head of this article, we need say little more than that we are glad to meet with the writings of Howe in any shape; and that these Treatises will afford to those who are unacquainted with his works, a fair specimen of the profound reasoning, the majestic though sometimes rugged eloquence, and the sublime piety with which they abound. The Memoirs is somewhat lengthy, occupying more than a fourth part of the volume. It is, however, pleasingly written, and may perhaps tempt some to read the treatises of the great Nonconformist, from the interest inspired by the biography, who would otherwise be repelled. But Mr. Taylor must excuse our hinting that the works of John Howe require criticism of a higher stamp; his analysis might have been spared.

Art. XII. *Poems on Sacred Subjects.* By Maria Grace Saffery. 12mo. pp. 206. London, 1834.

WE owe an apology to Mrs. Saffery for having, through inadvertency, so long delayed to introduce her volume to the notice of our readers. From the long and respectable list of subscribers, we are happy to infer that she has secured, independently of her critics, an extensive circulation for these Poems; which

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* See an article on Knox's Remains in our No. for Feb. last.
† Jebb and Knox's Corresp. Vol. I., p. 29.

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will please, however, beyond the wide circle to which her name is known as having been 'borne by one of dear remembrance within the gates of Zion.' There is a delightful spirit in these poems; they breathe a pure and elevated feeling, and occasionally approach to the highest order of excellence. Many stanzas might be selected, not unworthy of Felicia Hemans or Lydia Sigourney; and sometimes we have been reminded of Millman, as in the "Apostrophe to Jeremiah." But we do not mean to describe Mrs. Saffery as an imitator. She has evidently drawn her inspiration fresh from the sacred truths in the contemplation of which, we are told in the Preface, this volume originated; and there is a charm in the theme of such stanzas as the following, which no other poetry could express or convey, than that which flowed from the consecrated well-spring of devout feeling.

'THE WALK TO EMMAUS.

'Luke xxiv. 13—35.

'HAST thou a heart that knows
The sweet and deep repose
Of spirits that in holy friendship blend?
Then thou canst surely tell
What sorrows once befell
Two mourners, that had call'd Messiah friend.

'When they in sadness left
Jerusalem, bereft
Of all that earth contain'd to them most dear:
The Spirit of their Lord,
Whose gentleness had pour'd
Sweet comfort and sweet counsel on their ear.

'They left the city's crowd,
The vulgar and the proud,
And went to mourn and muse of Him apart;—
And in communion sad
To ask, if yet they had
One dear, one cherish'd hope, within the heart.

''Twas Judah's sabbath rest,—
It came not to their breast,
Their busy thoughts were at the new-made grave
Of Him their souls desired;
And there they still inquired
If He would slumber long in Joseph's cave.

'A listening ear is nigh,
And a kind watchful eye;
And then a voice of earnest tender tone,
Is asking why they go
Thus heavily in woe?
Is it a stranger speaks? Yes,—he is quite unknown.

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'" How is it thou couldst fail
To hear the mournful tale?"
The sorrowing trav'llers to Emmaus cried.
Who has not heard or seen
Jesus, the Nazarene,
And ah! who does not know the Crucified?

'" His blessed voice we heard;
We knew his mighty word;
And as we witness'd oft his mightier deed,
We trusted still, that He
Might that great Prophet be,
Who comes when Isr'el from her bond is freed.

'" But judgment seems to low'r,—
'Tis the third ev'ning hour
Since Judah's priests and rulers seal'd his doom;
And in its twilight ray
Our courage dies away,
Our hopes are like the sunset on his tomb.

'" Women that watch'd around
His sepulchre have found,
Or thought, that angel forms were waiting there;
Sweet words of peace they spoke;
But on our ear they broke
Like idle tales that did but mock despair."

'There is a kindling now
Upon the stranger's brow;
A look of high rebuke, and yet as mild
As when, with sorrow fraught
To mark some erring thought,
A father's stedfast glance reproves his child.

'" And do ye thus believe
The Prophets? thus receive
That very suff'ring Christ by them foretold?
Is not his reign begun
In that rejected One,
Who shall on Judah's land the sceptre hold?

'And then, in sacred lore,
He bade them ponder o'er
All it became Messiah to endure:—
To draw his suff'ring breath,
And, in the grasp of death,
To make his everlasting throne secure.

'What is the stranger's name?
His words, like holy flame,
Are breathed into each weary mourner's heart;
But is he passing on?
And will he thus be gone?
No,—thus they will not, cannot, let him part.

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'" Stranger," they cry, " abide,
'Tis the late eventide;
Tarry awhile, and at Emmaus rest."
He enters,—Oh that scene!
How blessedly serene!—
They have their own meek Master for their guest.

'Yet He is still unknown;
A veil is round Him thrown,
They cannot see the living Lord aright.
And when He rais'd his head,
And bless'd and brake the bread,
And did as He was wont, He vanish'd from their sight.

'But that one look benign,
So human, so divine,
Was life immortal flashing through the gloom:
'Twas more than hope restor'd,
It was the risen Lord!
And Joseph's cave was now an empty tomb.

'Again they seem to hear,
Chiding their faithless fear,
Those gentle words he utter'd by the way:
While in their hearts they burn'd,
As now their faith discern'd
The brightness of Messiah's coming day.

'And, on his praise intent,
Their holy zeal unspent,—
To guilty, sad Jerusalem, they fled.
And where the Lord had slept,
Where still the faithful wept,—
They came, his resurrection joy to shed.

'The triumph on his brow
Was light about them now;
Their spirits yet with his sweet presence shined,
Bright with reflected grace,
As when the Hebrew's face
Told of the glory past,—by glory left behind.' pp. 157—63.

There is so much graphic beauty and so much of the unity of idea which is appropriate to the Sonnet in the following beautiful lines, that we regret that it is *not* a sonnet, the versification being at variance with the laws which give to that species of poem its peculiar character.

'Hagar in the Desert.

'Genesis xvi.

'Ages have pass'd, since that poor bondmaid's sigh,
With its lone echo, on the fountain slept—
Since Hagar lifted up her voice and wept;
What time the Angel of the Lord drew nigh,

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And hail'd the future mother of that child,—
Soon, in Arabian solitudes, to be
The Father of the fearless and the free,
The princes of the desert, stern and wild.
But wherefore was her tale of sorrow told?
Mourner, the chronicle should dry thy tear,—
The Angel of the promise spoke for thee.
'Tis now, as in the wilderness of old.
Art thou alone like Hagar? God will *hear*.
Art thou like her deserted? God will *see*.' p. 14.

The subject is continued in two other *quatorzains*.

We have already referred to the following lyric, which is in very lofty strain.

'APOSTROPHE TO JEREMIAH.

'"How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people!
"How is she become as a widow!
"She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces,
"How is she become tributary!
"For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water."—Lamentations i. 1, 16.

'VOICE of her tears! watch of her mournful night!
Where art thou, with thy dirge note, and thy light?
About the broken towers,
And desolated bowers,
O the beloved city?—or on high,
Keeping thine angel guard o'er the dark sky?
And from some lonely star,
With minstrelsy afar,
Telling the tale of woe that gave it birth,
In strains too sad for heaven—too sweet for earth.

'Ah! how that pure and melancholy ray
Seems lighting us along the weary way,
To look at Zion's fall,
Where, at the ruin'd wall
Of her proud palace, with its widow'd throne,
Is breathed her deep and tributary groan.
And now that guiding light,
Within the awful sight
Of her demolish'd temple, ling'ring long,
Wakes the deep tones of thy lamenting song.

'O gentle Prophet! was thy love so true
To Judah in her sorrows? Was the dew
Of thy sad fervent prayer
Wept over her despair?

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Couldst thou forgive thy cruel wrong so well,
While her fierce anger on thy warning fell?
Could selfish passion find,
For thy free holy mind,
No bribe to bid thy tongue its plaint forego,
Or make thine heart forget—Jerusalem in woe?

'Before the terror of her guilty wrath,
Stretch'd to defy thee in thy judgment path;
Thy stedfast zeal could dare
Jehovah's word to bear—
The stern rebuke her pride abhorr'd to hear—
Dread as his thunder on her startled ear.
Unmindful of thy doom,—
The dungeon, or the tomb,
Thou didst on Judah's soul the burden lay,
And tell her of the dark and woful day.

'But when it came—that day by thee foretold,—
When o'er her palace and her temple roll'd
The storm of heathen rage,—
Answering thy dire presage
Of righteous vengeance—terrible as just,
That laid the brow of Zion in the dust.
Touch'd with her low estate,
All mindless of her hate,
'Mid her thick gath'ring gloom of captive years,
Gush'd forth the fountain of thy bitter tears.

'That woe is past;—and from the earth is swept
The might empire in whose chain she wept.
Her exile sighs no more
On Babel's willow'd shore;
But the sad wail of thy prophetic lyre
Hath left an echo that shall ne'er expire,
Till Judah shall return
From her last sad sojourn,
And with repentant heart and supplicant knee,
Before the Great and Holy One shall be.

'Then, thy lamenting voice, dear sainted seer,
Shall melodize with joy. Thy frequent tear
Be in our joyful sight,
A gem of morning light;—
Not as it fell in Zion's midnight hour,
While she lay withering like a blasted flower.
Then, every sweeter tone
That mingled with thy groan,
Breathing the promise through thy mournful strain,
Shall wake in God's Jerusalem again.

'Yes—He whose blessed eye hath o'er her wept,
With sadder watch than thine, O Prophet, kept!

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That mark'd her with a woe
No heart but his could know;
Yet made not for that pang his tender plea,
But said, " Oh, weep for Zion, not for me."
He shall forget the scorn
That wreath'd his brow with thorn,
And round his throne shall bid her children sing,
Not to their *dying* but their *deathless* king.

' Yes—He shall come, and o'er the wasted land
Stretch the glad signal of his sceptred hand;
He, whose bright reign, foretold
In prophecy of old,
Long since awoke the desert with that voice,
That soon shall bid Jerusalem rejoice:
Nor Babylon, nor Rome,
Shall vex his sacred home;—
But the exulting earth shall echo still,
The Lord is King upon his holy hill.' pp. 99—105.

We must indulge in one more extract, and then commend the volume to all the lovers of sacred poetry.

' " Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."—Mark xvi. 15.

' When light and loveliness had sprung
From chaos, dark and drear;
All the glad sons of morning sung,
And shouted o'er the sphere.

' But where, with lineaments divine,
The man immortal stood;
A ray more god-like seem'd to shine,
More beautifully good.

' The day-star still ascends the sky,
Still glow the morning hours;
But where is He, whose opening eye
Was light, in Eden's bow'rs.

' Where is the lofty brow unblench'd,
That in the garden smiled?
Lo! with its beam of glory quench'd,
Dejected in the wild.

' Forsaken there,—defiled, abhorr'd,
Shall hell the victim own,
And bind creation's vanquish'd lord,
A trophy to her throne?

' No! for Jehovah's Son hath bled,
That guilty one to spare;
And holds him to the heart that shed
Its blood to place him there.

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'Go then, ye messengers of grace,
With banner wide unfurl'd;
Go,—woo for Him the recreant race,
And gather back the world.

'Go,—break the sleep of ages past,
Through Asia's dark abodes;
Go,—burst the fetters of her caste,
And bind her demon gods.

'Go,—where the weary exile's sigh
Breathes o'er the western flood,
Where God hath seen, with loathing eye,
The stain of Afric's blood.

'Bring from the southern isles afar,
Jehovah's sons again;
And call them, where the northern star
Is blazing o'er the main.

'Say to the peopled earth, "Be still,"
Messiah takes his throne,—
The king is on his holy hill!
Let man the sceptre own.' pp. 96—98.

Art. XIII. *Picture of the New Town of Herne Bay.* By a Lady. With a Map and Engravings. 18mo. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* London, 1835.

THERE is a graphic character in this little work, which justly entitles it to the name of a *picture* rather than a mere guide to the place and vicinity which it delineates. Indeed, it constitutes a sort of *panorama* of this new—and (we understand) fashionable place of resort. To those who may visit Herne Bay, the little production before us will prove an agreeable *compagnon de voyage;* and, as the success of the sketch seems to the fair Authoress a matter of some solicitude, we heartily hope that her wishes may be realized. Guides to watering places are for the most part sorry affairs; but the one before us constitutes a pleasing exception to the general rule.

Art. XIV. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Grecian Architecture.—The Antiquities of Athens, accurately measured and delineated by James Stuart, F.R.S. and F.S.A., and Nicholas Revett, Painters and Architects, is now in course of Publication.—The present advanced state of architectural knowledge requires in the Professor an intimate acquaintance with the best specimens of ancient art: hitherto, this work, to which the Architecture of Great Britain is so largely indebted, has been confined to the library of the opulent: but the mode of publication, now for the first time adopted in this

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edition, will place it within the reach of every student of this noble science. The elaborate and minute accuracy of the details described in these Plates, renders it an invaluable text-book, presenting a series of working drawings of the most perfect character; as in every instance the measurements are ascertained and inserted with the most scrupulous precision. The re-issue of this magnificent work, to be completed in Eighty Parts, at Five Shillings each, will be continued with as much rapidity as a due attention to careful workmanship will permit: it will form four folio volumes. It is stipulated, on the part of the Proprietor, that the Work shall not exceed the above-mentioned number of Parts, even including the additional Plates and Text. Any Part may be procured, separate. This celebrated Work will contain upwards of Four Hundred Plates, (many engraved expressly for this Edition,) by eminent artists; accompanied by Essays, architectural, classical, historical, explanatory, and descriptive, elucidating, by a research of many years' arduous labour and great expense, the purest examples of Grecian Architecture, several of which no longer exist, and the traces of them can be found only in this elegant and elaborate publication. The Sculptures, &c. marked *B. M.* are now in the British Museum, or casts from them: those marked *D.* have been utterly destroyed since these drawings were taken. The Engravings are by Aliamet, Basire, Baxter, Blake, Couse, Dadley, Davis, Fourdrinier, Grignion, Hall, Harding, Landseer, Lerpiniere, Wilson Lowry, Mazell, Medland, Moses, Newton, Record, Rooker, Sharp, Skelton, Smith, Stothard, R.A., Strange, Taylor, Thornwaite, Turrell, Walker, Wollett, &c.

Shortly will be published, in imperial 4to, price Two Shillings and Sixpence, Part I. of Grecian Sculpture; a Series of Engravings of the most celebrated specimens of ancient Art, (a great portion of which is now in the British Museum,) in numerous instances exhibiting the figures as they were previously to their present state of mutilation; also comprising accurate copies of many subjects which have been totally destroyed subsequently to these representations having been delineated. Originally published in Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens, with numerous important additions. Engraved on upwards of two hundred and fifty plates, and exhibiting more than one thousand figures, forming a matchless collection of exquisite examples for the student of the Fine Arts, of pictorial authorities for the classical scholar, and of the most interesting specimens of Antiquity which can engage the attention and excite the investigation of the Dilettante. With historical, descriptive, and explanatory remarks. The Statues, Bassi-relievi, &c., in this Collection, are principally from the following Edifices. The Parthenon, at Athens;—the Temple of Theseus, at Athens;—the Temple of Aglauros, at Athens;—the Temple of the Winds, at Athens;—the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, frequently denominated the Lanthorn of Demosthenes;—the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus;—the Monument of Philopappus;—the Incantada at Salonicha: with a considerable variety of detached subjects, statues, bassi-relievi, figures, vases, altars, arms and armour, crowns, inscriptions, medals, views, architectural details and ornaments, &c. The drawings are by James Stuart, and Nicholas Revett, Painters and

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Architects, Wm. Pars, Travelling Professor of the Fine Arts, under the patronage of the Dilettante Society, Willey Reveley, Esq., Architect, and Sir F. L. Chantrey, R.A. Engraved by Aliamet, Basire, Baxter, Blake, Grignion, Hall, Landseer, Moses, Newton, Sharp, Skelton, Stothard, R.A., Strange, Taylor, &c.

Roman Architecture.—The Architectural Antiquities of Rome, accurately measured and delineated, by Antoine Desgodetz, Architect Royal to the King of France, and Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy of the Fine Arts, at Paris. The Text translated and the Plates engraved by George Marshall, Architect: this Publication has arrived at the completion of the First Volume. It will contain One Hundred and Forty-one Plates; the subjects are selected from the most esteemed specimens of Roman architectural magnificence, with descriptions and explanations. To be completed in Twenty-one Parts, at Five Shillings each, forming two folio volumes. The original price was Ten Guineas, The present mode of publication is intended to place it within the reach of Students. Any Part may be procured, separate. Parts I. to X. contain Vol. I.—Parts XI. to XXI. will contain Vol. II.—so that the possessors of incomplete sets may perfect their copies. The scientific merits of these highly esteemed representations of the architectural treasures of the Empress of the World are well known, and have occupied a prominent situation in literature ever since their publication; they have constantly been resorted to as models for our public edifices, and as furnishing highly esteemed details for the decorations of domestic architecture. The Pupil who wishes to avoid many modern architectural barbarisms, will find this work indispensable. In size it ranges with Stuart's Athens.

Preparing for Publication, A History of British India, from the Termination of the War with the Mahrattas in 1805 to the Renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833. By Edward Thornton, Esq., Author of "India; its State and Prospects." The work will be completed in two volumes, 8vo. The first volume will be published immediately, and the second shortly afterwards.

A Volume of Sermons, by Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, is in the Press, and shortly will be published.

Art. XV. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

TRAVELS.

Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan, with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society. By Emma Roberts, Author of "Memoirs of the Rival Houses of York and Lancaster," "Oriental Scenes," &c., &c. 3 vols. post 8vo, 27*s*.

Greece and the Levant; or Diary of a Summer's Excursion in 1834. By the Rev. Richard Burgess, B.D., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 2 vols. fcap. 8vo, 14*s*.

Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa; with an Appendix, containing some Account of the recent Irruption of the Caffres. By Andrew Steedman. With a Map, and numerous Engravings, 2 vols. 8vo, 24*s*.

Journal of a Visit to Constantinople, and some of the Greek Islands, in the Spring and Summer of 1833. By John Auldjo, Esq., F.G.S., Author of "Ascent of Mount Blanc." In 8vo, with Plates, from Drawings by the Author, 10*s*. 6*d*.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR OCTOBER, 1835.

Art. I. 1. *The Rambler in North America:* MDCCCXXXII—MDCCCXXXIII. By Charles Joseph Latrobe, Author of the Alpenstock, &c. 2 vols. sm. 8vo. pp. 658. Price 16*s*. London, 1835.

2. *Tour of the American Lakes, and among the Indians of the North-West Territory in* 1830: disclosing the Character and Prospects of the Indian Race. By C. Colton. In two volumes. 12mo. pp. xxxii. 704. Price 18*s*. London, 1833.

3. *New England and her Institutions.* By One of her Sons. Sm. 8vo. pp. 393. London, 1835.

4. *The American Almanack and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year* 1835. Boston, U.S.

IF the influence of public opinion in this country is to be brought to act with any force or beneficial effect upon the Transatlantic community, it must be public opinion competently informed as to the real state of things, and directed by a judicious discrimination of the good and evil which are found co-existing, as every where else, in American Society and American Institutions. The aspect of the Federal Republic at this moment is one which might seem almost to menace the breaking up of the social system. All the powers of government seem to be weakened. Popular tumults, oligarchical atrocities, negro conspiracies, commercial embarrassments, party conflicts, and general agitation seem to have overspread the whole of the Union; and the more intelligent and thoughtful of her citizens are beginning to express their doubt and wonder where all this is to end. 'This comes of Republicanism,' says one wiseacre in this country. 'Such are the consequences of having no ecclesiastical establishment,' says another. 'Yes, see what it is to have no house of lords, and a senate without bishops,' says a third! 'Now, gentlemen,' said Sir Robert Peel, at the recent Tamworth dinner, after adverting

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to the distressing statements contained in the American papers*, 'if you will only bear in mind what has been the issue of similar 'experiments, you will not very much indulge with a popular 'government.' What, then! have similar disorders never occurred under monarchical and despotic governments? There have been riots at Baltimore: have there not been riots in Berlin? Lynch-law has been inflicted upon a gang of gamblers at Vicksburg: were there not as lawless and atrocious proceedings against the Jews, the other day, at Hamburg? Or, to come nearer home, does Sir Robert forget the church and king mob of Birmingham in 1791, or the No-Popery riots of 1780? How shallow and delusive, then, is the declamation—argument we cannot call it—which makes the popular constitution of the American government chargeable with evils occurring under every form of government, but which, in the American Republic, are confessedly a phenomenon.

When we come to look a little more closely into the origin and nature of the disorders referred to, we shall find that they are neither directed against the Government, nor indicative of any weakness or relaxation of the governing power. The civil feuds in the North find their parallel in the fierce contest which was excited in this country by the first efforts of a virtuous band of philanthropists to obtain the legislative abolition of the Slave Trade. The treatment which Mr. Clarkson, in particular, met with from the people of Liverpool and Bristol fifty years ago, was not very different from that which Mr. Thomson has had to encounter from the Anti-abolitionists on the other side of the Atlantic. His life was repeatedly threatened; and on one occasion, he appears to have had a narrow escape of being thrown over the pier-head at Liverpool†. Next, as to the servile wars in the South. The governments of South Carolina and Georgia are as 'popular,' and about as enlightened, as the legislatures of Jamaica and Barbadoes; and the Federal Government of the United States is not one whit more responsible for the atrocious legislation of those vile aristocrasies of slave-holders, than the British Government is for the murder of the Missionary Smith, the burning of the Baptist chapels in Jamaica, or the iniquities

* 'With civil feuds in the North, tumultuous proceedings of anarchical and fatal character in the West, and a servile war in the South, to say nothing of the factious and incendiary spirit which has lately broken out in the various parts of our Atlantic border, the country does in truth exhibit a spectacle to the European nations, which, we fear, will be commented upon in a way not calculated to recommend the example of a popular government.' New York Evening Post, as cited by Sir Robert Peel.

† Clarkson's History, Vol. I. p. 409.

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of the colonial penal code. The squabble between the two States of Ohio and Michigan about their respective boundaries, might, in old Europe, with a standing army on either side, especially if the belligerent principalities were backed by neighbouring powers, grow into a very pretty seven years' war; but, on the other side of the Alleghanies, such an affair is not likely to breed more serious consequences to the Federal Union, than could result to the crown of Great Britain from a dispute between the Hudson's Bay Company and the people of Canada about their frozen territories.

Ignorance or inconsideration alone can adduce these occurrences as a proof that, in America, there is any deficiency of the controlling power which belongs to what is termed a strong government. Those who imagine that the power of the people is absolute in the United States, will find it difficult to reconcile with that notion, the conduct of the present President, who put the strength of the constitution to a severe test in opposing, on the Bank question, the decision of the Congress, and, by the sole force of his prerogative, defeated the most powerful combination that ever arrayed itself against the Executive since the formation of the Union. Imagine a similar exertion of the prerogative on the part of the Minister of the Crown in this country, in opposition to Parliament and the commercial interest! What an outcry would it occasion against the Minister! Or, if it were known to be the personal act of the King, what murmurs would be heard against the stretch of prerogative! 'Old Hickory' has shewn himself, as to the power of government, 'every inch a king'; and we discover in recent occurrences no proofs of any disloyalty on the part of the American people towards the executive.

But the want of governing power, it may be said, is to be seen, not so much in the general government as in that of the several States. We ask for the evidence. Is it to be found in the tyrannical edicts, rigidly enforced, against freedom of religious worship, the liberty of the press, and the education of the slaves in the southern States? Even in the northern States, the laws are sufficiently severe, and the authority of the executive has always been respected. It is true, there have been riots. In some parts of New York and New England, we are told, 'Irish 'Papists have been hunted and mobbed'; and in Washington, the houses of some free negroes have been demolished by the anti-abolitionists. But an American might justly retort, that we have had Spa-fields riots, and Bristol riots, and Nottingham riots, and Dublin riots, in the old country; and the spirit of our Orangemen is very much like that which has broken out against the countrymen of O'Connell in America. Lawlessness and insubordination of this character, however, prove nothing more than a defective police, which does not necessarily imply either

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an inherent weakness in the Government or a general disloyalty in the people. The police of the slave-holding States is indeed as strong as need be. And, generally speaking, the assertion that in America there is 'a laxity in the laws, or a want of 'energy in administering them', is as contrary to fact, as the hypothesis which refers that assumed fact to the popular constitution of the Government is to common sense and experience.

The causes which are at this moment producing political agitation throughout every section of the Union, and filling the minds of the most thoughtful with alarm and perplexity, are such as, by the righteous ordination of Heaven, have ever wrought mischief and ruin to the community in whose social system they have inhered. In a word, the existence of SLAVERY, with its concomitant evils, will of itself account for all the feuds, and tumults, and jealousies which are menacing the peace of America, and the permanence of the Union. Upon this point, it is with no ordinary satisfaction that we find our statements fully sustained by the forcible representation of 'One of her Sons.' 'There is', says the intelligent author of "New England and her Institutions", 'but one opinion in New England, as to the 'iniquity of the system, the horrors with which it is replete, and 'the inevitable ruin which must accrue, if the evil be not speedily 'removed:

'It is true, that different individuals feel with different degrees of intensity upon this subject. Some are so excited and agitated by the appalling facts which are continually brought to light, that they are unable to reason soberly, or to speak calmly upon the subject. Others fold their arms in the indolent belief that nothing can be done, and that all effort is unavailing. Those, however, who feel most deeply interested in the subject, and whose consciences will not allow them to slumber when such a system of cruelty and injustice prevails in the land, are divided into two parties, the friends of colonization and the enemies of colonization. These parties are marshalled under the names of the Colonization Society and the Anti-slavery Society.'

After stating, with much candour and fairness, the counter-reasonings of the two adverse parties, both professing to be alike anxious for the extinction of slavery, the Writer proceeds to say, that many of the former friends of colonization have become convinced of the futility of that plan, and are now its decided opponents.

'Still, at the present moment, the great mass of the intellectual and moral worth of the land is decidedly in favour of colonization. The Anti-slavery Society has been, however, during the past year, and now is, rapidly gaining converts from its numbers. Not a few are greatly perplexed respecting the path of duty..... Such is the present state of the public mind in New England upon this agitating question; and society here is agitated upon it, to its very centre. The

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waters of the body politic are troubled. A storm is gathering, upon which many are looking with fear and dread. What the result will be, He only knows who rides upon the tempest, and who rules the elements. There are not a few who fear that, without some providential interposition, bloodshed must finally ensue. *Slavery is the fruitful source of nearly all our national difficulties.* This great national sin is continually exciting suspicion, and producing alienation between the South and the North. *It is the origin of the Tariff strife, and the parent of Nullification.* There is many a northerner who is resolved to give himself no rest, till every slave in the land goes free. There is many a southerner who is resolved to see the Union severed, and his wife, and his children, and himself weltering in blood, before he will submit to northern interference.

'The prospect before us is a dark one. Our only hope is in the interposition of that God who has already carried us through so many scenes of danger. The Lord has not a few in the land who are the self-denying followers of his Son. Their prayers are daily directed to Him, that He will avert the approaching calamity. It cannot, it must not be, that our country will long be disgraced with so foul a stain. Such a comment upon our Declaration of Independence, such a caricature of our loud-vaunted freedom, cannot long be endured. God is overwhelming us with shame in view of the inconsistency. The clanking of chains is heard at the very door of our Capitol. The negro-driver cracks his whip, as he passes the senators and representatives in the streets of Washington. The husband and the wife, the mother and the child, are sold at public auction in our southern cities, and by the power of the lash torn from each other's embrace, and carried into hopeless bondage, never again to meet. Can such things long exist in a land of Bibles, and of Sabbaths, and of the preached Gospel? At this enlightened period of the world, and in a country feeling, as America does, the influence of the light, and the learning, and the piety of other lands, is it possible that slavery, in all these its most revolting features, can long be sustained? It surely is impossible: some means must be, and will be devised to remove the curse, and to let the oppressed go free.

'*The noble stand which England has made, with all her heavy burden of debt, in assuming new and weighty responsibilities, that the slaves of her colonies may be liberated, has produced an impression in this country which can never be obliterated.* It has quickened the zeal of those who were already zealous. It has aroused the slumbering energies of many who have heretofore been dormant. It has given to our country a solitude of eminence in guilt which is far from enviable. . . . The Anti-slavery Society is comparatively small, and as uninfluential in the character of its leaders. But it is progressing with a rapidity that is astonishing. Every day witnesses its triumphs. Every movement augments its ranks. Every appeal increases its converts. Judging from the results of the past year, it would not be strange to me, if in two years it should increase in numbers and in influence so as to outstrip the Colonization Society. . . . . Now the press begins to lift its voice in louder and still louder thunders; the pulpit begins to plead more earnestly; the mind of the community is excited, intensely

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excited; and it will not again be stilled, till the year of jubilee has come, and the slaves go free.' *New England,* &c., pp. 92—109.

Everlasting honour be to the noble band of American patriots who are exerting themselves to remove the curse from their country, in spite of the scorn, and ridicule, and threats, and personal danger to which they are exposed. But may we now be permitted to ask, whether the popular constitution of the American Government is to be blamed for the bitter fruits of that evil legacy of slavery entailed upon them by the Tory government of George III.? 'Slavery was devolved upon us by Great Bri-'tain,' say the Carolinian slave-owners; and although we cannot admit the validity of the plea as an excuse for retaining the slaves in predial bondage, much less for the revival of the *trade* in all its atrocity, still, it is proper to bear in mind, that the original sin does not lie at the door of Republicanism. And further, before we could reasonably recommend to the Americans, as a remedy for the social disorder and intestine animosity attributable to this fertile source of evil, an ecclesiastical establishment and a house of hereditary legislators, we must forget how long the court, the peerage, and the Established Church of our own country were identified with that policy which perpetuated the African slave-trade, and how long they resisted the abolition of that accursed piracy, even after the representatives of the people had pronounced upon it an emphatic sentence of condemnation*. A reformed House of Commons, reflecting the moral sentiments of the British people, would have abolished the trade twenty years earlier; and it was the extinction of the Tory nomination boroughs which sealed the fate of Colonial Slavery.

The volume from which we have taken the preceding extracts, gives us a more complete insight into the interior character of society in New England than any work which we have yet seen. It is neither a satire nor a eulogy. The Writer tells us, that 'he 'can see much in his native land to love, and not a little to de-'plore.' The spirit in which he describes the manners and peculiarities of his countrymen is similar to that in which our patriotic poet apostrophizes the old country:—

'England, with all thy faults I love thee still.'

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* The jackal Biographer of Johnson, in protesting against the sentiments of his master in condemnation of the slave-trade, consoles himself that the 'wild and dangerous attempt to abolish so necessary a branch of commercial interest,' would be resisted by the hereditary wisdom of the peers. 'To abolish that trade,' he says, 'would be to "shut the gates of mercy on mankind." Whatever may have passed elsewhere concerning it, *the House of Lords is wise and independent!*'

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'If,' he says, 'these delineations shall make the inhabitants of 'New England more rightly prize their institutions, or shall com- 'municate to the inquiring elsewhere correct information respect- 'ing our country, the object of the Writer will be attained.' The sketches are ten in number; and the titles will give a general notion of the contents.

'I. The Farmer.—II. Ecclesiastical Organization.—III. The Church.—IV. The Revival.—V. Slavery.—VI. The Insurrection. —VII. Holidays.—VIII. College Life.—IX. The District School.— X. The Village Choir.'

The second chapter contains much valuable information, and presents a very pleasing view of the state and prospects of the people of New England as regards their religious condition. We scarcely could have expected to find in a volume issued from the depository and focus of anti-Dissenterism, such a passage as the following noble testimony to the efficiency of the Voluntary Principle.

'Our church members are continually disciplined in the Christian duty of contributing of their property to advance the cause of Christ. And if that cause cannot be sustained in this way, we are satisfied that it can be sustained in none other. All that we ask of the government is, to *let us alone*. The only protection we desire, is the protection which every honest man and good citizen deserves.

'An appeal to the feelings of the Christian is almost invariably successful. And these appeals have been so successful in our churches, that the Societies of Christian benevolence, numerous as they are in our country, are in a state of high and increasing prosperity. The habit of contributing money—of making pecuniary sacrifices to sustain the cause of Christ, exerts so beneficial an influence upon the hearts of Christians, that, in almost all cases, permanent funds are considered a curse, rather than a blessing. There is hardly an intelligent Christian to be found in the New England States, who does not feel that almost the greatest possible calamity which could befal the church, would be the patronage of the government.

'A few ignorant and unprincipled men, as they see the unwearied activity of Christians, and the triumphant success which is crowning their cause, endeavour to excite odium against religion by raising the cry of "Church and State." And some are so easily duped, as really to believe that Christians desire to make converts by law, and to build up churches by penal statutes. But the fact is, that almost every intelligent Christian in the land says to the government, "Protect us in our rights, as men and citizens, but as Christians let us alone." Whether the Christian community is correct in these views or not, it is not for me to decide. My object is, to state facts, without eulogy or censure.

'It may also be stated, that the result of every year's experience, confirms Christians in these views. They are more and more convinced that there is no mode of operation so energetic and effectual, as

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that of voluntary association. It is this which has rolled back the tide of intemperance which was heaving its surges over our land. It is this which is planting churches in every little village in our western wilderness, and supplying those churches with pastors. It is this which is placing a Bible in every dwelling, and establishing Sabbath schools within the reach of all the children of the land. It is this which has converted Hawaii, dark and dismal as she once was, to a Christian place, and has gathered her roaming children to the school and the church. It is this which is now instructing the rangers of our own western wilds, and which is spreading out an increasing influence to all quarters of the globe.

'No! Christians ask not for the aid of government. They ask only for the hearts and the energies of Christ's devoted friends. With these, they believe that the triumphs of Christianity will be carried to every shore, and through every land. Every man is at perfect liberty to pay for the institutions of the Gospel or not, as he pleases. If he is an infidel, and does not wish to pay for the support of religion in any shape, no one troubles him. Each individual pays to what denomination he pleases, and what sum he pleases, and no more. Office and honour are alike open to all. Each one, without reference to religious belief, enjoys all the privileges our country affords.

'Truth is thus left to the defence of those who love her cause, and we would not have it otherwise. As there can be no compulsory conversion, so neither would we have the cause of Christ sustained by compulsory support. And we do believe that no greater calamity could befal the American churches, than for the government, during the ensuing year, to erect a church in every village, and take those churches under its fostering care. We feel an assurance that the result would be to make religion suspected and odious to the people, and to fill the pulpit with worldly men, grasping only at the honours and emoluments of the office. A few years would shew that the energies of the church were paralysed, and the land would be enveloped in spiritual death. Whatever may be said of the destitution of religious instruction, in the new settlements of our western territory, Christians do not believe that government influence will remove that destitution. The only way in which it can be done, is by that energy which animated the primitive Christians, and which now animates many an American church: it is by sending men, who, with the spirit and self-denial of Paul, will be willing to spend their lives in the incessant labours which these new countries require.' pp. 42—45.

'Far as the churches are from the standard of duty required in the Bible, great as is the distance they walk behind the Saviour, they are perfectly convinced that no good would be accomplished by calling in the aid of the civil government. They do most undoubtingly believe that God will accomplish the redemption of the world by rousing the church to more vigorous efforts, and not by calling in the assistance of those who do not love his cause.

'Those who in this land are raising the outcry of "Church and State," may be satisfied that there is no measure against which Christians would more strenuously contend. We rejoice that we here can meet upon an unobstructed arena, and commend truth to the protec-

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tion of her own lawful weapons. With those weapons she is now triumphing; she is carrying her conquests through the land, and those who hate her reign, tremble, as they see that her reign is approaching.'
New England, pp. 46, 47.

The statements and reasonings of the Writer have not, however, been suffered to pass through the Thames Ditton press without animadversion; and the Editor's impeachment of the statistical calculations taken from the American Quarterly Register will require notice. The extreme exaggeration of that document, it is remarked, is seen at a moment, 'if the various 'items are only added together on the basis laid down at the 'commencement of the statement; of reckoning a gross population 'of nine for each actual member of a church.' Thus calculated, the entire number of persons belonging to some one or other of the various religious bodies in the United States, would exceed the whole actual population by four or five millions. That an American writer should have fallen into so ridiculous a miscalculation, is quite incredible; and the truth is, the blunder upon which this charge of exaggeration rests, is the Editor's. No such basis of calculation is laid down, except in the particular case of the Orthodox Congregationalists. That denomination embraces, in New England, the mass of the community as to numbers, wealth, and intelligence; and it is confined pretty nearly to that section of the United States. 'Estimating the ministers and churches 'not connected with the State Associations, as well as those 'which are, and also the churches and ministers of the same 'denomination *out of New England*,' the American Writer says, 'we may place the total as follows: 1100 ministers; 1250 'churches; 155,000 communicants. Estimating the communi-'cants as one ninth of the population, the whole population will 'be 1,395,000.' The number of communicants is a fact easily ascertained; and we may take it for granted that this estimate rests upon actual returns. If, then, the number of the population represented by that of the communicants be too large, it would follow that the communicants are still more numerous in proportion to the population than is here assumed; that, consequently, the religious condition of New England is still more in advance of the state of things in this country, than had been imagined. Is this what the Editor would have us infer?

Of these 1100 ministers, and 1250 churches, according to the American Quarterly Register, New England contains 803 pastors and 1044 churches, with 94,865 communicants, exclusive of those in the 226 churches of Connecticut, of which the return is not given. Taking these at 25,000, we shall have in round numbers 120,000 communicants, which would, on the assumed basis of calculation, give a population of 1,080,000. The total po-

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pulation of New England is nearly two millions; and we see nothing incredible in the supposition, that one half may be considered as belonging to the denomination which comprises 'the 'mass of the community'. The Orthodox Baptist Congregationalists of New England compose 738 churches, with 65,540 communicants. The Protestant Episcopal Church has, within the dioceses of Vermont, Connecticut, and the Eastern Diocese, 138 clergymen *. There are twenty-one Roman Catholic chapels in the diocese of the Romish bishop of Boston. The Unitarians have about 150 churches in New England †. There are also, in a few places, some respectable Methodist Societies. We are unable to give the numbers of communicants belonging to these several denominations; but they comprise altogether a small proportion of the population. The Orthodox Congregationalists and the Baptists compose the two principal sects of the New England States; and the former is, of the two, much the more influential and numerous.

In no other part of the United States, however, would so large a proportion of the people be found actually belonging, by attendance, to some one or other of the several religious denominations; for in no other part has such ample provision been made for the instruction of the people. To suppose that the statement was meant to apply to the southern States, where the slaves form from one-third to one-half of the population, or to the newly settled back woods, to States where the total number of inhabitants is not above two or three to the square league,—is so palpable an absurdity, that we are at a loss to conceive how the Editor of this volume could have committed the ludicrous blunder upon which he founds his remark, that 'the scale would yield for the whole 'of the United States,' nearly eighteen millions of '*professors*'. If we would compare England and America in respect to the public provision of religious instruction, and the actual attendance upon public worship, we ought in fairness to limit the comparison to the Northern and Middle States; or, if we take the whole of the Union into our account, it would be but reasonable to extend the comparison, on the other side, to those portions of the Empire which most nearly correspond to the Southern and Western States, — say, Jamaica, the Cape Colony, and Australia.

* 'In most of the principal towns, there are highly respectable and influential Episcopal societies; but you find none in the country, unless here and there some single individual, by his own personal influence, retain one in struggling existence.'

† 'In the eastern part of Massachusetts, in the principal towns, the Unitarians embrace most of the wealth and literary and political influence. But their influence is hardly felt, except in a few counties around Boston.'

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It is needless to say how little the comparison, taken either way, would be to the advantage of the Mother Country. The Editor of this volume 'concedes most willingly, that the series of expe-'riments,' as he terms the American Institutions, (and this is Sir Robert Peel's phrase,) 'has been more than moderately suc-'cessful.' 'Still,' he adds, 'how vast is the leap which remains 'to be taken, before we can get from this admission to the in-'ference, that it would be wise to sweep away all the towers and 'fortresses of our ancient strength, in order to make a clear field 'on which to try just such another experiment here.' It would be a sufficient reply to this argument in figure, to say, that towers and fortresses need not be swept away because the invention of artillery has destroyed their strength, or because, what is still better, a good police has rendered every cottage a fortress. The question is not, whether it would be wise to destroy any of our existing Institutions, but whether the example of America might not direct and encourage the endeavour to improve their efficiency. The following remarks have been suffered to appear without annotation from the Editor, and they will require no comment from us.

'There are some churches possessed of funds sufficient to support the minister, and consequently no tax is imposed upon the society. These funds generally originate in the bequest of some individual, who hopes, by the establishment of a permanent fund, to give permanency to the preaching of the Gospel. But in not a few instances, these funds are already perverted to the support of a system of religion directly at variance with that which it was the intention of the donor to sustain. In other cases, the fund has been a constant and most fruitful source of bickering and contention between the church and society. And in other cases, the people, in consequence of the sufficiency of the fund, not being called upon to make any sacrifices to sustain the institutions of the Gospel, have lost their interest in those institutions. As they cost them nothing, they regard them as of little worth. In many cases, a fund has thus proved a cancer, consuming the whole energies of the church. Such societies being unaccustomed to contribute for the support of the Gospel, cherish the feeling of inability to give; and instead of manifesting greater liberality than others, in the benevolent operations of the day, they are the most inoperative and inefficient societies in the land.

'The cases are so rare, in which church funds are found to be a blessing, and the cases are so numerous, in which they operate most calamitously to the interests of religion, that the general impression is now, that they are far from desirable. This sentiment has been gaining strength for many years, and now the prevailing and almost universal feeling is, that churches and societies of benevolence, even, do far better to rely upon the piety of each successive generation for support. If this reliance fail, permanent funds are good for nothing. If this reliance do not fail, it is far better for the church, that the

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resources of the past generation should have been expended in meeting the wants of that generation, and that its energies should not have been retarded by entailment.

'The sentiment here is strong, and is daily growing stronger, that the more entirely religion is thrown for its support, upon the friends of the Redeemer, the better. We do not desire a church establishment, for, whether rightly or wrongly, we *do think* it would be our curse. And we do not desire to see our clergy possessed of any peculiar privileges, and to glitter in the pomp of power, or in the rich endowments of wealth; for we believe that political power and a princely income would throw them into circumstances of temptation, almost too powerful for human nature to resist. And though, *if* the Christian minister would use this power and this wealth, with singleness of heart, to promote the Saviour's cause, much good might be done, we fear to intrust him with them, for we think it much more probable that he would be induced to indulge in a worldly spirit, or to lay aside the self-denying toil of a servant of Jesus Christ. We wish to see his ambassadors men of faith and prayer, of self-denial, and of many labours; we wish to see them men who love their studies, and who love their flocks; men who are willing to work hard, and endure much, that they may save souls. We wish to see men of vigorous minds and of varied learning, who will lay all their treasures at the feet of Jesus, and in the pulpit, and the dwellings of obscurity, preach Christ and him crucified. Such men do not often come from the dwellings of magnificence, or adorned with the trappings of political power. They are men who, having food and raiment, are therewith content; who, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, are ready to endure hardships.

'The number of such clergymen is continually increasing. Truth being left to the sole defence of argument, the clergy are incited to more diligent study, and to most unwearied zeal. They cannot throw out random assertions without being called upon for proof. They are compelled, by a constant influence from without, to look into the intricacies of the subject they discuss. The people are in the habit of demanding reasons, not assertions; and the acceptable preacher must be prepared with his strong reasons, and be ready to meet objections.

'There is no class of students in our country, who, taken as a class, study half so much as our Theological students. While in the Theological Seminary, they are continually warned by fathers who are engaged in active service, that, when they come out into the world, intellect will be taxed to the utmost, and that unless they become thoroughly furnished, they cannot meet the exigencies of the times.

'Every one feels that he has no advantages over the enemies of the gospel, except that they are advocating error, while he advocates truth. And the Christian minister feels that he must be prepared, in science, and literature, and philosophy, to meet his opponents, whoever they may be.' *New England*, pp. 66—69.

We must now lay aside this volume, and turn from ecclesiastical statistics, and all subjects of angry debate, to look at America through another medium:—for the Traveller with whom we

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are about to start, carries with him an atmosphere which makes every object picturesque, by the glow which it casts over the landscape. With Mr. Latrobe, if every thing is not *couleur de rose*, all sorts of colours mix up in a pleasing effect. If not a profound thinker, he is a practical philosopher. If we do not always agree with him, we should find it morally impossible to quarrel with him. Washington Irving could not have fallen in with a more congenial or delightful companion.

'I longed', says our Rambler, 'to wander among the details of that sublime scenery which the fancy associates with the New World, as so peculiarly her own,—her wide-spread streams, interminable forests, and foaming cataracts; and to be a guest in the lodges of that race of whom men speak as doomed speedily to disappear from the face of the earth. I desired to follow, into their places of refuge and retreat, the crowd of human beings which the last two centuries had sent in annual swarms upon the pathway opened across the great western waters by the constancy and patient daring of Columbus;—men of all nations, of all ranks and degrees; those of unsullied purity of life and character, and others who were steeped to the lips in crime;—the patriot, the dreamer after Utopian schemes of happiness or liberty;—men goaded by political and religious persecution;—the disappointed in heart and purpose;—hundreds incited by speculation, thousands by poverty;—the tens of thousands who, having all to hope and nothing to lose, had disappeared from the countries of the East,—had gone and seemingly buried themselves under the deep shade of the western forest, or beneath the tall grass of the western prairie.'

Latrobe, Vol. I. pp. 6, 7.

In the second week of April, 1832, our Author sailed from Havre, in company with young Count de Pourtales, (already known to the readers of Washington Irving's Tour in the Prairies,) and Geoffrey Crayon himself, who was returning to his native country, after seventeen years' absence. On the 21st of May, they cast anchor off the coast of New York. The acquaintance begun with Mr. Irving at Havre, and cemented on ship-board, was resumed on shore, and led to a series of common projects and common wanderings, which kept the trio together for the greater part of the summer and autumn. The readers of Mr. Irving's delightful sketch of some of these wanderings, will not be displeased at having the tale told over again by another of the party, and at being re-introduced, in these volumes, to some old acquaintance. It is not often that we have the advantage of comparing the accounts of the same scenes and occurrences, given by two such fellow-travellers.

The month of June was employed in visiting Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; a sort of skirmishing preparatory to the summer's campaign. Mr. Latrobe passes rapidly over this well-beaten ground. His first impressions of America, he says,

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were every way pleasing: he saw the country and the society at the happiest season, and under the best auspices. He seems to have been particularly struck with the country in the neighbourhood of Baltimore, now in its prime of beauty.

'The numberless white four-petalled flowers of the dog-wood, which we had left, in the latitude of New York, in full beauty, had, it is true, become discoloured, and half hidden by the green foliage which they precede; but the catalpa was in blossom in the vicinity of the country seats; the shrubberies were in their beauty, and on the margin of the forest, which generally thickened to the back of these villas, the evening air was perfumed with the rich odour of the magnolia, whose snow-white blossom peeped out from its covert of glossy leaves. A thousand beautiful trees, either transported from their concealment in the woods, or tastefully preserved for the purposes of ornament, surrounded the lawns in front of the open colonnade.

'It was not till my return to Europe in the height of summer, after a very short passage, that I was struck with the totally different character of the verdure, both of the field and the forest, on the two continents. After the bright sward, and the varied summer foliage of the Western woods, with their great preponderance of light greens, the English landscape seemed to exhibit nothing but evergreens; such was the depth of shade observable in the blue verdure of the rounded and heavy masses of foliage of our ordinary forest trees, and on the dark and thick meadow grass of our humid climate.

'A few hours before sunset, the different visitors generally assembled, by far the greater number consisting of the young and unmarried of both sexes. Under the shade of the trees, tables were covered with the delicacies of the season,—among which the delicious fruit from which these strawberry parties took their name, was ordinarily seen in the greatest profusion, with its appropriate concomitants of cream and champaign. Many an enchanting spectacle of natural beauty and human contentment and pleasure have I observed spread before me, while sitting in the portico of one of these rural retreats, as the sun sunk slowly to its setting. The view from many of them commanded a wide prospect to the south-east, over the forests and fine undulating slopes of the country in the direction of the city, whose domes and edifices peered over the woods, or were descried bordering the irregular lake-like divisions of the river. More remote lay the wider bay of the Patapsco, glistening with white sails, merging far in the distance into the broad Chesapeake; the long promontory of North Point, with its lighthouses glistening in the sunshine; and, beyond all, the scarcely perceptible thread of gold which marked the utmost limit of the horizon, and the eastern shore of Maryland.

'If to this noble view you add as a foreground, the sweet intermingling forest, lawn, and shrubbery in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling, with the gay and graceful groupes scattered over it, you would own with me, that you had rarely gazed upon scenes so truly beautiful and guilelessly cheerful; so animated, so full of innocent pleasure, and so devoid of false glitter and glare, as those presented by the Maryland strawberry parties. Later comes the brief but beautiful twilight,

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with the wailing cry of the whip-poor-will, the flight of the night hawk, and above all, myriads of fire-flies filling the air with sparks, dancing in the deep shade, or streaming with their intermittent and gentle light among the groupes, as they stroll in the open air, or sit in the porticoes.

'The frank manners and uncontrolled intercourse between the young people of both sexes, and the confidence with which they are on all occasions left to their own discretion, is one remarkable feature in American society, and one that must strike every European. Unattended as this open confidence has hitherto been, with perhaps the rarest exceptions, by unpleasant results, it is a proof that, thus far, the society of the New World has an advantage over that of the Old, where circumstances throw such difficulties in the way of most early marriages, where the poison of libertinism is more generally diffused, and where the whole structure of society warrants the most jealous care in the parent, and the utmost caution and reserve on the part of the daughter.' *Latrobe,* Vol. I., pp. 30—32.

About the second week in July, our Rambler joined Mr. Irving at Boston, and they set out together on a visit to the White Mountains of New Hampshire, the highest group in the Union.

'This detached groupe occupies the centre of New Hampshire. The country at the base is for the most part covered with endless pine forests, full of ponds and tangled streams, through which the smaller rivers, proceeding from the slopes, filter slowly towards the more open country. There seems to be going forward, in many parts of these uncultivated districts, a continual struggle between the two great elements, earth and water. Large tracts are overflowed at one season, and the land and its produce drowned beneath the dark lake; while, on the bosom of many of the latter, banks of sand are gradually thrown up by the action of the waves; shallows are formed, which teem with aquatic plants, water snakes, terrapins, and bull-frogs; piles of floating and rotting timber are stranded upon them; a vegetable mould is formed, and in the course of years, an island rises, covered with the ordinary forest trees of the climate. The latter, from the predominance of the fir tribe among them, are of a much gloomier character than those further to the south; but they abound with many shapely and beautiful trees, none more so than the tall sugar-maple; and many sweet flowers peep out from the marshes, or from the thickets of fern and dwarf oak. How wonderful and how imperfectly understood are many of the ordinary operations of Nature! No sooner does the axe of the woodman, or the accidental burning of the forests, destroy one class of trees and brushwood,—a class that may have apparently covered the soil for centuries,—but another race, perfectly distinct, rises, as though by magic, from the disturbed and discoloured soil, and covers it with beauty.

'The proofs of the almost universal principle of spontaneous vegetation, throughout both the forest and prairie lands of the New Continent, are so well known and acknowledged, as to need no additional confirmation at the present day. We have met with continual evidences

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of its truth in every part of the east and west. It would seem that the seeds of one class of plants and forest-trees must be deposited by some catastrophe beyond the action of light, heat, and atmospheric air; where they lie supplanted by another growth, and are forgotten; preserving, however, the vital principle for centuries in a dormant or torpid state, till accident or tillage brings them to a position favourable to their reproduction to light and life.

'One of the most remarkable instances of this extraordinary phenomenon, of frequent but well-attested occurrence, is, that the marl dug from pits thirty feet deep in some parts of the Union, on being spread over the soil, becomes instantly covered with white clover: and in New Jersey, this is the case with the mud dragged up from the bottom of the Delaware, and used for the purposes of manure.

'The ascent of the highest summit of the cluster, Mount Washington, (6234 feet,) was attempted by our party, under disadvantageous circumstances. Upon gaining the summit, after some hours' toil and much expectation, we were enveloped in heavy mist, which set our patience at defiance, and sent us cold and wet on our downward route. A solitary scramble to the summit of the third in rank, situated in the same chain, which I had contrived to accomplish the preceding day under better auspices, allows me to give you some faint picture of the scenery of the White Hills. As a mountain view, it was truly magnificent, though by far the most gloomy I had ever beheld. The entire groupe, save five or six of the most elevated mountains, which rear their scalps of micacious rock over a belt of dwarf fir, appears invariably clothed to the very summits with the dense northern forest; and excepting here and there in the deepest valleys, or at such a distance that the gazer could but just detect the difference amidst the blue tints of the horizon, where the swelling surface sank imperceptibly down towards the lower country, the eye was scarcely relieved by the sight of cultivation. No rock could be descried, except that which heaped up the highest summits; no bright green pastures were seen on the steep slopes; no white cottages shone like stars from afar; but here and there, the precipitous declivities were deeply seamed by tremendous earth-slides, appearing like gashes in the dark face of the mountains. A number of misty lakes gleamed in the distance to the southward, and occasionally you saw the white smoke rising from some upland valley, where a hardy son of the soil had pitched his habitation, and begun his struggle with the wilderness and its inhabitants.

'From my description, you will gather that the upper districts of this mountain region are still in the state of nature,—as wild as when the red warriors, two centuries ago, gathered themselves together in their recesses, and leagued for the destruction of the intruders on their coasts; and with the exception of the Indian tribes, the district is still tenanted by almost the same inhabitants. Here the bear, the catamount, the Siberian lynx, the wolf, and the lordly stag, still find harbour.' Vol. I. pp. 54–57.

This description affords a specimen of the delightful pen-and-ink landscapes by which Mr. Latrobe places distinctly before us the natural beauties and characteristics of American scenery, as

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they present themselves, not so much to the artist as to the naturalist. There is more, indeed, to interest the latter than the former, in the general character of the scenery of the United States, which, though often grand, and even sublime, is rarely picturesque, and produces impressions of an indefinite and powerful kind, but by means of qualities that do not come within the magic range of the pencil. The boundless prairie, the dense primeval forest, the luxuriant jungle, the dreary swamp, powerfully excite the imagination, and supply to the botanist, the ornithologist, the entomologist, the lover of nature in her wilder and sublimer aspects, an inexhaustible source of interest; but Turner himself could make little of such scenes as the following, given in the second volume.

'In the vicinity of the river Pedee, within the boundaries of South Carolina, many of the forests and jungles presented a scene of peculiar beauty from the richness of the colouring thrown over the grey labyrinth of branches by the bursting buds and flowers, which, in numerous instances, preceded the appearance of the leaves in the deciduous trees and shrubs. The dark and sombre verdure of the sweet-bay, magnolia, tie-bush, and other evergreens of the southern forest, which a few days before were unrelieved by any lively hues, were now contrasted with the most brilliant colours. There were the leafless boughs of the Sassafras, covered with bright clusters of yellow flowers; the dog-wood and marsh dog-wood spangled over with innumerable drip white blossoms; the yellow jessamine garlanding the thicket, and throwing its cluster of bright cups from the end of the twigs. The buck's-eye, a shrub with bright green leaves and red flower-buds, and the red-berry, covered with peach-coloured blossoms, were seen every where in the swampy borders of the forest, with a multitude of others of all hues. Many varieties of the huckle-berry, with pendent white and red flowers, bordered the road. And while the humbler underwood was thus putting on its beauty, the forest trees above gave manifest tokens of their being under the same influence. Like the former, few had assumed their verdure, but many had arrayed themselves to the end of every twig in such brilliant colours, as completely to eclipse all competition. The red-oak appeared covered with yellow, and the water oak with red catkins;—but all other trees of the forest were outvied by the graceful maple, every bough and twig of which was thickly clustered with keys of the most splendid blood-red hue.

'In the vicinity of the farms, innumerable peach-trees; the green leaves of the Pride of China—the most ornamental tree of the south—spread gaiety over the landscape; and as we moved yet further south, the azaleas, iris, innumerable violets, and many splendid aquatic plants, formed a border to the roads; while the Chickasaw rose, a beautiful brier with snow-white, expanded flowers and yellow stamina, was abundant near the plantation.

'The low swamps had also their peculiar scenery. . . . . As we paddled silently into the recesses, (of what seemed a boundless forest situated in an over-flooded swamp,) on a fine and sunny spring morn-

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ing, we seemed to be removed further and further from the day;—such was the effect of the dim twilight shed upon the black pool from the crowded state and vast size of the cypress and water-oak which rose around us, cloaked in that long, grey, parasitical moss, which weaves its funereal strings into a dusky mantle upon the branches. Sometimes we shot noiselessly into a little opening, where, high above us, we caught a glimpse of the blue sky, and the sun gleaming brightly upon the catkins and keys of the oak and maple on the topmost branches; or descried the soaring flight of the broad-winged turkey-buzzard—the vulture of the south, and the most detestable of the feathered race in its habits, but the most exquisitely graceful in its aerial movements. He builds his nest in hollow trees in the deepest recesses of these and similar morasses, and with such jealous care, that it is very seldom discovered.

'The cypress is the prince of the swamp, often growing to an immense size. It is ordinarily seen rising from an expanded and conical buttress or root, six or eight feet from the ground, into a clear shaft of eighty feet and upwards, from which it spreads into long sweeping branches, covered in summer with very light and graceful strings of foliage, and almost invariably cloaked with the Spanish moss. Alligators abound in all the waters in this latitude, but we were too early for them. The genial warmth which I have described as arousing the whole vegetable world, has not yet been able to thaw his torpid heart and stomach, in which, if the vulgar belief may be credited, a stout log of wood lies entombed all winter long; and I met with a farmer who assured me he had shot one in the early spring, which attacked his hog-pen, which had a pine chunk and two rocks in his maw. As we proceeded, the current of the river began to be perceptible among the trees, and after a while we issued into the broad and rapid bed of the Pedee, and were hurried across it.'

Latrobe, Vol. II. pp. 7—11.

Here, again, is a picture of Nature's autumnal flower garden.

'I should despair of being able to convey any idea to your mind of the glories of the autumnal Flora, covering these immense natural meadows like a rich carpet. God has here, with a prodigal hand, scattered the seeds of thousands of beautiful plants, each suited to its season, where there are no hands to pluck, and but few eyes to admire. After the early grass of the spring begins to shoot up through the blackened surface of the scorched soil, it becomes spangled with a host of flowers, the prevailing colours of which are white and blue. These, as summer advances, give place to a race in which red predominates: and when the yellow suns of autumn incline over the west, their mild rays are greeted by the appearance of millions of yellow flowers, which, far statelier and of ranker growth than their predecessors, rise over their ruins, and seem to clothe the undulating surface of the prairie with a cloth of gold. The great predominance and variety of the *heliotrope* and *solidago* species give this tint to the landscape: at the same time there are many showy and beautiful plants, products of the same season, of less glaring colours:—such are the *astres*, from the large and beautiful species which displays its rich clusters of blue and purple

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flowers in the brake, to the small delicately leaved varieties seen on the more open grounds. You observe whole districts covered with the tall and striking flowers of the red or white *eupatorium;* and every where among the long grass, the *liatris* or rattle-snakes'-master shoots up and displays its spike of red flowers. Then there are the exquisite varieties of the *gentiana* with their deep blue, and a thousand other flowers which I cannot undertake to describe. At this season the dwarf shumac, in hollows and on such parts of the prairie as have remained untouched by the autumnal fires, becomes a striking feature of the open grounds from the blood-red hue of its leaves and fructification.' *Ib.* Vol. I. pp. 125, 6.

It is in the description of animate and inanimate nature, that Mr. Latrobe is most at home. His views of men and manners are more amiable than profound, and evince more quickness of observation than sound judgement. He is far more the cosmopolite than the philanthropist. He remarks very justly, that a description of American manners, which may be a true picture when applied to one corner of the country, must be inapplicable to another, in which a race of quite distinct stock, with prepossessions and habits, and modes of life, altogether different, compose the population. Thus, while the children of the Pilgrim Fathers occupy New England, and have spread over the fresh virgin soil of Ohio and the other States in the same parallel, the French refugee may be traced in West Chester, the Dutch in New York, the German in the valley of the Mohawk, the Swede in New Jersey and Delaware, the English Quaker and the German in Pennsylvania, together with distinct colonies of Irish, the descendants of the Cavalier in Virginia and Maryland, the Italian and Spaniard in Florida. How then can there be a national character common to so mixed and diverse a population? Yet, there is, in one respect, a nationality of feeling, Mr. Latrobe remarks, pervading Americans of every class, which leads them bitterly to resent any chance remarks upon the people of a given district, 'thus making the quarrel of one division 'of the community, the quarrel of all.' This is not quite so unreasonable, however, as may at first sight appear. For, in the first place, the descendants of the pure English stock not only greatly predominate, forming the majority of the entire community, but Yankees, and settlers of Yankee descent, are found scattered over all the States, giving the general tone to public sentiment *. In the next place, the Germans, Irish, and Dutch exist for the most part as isolated colonies, like the

* Of the eleven millions of free citizens, between seven and eight are certainly of English descent. The New Englanders, Virginians, and Carolinians, are almost purely British. About two thirds of the inhabitants of New York, one half of the Pennsylvanians, and the greater part of the inhabitants of Ohio, are of the English or Yankee stock.

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French refugees and the Irish in London, and, though an integral part of the population, may be properly put out of consideration in estimating the national character. Further, the American gentleman of Boston or Baltimore, whe hears the state of society in the West run down or ridiculed, is quite aware that the institutions of his country are involved in the criticism or satire. The extreme and querulous sensitiveness which is manifested upon this point, almost amounts, our Author remarks, to a national disease; and he endeavours to account for it, as well as for the national disposition to 'swagger 'and exaggerate,' by the uncandid and unjust treatment which America has, in former times, met with at the hands of English writers. We cannot, however, regard this as a sufficient explanation of the morbid tone of the national temper, which 'will 'allow the justice of no criticism,' and resents an honest opinion as an injury; and for the true reason we must look a little closer into the structure of American society. In a former article* we endeavoured to throw a little light upon this point; and we find our remarks so completely borne out by the Author of "New England and her Institutions," in a passage which had not at that time fallen under our notice, that we cannot refrain from introducing it in this place.

'We are restless and proud, and since our civil institutions have established no permanent artificial gradations among us, we have devised them ourselves. Yet still it is a matter which we act upon, rather than talk about. No American lady would dare to refuse her neighbour's invitation professedly on the score of the other being beneath her in society. Yet her refusal would be as prompt and decided as any lady's in England, towards an inferior in rank.

'I do not wish to analyse too minutely the aristocratical leaven among us. I do not exactly understand its principle of operation myself. Pedigree it certainly is not, though that perhaps is one of its elements. Wealth and education have something to do with it. Different vocations in life, have much more. Various degrees of softness and whiteness of the hands are perhaps as good criterions as anything. Certain sets of persons do somehow contrive to obtain an ascendancy in every town and village. But in the present state of society, in our country, this whole subject is extremely unsettled. The mass is fermenting, and how the process will result eventually, time only can decide. Probably some future Court Calendar will rank among the first class of American citizens, all families descended in lines, more or less direct, from former presidents of the nation, heads of departments, governors of states, presidents of colleges, Supreme Court judges, commodores, and general officers. The second class may comprehend the posterity of members of congress, circuit and state judges, clergymen, presidents of banks, professors in colleges, captains of na-

* See pp. 105—108 of our August Number.

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tional vessels, leaders of choirs, and perhaps some others. I have no curiosity to speculate upon inferior classes, nor to determine any further the order in which far distant dinners shall be approached by eaters yet unborn, or future balls shall be arranged at Washington.'

New England, &c., pp. 336, 37.

Notwithstanding his remarks upon the absence of national character, Mr. Latrobe has essayed some broad sketches of national characteristics; and in the following paragraphs we have his estimate of the New Englander.

'The manners and habits of this great eastern division of the American people are strikingly distinct from their fellow-citizens to the southward. The character of the inhabitants of New England for diligence, shrewdness, and all those matter-of-fact talents which tell in a country like this, where every man is struggling to get and maintain an independence, is probably familiar to you. They are speculative, at the same time that their caution, clear-sightedness, and indomitable perseverance generally insure success. In politics their practical conduct is strikingly opposed to the theoretical vagaries of their brethren of the south. They have often, and not without reason, been compared to the northern inhabitants of our own island; but, I think the New Englanders have all the steadiness and prudence of the Scotch, with a yet greater degree of ingenuity. Like the Scotch, they foster education; like the Scotch, they are inclined to the more severe forms of religious discipline and worship; like the Scotch, they are fearfully long-winded; like them, they are gadders abroad, loving to turn their faces southward and westward, pushing their fortunes wherever fortunes are to be pushed, and often in places and by shifts where no one ever dreamed that fortunes were to be gained.

'They may be found supplanting the less energetic possessor of land and property in every State of the Union. They have a finger upon the rim of every man's dish, and a toe at every man's heel. They are the pedlars and schoolmasters of the whole country; and, though careless of good living abroad, when at home and at ease, they are fond of the 'creature comforts.' No where is the stomach of the traveller put into such constant peril as among the cake-inventive housewives and daughters of New England. Such is the universal attention paid to this branch of epicurism in these States, that I greatly suspect that some of the Pilgrim Fathers must have come over with the cookery book under one arm and the bible under the other, although I find in more than one code of ancient laws made in early times, orders issued that no person should make "cakes or buns except for solemn festal occasions, such as burials and marriages." There are but few boys among them; many of their children seem to start at once to puny men. I should not think they were a fun-loving nation, or had great reverence for holidays;—jokes are an abomination to many among them.

'Though in common with all Americans, they are proud and boastful of their claims to unlimited freedom, they are fond of imposing grievous burdens upon the inferior orders of animals within their

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power; and you see horses and cows, pigs and geese, labouring under the most singular yokes it is possible to conceive.

'The faults allied to this kind of character are easily recognizable. Where religion has had its proper influence and high-mindedness, and innate sense of honour exist, all this shrewdness, and strength of character will add to the respectability of the possessor and to the good of the social circle. But where it is allied with meanness and littleness of soul, it must bear the stamp of sordid and low cunning in petty transactions, and of uncompromising, ungenerous aggrandisement and selfishness in larger operations. Hence the diverse terms in which you hear the so-called Yankee or Easternman named, and the praise and obloquy with which the character which I have attempted so roughly to sketch is alternately drawn. I was never to my knowledge taken in by any of my particular or casual acquaintance in any of the Eastern states, and I am far from believing, though I may have laughed at, the thousand and one tales related of the extravagant ingenuity and cunning of the Yankee pedlars tramping through every nook of the Union; but I can readily believe that there is many an arrant rogue among them, and many an arrant goose amongst their customers.' *Latrobe*, Vol. I., pp. 60—63.

Mr. Latrobe was evidently better pleased with the Southerners than with the Yankees. He speaks of 'the warmth of southern 'hospitality, and the fine manly tone and cultivation of Georgian 'society'! He states, moreover, that the impressions obtained from what he saw (what could he see?) of slavery, both in the Southern States and the West, was that, 'in most of the Slave 'States, the holders were to be pitied, rather than the negroes!! 'Their condition is far from a pitiable one. The general feeling 'of the country is against cruelty.' It is strange how the Tory always sides with the slave-holder. Mr. Latrobe, though he eschews politics, betrays in this passage the strong bias of his opinions. The emphatic contradiction which the evidence adduced in Mr. Abdy's recent Work, gives to the above representation, shews how little Mr. Latrobe is to be trusted as a witness upon some subjects. No man knows how to make better use of his eyes when a fair landscape is before him, and no one can more resolutely shut his eyes when he chooses not to see.

The most interesting portion of these volumes is that which details the Author's expedition to the 'far West' in company with Mr. Irving, their foray in the Pawnee hunting grounds, and sojourn among the Indians. But thither we must not follow him, as we could not do justice to his narrative without more copious extracts, or a fuller abstract than our limits permit. Add to which, the subject of the Indian tribes, wild and semi-civilized, the hard and unjust treatment they have met with, the efforts of the Missionaries to introduce civilization among them, and various questions connected with these topics, would furnish matter for an extended discussion. Mr. Colton's work is chiefly

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occupied with a zealous vindication of the character and claims of these aboriginal Americans, to whom the injustice of the intrusive Whites denies any territorial rights, even to the lands they have occupied from time immemorial. He has entitled it, "A Tour of the American Lakes,"—probably with a view to catch the attention of general readers; but a few pages only are occupied with topographical matter. He would have found it the better policy, to describe the Work by its real character as a Memoir, or Memorial, advocating the rights, and 'disclosing the 'character and prospects of the Indian race.' The price put upon these volumes is exorbitant, since the whole contents might have been got into a single 5*s.* volume; and there is a catchpenny appearance about the publication, that will, we fear, prevent its obtaining the attention which it deserves.

Mr. Colton is a credulous believer in the Hebrew origin of the American Indians; and he devotes a chapter to this absurd reverie, which might have been omitted without any disadvantage to the Work. The confidence of his assumptions, and the ease with which he disposes of all objections to the theory, are not a little amusing to those who have any competent acquaintance with the subject. 'In their sacred songs,' he assures his readers, '*Hal-le-lu-yah* is often heard as perfectly as in any 'Christian choir!' To the ears of an intelligent witness, (Dr. Edward Walsh,) it sounded 'like the lullaby of the nursery'; and he writes it down thus: '*Tam le yah al lah le lu lah tam* '*ye lah yo ha wah ha ha hah!*' It is not denied, however, that there is an apparent approximation to the Hebrew rites and Jewish notions in some of the customs of the American Indians, although not closer or more striking than may be detected in the rites and practices of nations in the heart of Africa. But we need not refuse to admit the possible derivation of such obscure traditions from a Jewish source, while rejecting the Rabbinical fable of lost tribes, and the incredible notion which assigns a Hebrew pedigree to the uncircumcised and beardless wanderers of the American wilderness. Having entered at considerable length into this question in a former volume, we need only refer those readers who wish to pursue the inquiry, to the facts and reasonings adduced in that article, which, we venture to think, contains an ample refutation of Mr. Boudinot's dream and Mr. Colton's reasoning*.

* See Eclectic Review, 3d Series, Vol. II., p. 106. (Aug. 1829.) See also, the Modern Traveller, (America,) Vol. XXIV. pp. 251—261. That Jewish civilization may have extended itself from Eastern Asia to the tribes of the New World, is rendered the more credible by the fact, that Jews are known to have been settled in China for many centuries, and still earlier in the great plains of Central Asia. The

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Mr. Latrobe has given a very interesting account of the labours of the Moravian Missionaries among the Delaware Indians, together with a biographical sketch of Tecumseh, 'the last of the 'Red Men,' in whom the spirit of Philip of Pokansket seemed to have revived.' We could forgive him for maintaining silence as to the labours of other early Missionaries, and for seeming never to have heard of the names of Elliott and Brainerd; but we cannot wholly excuse the gross injustice with which he at the same time stigmatizes the conduct of 'the Pilgrim Fathers and their chil-'dren' towards the Indians, as 'hardly less culpable or less exe-'crable' than that of the Spaniard in Mexico and Peru. That Mr. Latrobe has no love for the Puritans, is evident; but why he should attribute to them the spirit of crusaders, taking no notice of the conduct of cavalier emigrants towards the Indians of Virginia and the south, and suppressing all mention of the benevolent exertions of the colonists of New England to introduce Christianity among the tribes with whom they lived in amity, we must leave him to explain. We have resolved not to quarrel with so agreeable a companion; but we are pained to notice such marks of deep-rooted prejudice and illiberality *.

With regard to the policy pursued at present towards the Indian tribes, he expresses his 'conviction, that the government of 'the United States, as well as the population of its settled dis-'tricts, are very sincere in their desire to see justice done to the 'remnant of these tribes, and, *as far as is consistent with the 'general welfare of the community*, to favour and succour them.' The saving clause is a very comprehensive one. Equally anxious are the government and people of America to see justice done to the free-coloured natives whom they are pleased to call

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recent discovery of a nation bearing strong marks of Jewish origin among the tribes of Ultra Gangetic India, is a highly interesting fact, affording a fresh proof of the wide diffusion of straggling branches of the Hebrew stem. But we have long known of colonies of Jews in Southern India; and in these cases, the physiological character is a mark of identity. In the American tribes it is absent; and it would be as rational to assign a Jewish origin to the Chinese, as to suppose that the Ten Tribes peopled the New World.

* In the North American Review, No. liv., an able American writer has, with sound discrimination, vindicated the Pilgrim Fathers from the flippant censures of his degenerate countrymen, who 'seem 'to be ignorant of almost every event which occurred in Massachu-'setts during the seventeenth century, except the destruction of the 'aborigines, the persecution of the Quakers, and the execution of the 'witches.' We may also refer to articles on the Early History of the United States, Ecl. Rev. 3d Ser. Vol. iii. pp. 193—222, Vol. v. pp. 281—306, in which the charges against the Puritans are examined, and the treatment of the Indians more particularly inquired into.

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Africans,—nay, and to the slaves of the plantations — those 'petted and spoiled children' of the amiable Georgians and high-minded Carolinians,—'so far as is consistent with the general welfare of the community.' Mr. Latrobe's conviction is at complete variance, however, with Mr. Colton's, who will, perhaps, be deemed a more competent, and surely a not less impartial witness upon the subject. He denounces the conduct of his own Government towards the Indians as a flagrant violation of good faith; and he has put forth these volumes with a view to rouse the sympathies of the British nation on behalf of the Red Man, 'whose unfortunate destiny has hitherto been controlled as much by British influence in former ages, as that of the African slave.' As one of the moral causes which have operated in the United States to the detriment of Indian rights, he feels 'obliged to specify the paramount influence of slavery.' Of this, there can be no doubt; and the same feelings and motives which have dictated the abortive scheme of expatriating the darker skins, only less tinctured with dread of their physical numbers, have produced the determination to expel the red skins from territories secured to them by repeated treaties, and drive them beyond the Mississippi. Mr. Colton's protest and remonstrance do credit to his principles; but they will have as little effect as former attempts to arrest the execution of a sentence of expulsion, which sets at nought the decision of the Supreme Court of American judicature, as well as every moral consideration but the tyrant's plea of state necessity. In vain he takes his stand upon 'a full conviction not only of the Indian's susceptibility of being raised, in intellectual, moral, and civil improvements, to command an equal respect with any other race of men, but also of his unqualified and just demand to be admitted to an equality of social and political rights; and more especially that the Indian should realize the full benefit of all the public engagements that have been made in his favour and for the attainment of these objects.' All this has been eloquently urged before *; but the national conscience, if there be such a thing, is seared, and the law of might has prevailed.

Yes, *even* a Republican government may be guilty of injustice and oppression! Who could ever dream that any form of government would eradicate selfishness, and act as a spell upon human nature? Yet, the very terms of the reproach imply a compliment to Republicanism, though not to the American people; for it is at once an aggravation of their criminality, and a panegyric upon their popular constitution, that they are sinning

* See Ecl. Rev. Vol. IV. (July, 1830.) p. 77. Art. The Removal of the Indians.

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against the spirit of their institutions; and the crimes of their Government are more emphatically national crimes, invoking national punishment, than those in which the subjects of a despotic monarchy are involuntarily implicated. But Great Britain, it will be said, is not entitled to reproach America either for holding slaves, or for denying civil rights and legal protection to her coloured freemen. The retort is pointless. The English nation is not answerable for the injustice and oppression against which, in the days of oligarchical rule, the Christian philanthropists and senators of our country never ceased to protest and struggle, till first the trade, then slavery, was abolished by the Legislature; nor is the time distant when the same spirit of reform shall have cleared away every just occasion of rebuke and reproach from the national character. The prospects of America are less hopeful. The good have less power against the evil under the Federal Compact, than they have under our British Constitution, which exhibits a nearer approach to the idea of Republican government, than has ever been realized. We might say, our Monarchical Republic is a purer republicanism, and a more popular government, as at present administered, than that of the American Union—a union of petty states governed for the most part by oligarchies, and with a nation of helots in the heart of the republic, the 'clanking of chains' being heard 'at the very door of her ca-'pitol.' We have no feelings towards our American brethren but those which prompt the most cordial wishes for their prosperity; but we tremble for the results of the gathering storm.

'That we must be rid of slavery at some day,' says a writer in the last Number of the North American Review, 'seems to be 'the decided conviction of almost every honest mind. But when 'or how this is to be, God only knows. If in a struggle for this 'end the Union should be dissolved, it needs not the gift of pro-'phecy to foresee that our country will be plunged into that gulf 'which, in the language of another, "is full at once of the fire 'and the blood of civil war, and of the thick darkness of general 'political disgrace, ignominy, and ruin."' . . . . . 'The sub-'ject of Slavery is one, in regard to which, more than almost any 'other, there are clouds and darkness upon the future destinies 'of these states.'* Surely, then, we shall not be charged with entertaining unkind or sinister forebodings.

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* North American Review, No. LXXXVIII., (July 1835,) p. 193.

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Art. II. 1. *Abstract of Evidence before the Select Committee appointed by Parliament to enquire into the Extent, Causes, and Consequences of the Prevailing Vice of Intoxication,* to ascertain whether any legislative Measures can be devised to prevent the further Spread of so great a National Evil. 1835.

2. *Temperance Tracts.* British and American.

"*TOUCH not, taste not,*" was a cry which, as applied to things destined "to perish in the using," the great Apostle of the Gentiles found it necessary, at a very early period, to rebuke and to resist. It was not meet, he said, that men who were "dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world," should, "as though living in the world, be subject to ordinances." Why, then, should it excite surprise, if some Christians of the nineteenth century think it right to pause, before they yield to the power of a similar appeal, though made on very different grounds, and echoed by many voices. The most jealous scrutiny is surely not unsuitable, when a demand is made upon us, which, at first sight, appears somewhat to compromise that glorious "law of liberty" under which it is the Christian's privilege to live. With these views, we proceed at once to inquire, with all possible brevity, whether the modern exhortation to abstinence be more worthy of respect than the ancient one.

We shall not occupy our time with any remarks, either on the extent to which drunkenness now prevails in the community around us, or on the magnitude of the evils which invariably attend this degrading vice. An observing man cannot walk our streets, or attend at a police-office, or even take up a newspaper, without being impressed with the conviction that its progress and results are alike terrific.

It may, however, be as well just to notice certain changes which of late years have taken place in the 'form and pressure' of the evil. Formerly, the guilt of intemperance attached very extensively to both the higher and middle classes of society: it is now a *vulgar* vice, and, as such, has been in great measure abandoned to the rude and the uneducated. Driven from the marble floor and the wall of tapestry, the Evil Spirit has found a resting-place in the factory and the workshop, and has converted many a happy cottage into an abode of wretchedness and despair. Cast out of "high places," this devil is come down to the humbler inhabitants of earth, "having great wrath;"—would that we might add, "because he knoweth that he hath but a short time!" Again; in times past, it was ale and beer that stupified men's faculties, and degraded "God's image" to the likeness of the beast: now, ardent spirit "sets on fire the whole course of nature," and transforms humanity into a fiend. Once more, and

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worst of all; in the days of our fathers, it was a rare and signal calamity for a woman, the mother of a family, to become the victim of intemperance: now, this terrible sight excites no surprise, for it is a matter of every day occurrence. This new feature in the popular depravity deserves especial notice. It is at once a most remarkable and melancholy fact, that female drunkenness dates its rise, as an extensive national evil, from the introduction of ardent spirit as a beverage among the working classes. The instances are still rare, in which women intoxicate themselves with beer or ale; it is ardent spirit alone which, to any extent, thus overcomes some of the strongest instincts of nature,—prostrates at a stroke all the fences of female virtue, and pollutes the stream of a nation's morality at the fountain-head. There are other peculiarities which belong almost exclusively to spirit-drinking, and which render it, as a habit, incalculably more demoralizing than any other form of intemperance; but this alone, its influence on women, should stamp the practice with universal reprobation.

We are not disposed, just now, to institute any inquiry as to the precise amount of mischief occasioned by the ancient alehouse, in comparison with the modern gin-shop: if we were, we could easily shew that, as the latter casts for its victims a wider net, forges stronger chains, and dispenses a more virulent poison, it must in all respects be considered as an immeasurably greater evil.

The Report before us is valuable chiefly from the mass of facts which it imbodies, bearing not only on the points to which we have alluded, but on many others to which it is not in our power at present to refer. The subject, *in all its aspects*, is well worthy of the most serious consideration. The evidence is truly appalling. Alarm may well be felt for the stability of our national prosperity, when the astounding truth comes out, that in Ireland alone, from 1820 to 1830, there was an *increase* in the consumption of ardent spirits, of SIX MILLIONS of gallons; in Scotland, during the same period, of more than FOUR MILLIONS; and that throughout the United Kingdom there is, *for every twenty families*, a place for the sale of a beverage which the late Robert Hall, by a strong, but scarcely extravagant figure of speech, once called, 'liquid death and distilled damnation.'*

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* The astonishing quantity of *twenty-seven millions, seven hundred and nineteen thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine* imperial gallons of distilled spirits, at proof strength, paid duty *for home consumption only*, in the United Kingdom in 1830. The amount is taken from a return ordered by the House of Commons, and printed June 29, 1831. Signed by I. EWBANK, General-Accountant, Excise office, London,

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Such is the evil. The question returns, Where is the remedy, and how is it to be applied? The imposition of high duties, it is generally allowed, would only lead to extensive smuggling and illicit distillation. Legislative interference in any way, for the regulation of moral habits, is always difficult and often dangerous. Mere power can effect nothing. The weapons of *this* warfare are not carnal. It is not even enough to arrest the public attention; the judgement and conscience of the country must be engaged in the conflict, or success will be more than doubtful.

It is precisely at this stage of the inquiry, that Temperance Societies put in their claim to the attention and confidence of the country. They say, We have found a remedy,—voluntary abstinence on the part of the sober, the temperate, the religious, expressed by adherence to the following very simple declaration, the signature of which constitutes membership. '*We* '*agree to abstain from distilled spirits, except for medicinal* '*purposes, and to discountenance the causes and practice of* '*intemperance.*'

Now the friends of the Temperance Society must excuse us if we say, that this remedy, though apparently so simple, involves a very serious demand. It just comes to this:—'Because a thing is abused, I must not use it.' Are not then all creatures of God good, if used in moderation and with thanksgiving? How much better surely to exemplify the possibility of moderately and gratefully enjoying this, as well as every other gift of Providence, than, by a forced abstinence, to bow down before a despicable weakness, and in so doing, seem almost to reflect on the wisdom of God in bestowing a beverage too perilous to be partaken. Thoughts of this kind naturally suggest themselves, and are not easily put aside. It must, too, in fairness be allowed, that there is something objectionable in coming under any formal covenant whatever with regard to a particular branch of morality. One duty is not more important than another. Obedience to God must be universal, not partial. A man may be sober, and yet fall into condemnation for unchastity or covetousness. An exchange of vices is not virtue. God has surely provided in his word for *all possible* exigencies. Why then should I attempt that which may possibly one day call forth the solemn question, "Who hath required this at your hands?" Again, it may be said, many will sign these solemn declarations lightly and without proper consideration; an engagement thus hastily entered

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and W. Irving, Inspector-General of Imports and Exports, Custom House, London.

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into, will be as thoughtlessly broken; conscience will be generally trifled with, and the moral constitution of hundreds, perhaps thousands, deeply injured. On the other hand, if the declaration be signed with seriousness, and as in the presence of God, there is danger of its assuming the character of an oath, and then cases of dangerous casuistry will be multiplied, and tender spirits be painfully oppressed.

We can suppose an objector arguing in this way, and we should be prepared, to a certain extent, to admit the force of his reasonings. A very strong case ought certainly to be made out for the Society before subscription is given, or the hand pledged. We are not disposed to get up another '*quinquarticular*' controversy, but we really could not consider any man unreasonable, who, prior to becoming a member of the Temperance Society, should ask for evidence on the following *five points.*

I. That spirits are *not* "good creatures of God," excepting in the sense in which that phrase may be applied to opium or arsenic;—that, *as a beverage*, they are innutritious and hurtful. It may indeed be argued, and with much force, that if it can be shewn they cause "weak brethren" to offend, the same principle which led the Apostle of the Gentiles to determine that, if it should be necessary, he would eat no more meat while the world stood, ought to be sufficient to impel others, actuated by the same spirit, to similar self-denial. But this supposes deeper piety than generally prevails. Besides, this argument may be pushed too far. In any case, this appeal to the love of our neighbour will hardly avail with the great bulk of professing Christians, *as they are.*

II. That the habitual, though moderate use of ardent spirit has a direct tendency to produce on certain constitutions, physical effects, under the influence of which, temptations to excess in the use of intoxicating drinks become almost irresistible. It must be shewn that an influence of this mischievous character, if not invariably exercised, is at least, so frequent a consequence of moderate spirit-drinking, as to render the habit fatal to many, and perilous to all. If there be no peculiarity of this kind attaching to the habitual use of spirits, then, we confess, it will be somewhat difficult to justify their being placed under an interdict from which wines and other intoxicating liquors are to be exempt.

III. That the object to be attained by signing the proposed declaration is sufficiently important, and carries with it such a probability of success, as not only to warrant, but to demand submission to "a yoke," which though not "grievous to be borne," is yet in some respects inconvenient.

IV. That there is some peculiarity or specialty about the sin of drunkenness, by reason of which an argument may be main-

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tained for sober men covenanting together against this vice, which does not equally apply to their covenanting against covetousness or fornication, or any other form of iniquity.

V. That Scripture warrant (either from the Old or New Testament) shall be found for attempting public reformation *on this principle*,—that of calling upon a people to mark out for peculiar reprobation some one particular vice, by agreeing together to discountenance the causes and practice of it. The querist must be satisfied that there is nothing in the constitution of a Temperance Society opposed to the spirit, or intended to imply inadequacy in the motives, of the Gospel.

On these five particulars, we think a reflecting person may, without impropriety, require information, before he can be blamed for withholding his support to Temperance Associations.

We shall now simply lay before our readers such facts and documents or reasonings as seem to bear on the topics to which we have alluded; so far, at least, as we have been able to collect them from the mass of papers published by the advocates of the Society; and we shall leave our readers to decide upon their weight and value. One remark only would we venture to make in relation to the present position of the question. It is this:—*Neutrality is unjustifiable,—if not impossible.* Let a side then be taken openly and firmly. If the Society is proceeding on sound and scriptural grounds, it demands support: indifference is criminal. To allow, as multitudes do, most absurdly, that it is "working the work of God," and yet not to be *for* it, by casting the mite of individual influence into its treasury, is to be *against* it; for its very existence depends upon *avowed* support;—its strength or weakness is regulated simply by the number of its members. Only let it be granted that, *of all the means yet devised*, Temperance Societies are best adapted to arrest the progress of the gigantic evil in question, and then it assuredly follows, that he who makes the admission, and yet refuses his sanction, voluntarily permits its continuance, and makes himself responsible for every crime which that parent vice so fruitfully produces. On the other hand, if these associations are based on false principles,—if even they are likely to prove signally inefficient, the ultimate effect must be mischievous, and it becomes an imperative duty to use every effort to put them down. This is the light in which we view the subject; and in this spirit we proceed to ask in the first place, why ardent spirit is not to be reckoned as a "creature of God," and "good, and not to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving?" We present the best reply we have been able to find in the tracts before us, without adding any comment of our own.

'By the following Medical Opinions in regard to the Nature of Ardent Spirit, and its effects upon Society, respectfully submitted to

the consideration of the Members of both Houses of Parliament, by Robert Kaye Greville, LL.D., F.R.S., Edin., it will be seen, that Ardent Spirit is ascertained by Medical Science to be in a strict sense a poison; that the use of it as an article of diet, especially among the poorer classes, is the direct cause of an incalculable and appalling amount of disease and death; and that *even in the most moderate quantity, when habitually used,* it is injurious to the constitution, both in body and mind.

'In this view of the case, it is respectfully submitted to the consideration of the Legislature, whether what confers no actual benefit on the community, and is proved to be fatally pernicious to health and morals, ought to be licensed by any Government, and particularly by a Christian Government, as an article of diet; and also, whether it is not expedient and practicable to place the retail sale under such restrictions as may lessen its injurious effects.

'" We, the undersigned, do hereby declare our conviction, that Ardent Spirits are not to be regarded as a nourishing article of diet; that the habitual use of them is a principal cause of disease, poverty, and misery, in this place; and that the entire disuse of them would powerfully contribute to improve the health and comfort of the community."

'This was signed by 4 Professors of the Medical Faculty in the University, 11 Members of the Royal College of Physicians, by the President and 27 Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, and by 34 other Medical Practitioners; 77 in all. Declarations embodying the same sentiments have been signed by 928 Medical Practitioners in various parts of the kingdom.

'INDIVIDUAL OPINIONS.

'SIR ASTLEY COOPER, Bart.—" I never suffer any Ardent Spirits in my house, thinking them *evil spirits;* and if the poor could witness the white livers, the dropsies, the shattered nervous systems which I have seen, as the consequences of drinking, they would be aware that spirits and poisons were synonymous terms."

'WILLIAM HARTY, M.D., Physician to the Prisons of Dublin.—" Being thoroughly convinced, by long and extensive observation amongst the poor and middling classes, that there does not exist a more productive cause of disease, and consequent poverty and wretchedness, than the habitual use of Ardent Spirits, I cannot therefore hesitate to recommend the *entire* disuse of such a poison, rather than incur the risks necessarily connected with its most moderate use."

'ROBERT CHRISTISON, M.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Materia Medica in the University of Edinburgh.—" The useful purposes to be served by spirituous liquors are so trifling, contrasted with the immense magnitude and variety of the evils resulting from their habitual abuse by the working classes of this country, that their entire abandonment as an article of diet is earnestly to be desired."

'EDWARD TURNER, M.D., F.R.SS. Lond. and Edin., Professor of Chemistry in the London University.—" It is my firm conviction, that Ardent Spirits are not a nourishing article of diet; that in this climate they may be entirely disused, except as a medicine, with ad-

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vantage to health and strength; and that their habitual use tends to undermine the constitution, enfeeble the mind, and degrade the character. They are one of the principal causes of disease, poverty, and vice."

'It is said, all the creatures of God are good, and to be received with thanksgiving—and why not spirits? We admit, that all the creatures of God are good; but they are only good to man when used in their proper condition. And without entering into the controversy, whether distilled spirit is a creature of God, or whether it has been invented by the ingenuity of man, and turned, as sad experience has shown, to his own destruction; we know, that spirit does not originally exist in grain, though the elements from which it is distilled exist there. It is produced by destroying the proportions and affinities of these elements, and thereby producing altogether a different substance. But will any man tell me that, after you have destroyed the proportions and affinities of these elements, as they have been adjusted by the wisdom of God, they will remain equally good for daily use, and serve the same salutary purpose as before? It were an impeachment of the wisdom of God, who made the original adjustment, to presume so. The common air which we breathe, is wholesome and salubrious, when the elements of which it is composed are allowed to remain in their right adjustment; but if, by any chemical process, you destroy the proportions and affinities of these elements, life, instead of being sustained, becomes instantly extinct. So is it with grain. The original elements are good, when allowed to remain in their proper relations; but when you change these relations, they become noxious and destructive—and no wonder they produce such a rich harvest of disease and death! And when we think to what an extent that grain which ought to have been bread to our people, has been destroyed in distilling spirits, we may well shudder at the fearful extent to which we have been turning the rich bounty of heaven to our own destruction.

'But, further, the creatures of God are only good to man when they are applied to their proper use; but when you pervert that use, they cease to be good. You would never think of employing oil to extinguish a fire, nor of filling your lamp with water to produce light. Yet both of these are good creatures of God, for, if you harmonize with Providence in their use, water will extinguish the fire, and oil will produce you light; but when you make a perverse application of them, they become evil—for oil would increase the conflagration, and water would extinguish your light. And what is the inference? Why, that though the creatures of God are all good for some purposes, yet they are not good for every purpose; and it were us direct a perversion of the wise and beneficent arrangements of Providence, to use spirits when we should use water, as to use oil when we should use water. The legitimate use of spirits is as medicine, and they ought never to have been allowed to escape from the guardianship of the physician. I believe there is not a greater delusion exists, than the imagined benefit men think they derive from the use of spirits. A short experiment of abstinence would satisfactorily determine this, and a little exercise of self-denial would speedily dissipate such a delusion. The most emi-

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nent physicians concur in stating, that men in health never use them habitually without injuring their constitutions; and that more than half the diseases that afflict us may be traced to intemperance. What madness, then, is it habitually to use or to present such a pernicious article to our friends? It is the erroneous opinions which we entertain of the value of spirits, that, under the delusive garb of friendship and hospitality, have betrayed us into our present ruinous customs and practices. For who will deny, that it is the use of this liquid which is destroying the health and happiness and comfort of thousands and tens of thousands, and is spreading crime and misery among our people.'—*Collins.*

Our second requisition relates to a physical fact, for which we require medical testimony. The following is furnished.—

Extract from the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons by Dr. Gordon, Physician to the London Hospital:

'2317. Is the habit of drinking ardent spirits more difficult to cure or to reclaim than the habit of drinking wine?—Doubtless. I believe, speaking as a medical man, and as having paid some attention to the subject, that a man may confine himself to a moderate portion of beer, and a moderate allowance of wine, as daily experience shows; but I believe it is utterly impossible for a man to confine himself to a moderate quantity of spirits.

'2318. Is it because the appetite it creates requires a greater amount of stimulus to sustain it?—It is precisely like opium, or any other stimulus. When you apply to an exhausted or fatigued stomach a small proportion of stimulus, the stomach speedily requires it again, but it requires it in an increased proportion. I could mention a very remarkable instance, occurring in my own experience, as illustrative of that point. I was requested to see an individual, who was supposed to be deranged; but, on visiting him, I found he had delirium tremens, a disease which is the peculiar product of drunkenness. Upon stating the fact to his family, they remarked that it was utterly impossible, for that he took two glasses of sherry at his dinner, and never tasted spirits. It afterwards appeared, upon inquiry, that the individual, who was in one of the public offices, had been frightened at the idea of cholera, and being told that brandy was the best preventive, he had, on coming to town to his office, taken a minute quantity of brandy, never taking it at home or to excess; but he so acquired the habit of taking a little every day, that he could not dispense with the stimulus. In six months he was attacked with delirium tremens, and narrowly escaped with his life.

'2319. You have stated that a person might take a large quantity of wine without prejudice, but not a small quantity of spirits?—My observation was, that though excess in any thing is bad, I believe a large quantity of wine is less injurious than a small quantity of spirits.

'2320. Is there not a good deal of spirit in wine?—Yes; but it produces a very different effect in that state of combination. Probably the best answer to the question would be the well-known chemical

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fact, that in some of the domestic wines there is a much larger proportion of alcohol than in the foreign wines in common use, but it is in a state of combination, and produces a different effect.'

Abstract of the evidence of J. R. Farre, M.D. (Dr. Farre is already known to the public as an eminent medical practitioner of forty years' standing.)

'The following are the Doctor's opinions on the medical use of alcohol:—

'"In regulating the heart, the physician must be able to force the circulation, and this forcing is done by diffusible stimulants, of which alcohol is one. The average quantity of fermented liquor, (not distilled spirit,) measuring it by wine, that medical men recommend, when it is needed, is two glasses daily. I remember," says he, "a patient, who was so recommended, telling me he found himself searching for the largest glasses in the house. I say two wine-glasses of wine, which quantity warms the stomach into a gentle digestion, but is not felt in the way of excitement in the brain. *I believe alcohol is wholly unnecessary to persons in health, and that in all cases it should be viewed as a medicine.* The best medical rule that ever was given for the use of alcohol in the form of wine, is given by Paul, when he says, 'Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake.' This does not necessarily mean the daily use of a little wine: the individual for whom it was prescribed was full of infirmity, and he might require it daily. I am not speaking of the healthy man; the healthy man requires only water, unless his exertion be inordinate. *I think the habitual use of spirits in any degree pernicious.* They should be used only as a medicine. I never prescribe them but as medicine; and I have been often prevented from prescribing them, when I thought them necessary, in moderate quantities, for fear of the habit. I believe that the use of stimulants by women, especially of the lower classes, first given medicinally, has a great tendency to bring about habits of drinking. I call the habitual use of these diffusible stimuli, whether spirituous, ethereal, or opiate, with the exception of ammonia, *medical dram-drinking;* and although the occasional use of the diffusible stimuli be indispensable in medicine, yet if it degenerate into a habit, it inevitably leads up to that result which now engages the attention of the committee."'

'"The history of distilled spirits furnishes melancholy evidence of the truth of this principle. Lewis XII. of France first gave permission to distil spirits on a large scale. So terrific were the effects that, twenty-two years afterwards, Francis, his successor, was obliged, for the safety of his subjects, to enact a law that the drunkard who remained incorrigible, after severe monitory punishments, should suffer amputation of the ears, and be banished from the kingdom. How much more wisely would Francis have acted, if, instead of banishing the drunkard, he had banished the pernicious material of drunkenness! Let us take another example: Sweden was a temperate country, on account of ardent spirits being, to a great extent, prevented from coming into ordinary use. In 1783, however, Gustavus, king of Sweden, gave

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permission for opening spirit-shops in all the villages of his kingdom. His object was to increase his revenue, and that object he apparently for a time accomplished; for immediately ardent spirits were loaded with fictitious excellencies, by those who loved them, and those who were interested in their sale; the drinking of them, which had formerly been carried on in secret, now became respectable; and the consumption of them was greatly increased. But mark the consequences! Such was the increase of drunkenness and crime, of fatal accidents and premature mortality, that the very same king who gave the permission was obliged, for the preservation of his people, to withdraw it, and by the repeal of his law put ardent spirits under the same bondage as before. We need not travel so far, however, for the wisdom of experience, as either to France or Sweden. Our own country furnishes it in abundance, did we but receive it. Take two examples for illustration. In 1556, the Irish Parliament passed an act at Drogheda against distilling spirits at all; and our fathers in those days understood the matter well, for distilled spirits are described in the act as "a liquor nothing profitable to be daily drunken and used." This was a simple dictate of truth, before prejudice and intemperate appetite had warped the judgment. It is mentioned by Colquhoun, in his work on the police of London, as a curious and important fact, that during the period when distilleries were stopped, in 1796 and 1797, though bread and every necessary of life were considerably higher than during the preceding year, the poor in that quarter of the town where the chief part reside, were apparently *more comfortable, paid their rents more regularly, and were better fed than at any period for some years before,* even though they had not the benefit of the extensive charities which were distributed in 1795. This can only be accounted for by their being denied the indulgence of gin, which had become in a great measure inaccessible from its very high price. It may be fairly concluded, that the money formerly spent in this imprudent manner had been applied to the purchase of provisions and other necessaries, to the amount of some hundred thousand pounds. The effect of their being deprived of this baneful liquor was also evident in their more orderly conduct. Quarrels and assaults were less frequent, and they resorted seldomer to the pawnbrokers' shops; and yet, during the chief part of this period, *bread was fifteen-pence* the *quartern loaf,* and meat higher than the preceding year, particularly pork, which arose from the stoppage of the distilleries, but chiefly from the scarcity of grain.

"Suppose, then, that there should be invented to-morrow some new article of meat or drink, and that you were to introduce it to your table; suppose that, by the exercise of your matured judgement in its moderate use, you should not observe any evil effects resulting to yourself, but that you should observe a most melancholy change upon your household—some of your children have become disobedient, others dissipated; some of your servants have become profligate, and been driven to the perpetration of flagrant crimes, while others of them have been driven outrageously mad; and certain of your visitors, influenced by the respectability of your example, but not possessing your

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self-command, have been hurried on to irreparable ruin—suppose that on strict inquiry, all these evils were found to be the consequence of having admitted among the customary articles of food a substance of most pernicious qualities—what, in the name of common sense, would be your conduct? Would you hesitate a moment, on making the astounding discovery, to banish from your house the curse and plague? For the world, as well as for each individual, the discovery has been made. We call on the world to act the part to which reason, and revelation, and their own interests for time and eternity loudly call, and banish from all ordinary use that which is the cause of three-fourths of all beggary and crime, one-half of all madness, and which, each year, sends more victims to premature graves than any ten of the most fatal diseases that ravage the human frame." '—*Professor Edgar.*

We now wish to be satisfied as to the importance of the object, and the probability of success. And here we shall allow the advocates of the Society to answer for themselves.

' It is the object of Temperance Societies to disabuse the public mind of those destructive errors respecting ardent spirits, which have long possessed it; to show the world, that, consistently with health, and happiness, and religion, there can be no such thing as their moderate ordinary use; and to bring to public view the mass of crime and misery to which they give birth, in such dark and terrible array, that the temperate shall wonder at their past supineness, and shake themselves free from the most indirect participation in the drunkard's crimes, and in the support of those opinions and practices by which drunkards are formed. It is their object, by precept and example, to save their brethren from degradation; to promote peace, which intemperance destroys; to preserve property, health, and reason, reputation, and usefulness; to save families from abuse and mortification, from penury, wretchedness, and despair; to preserve life, for the drunkard is wasting it away; to save souls, for drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

' We believe ourselves to be evidencing friendship to the best interests of our country, by the course we pursue. Intemperance can confer no real benefit on any community; and every country must be great and happy in proportion to the morality of her people. What a burden would be lifted from off the temperate, were they freed from all the loss of time, labour, and health in their own persons and families, occasioned by drinking; were they freed from all that portion of expense and havoc which the drunkenness of thieves, and prostitutes, and murderers, occasions, and the whole of such characters, with a few exceptions, are drunkards! What a reformation would be produced on the community, were the whole agency that now administers to intemperance turned to useful employment; were the whole time and property now wasted on moderate and intemperate drinking, turned to good account. What a healthy impulse would be given to all useful manufactures, and to the commerce of the nation, were the places of idle, profligate drunkards, filled by sober men; were families, now beggared by drunkenness, enabled to enjoy the necessaries and comforts

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of life; were an active spirit infused into the drones of society; were the plagues and curses by which drunkenness has ruined our country banished for ever!

'But why should we thus dwell on minor considerations, when the temporal and eternal interests of immortal souls are concerned. We wish to free souls from the thraldom of a vice which disqualifies for heaven; to work as fellow-labourers with God, in bursting the bands of wickedness, and spreading throughout the world, the peace, and holiness, and happiness of heaven. In the way of moral improvement, in the way of the Gospel of Christ, drunkenness lifts up insurmountable barriers. The melancholy experience of the world confirms the fatal truth, that drunkards are seldom reformed. Intemperance sears the conscience, and holds its victim with a grasp of iron. We wish to save the rising generation; we wish to cut off the sources of drunkenness, and thus to purge our land from its sorest plague. We call on parents and guardians of youth to assist us, as they value the souls which have been committed to their care; we call on those in high situations to lend us their influence, as they value the account they are one day to give; we call on physicians to follow the noble example which has been set by some of their brethren; but above all, we call on the ministers of our holy religion, the instructors and guardians of immortal souls, to give the whole weight of their precept and example to the cause, as they fear to have the blood of drunkards required at their hands, and as they trust to have many for their hope and joy, and crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus. The work is great, and unassisted man cannot accomplish it; the work is good, and God's blessing will crown it with success. Let us go forward, then, in the spirit of humility, in the spirit of prayer, and God will prosper the work of our hand, and danger and difficulty shall give way before us.'—*Address of the Ulster Temperance Society.*

'Temperance societies denounce distilled spirits, because it is in its nature so tempting and dangerous,—the use of it leading to the abuse, —the use being the cause of the abuse. This is proved by the melancholy fact, that at least nine-tenths of the families which have been for any considerable time engaged in the spirit trade, furnish melancholy evidence of the terrific influence which distilled spirit exerts for the ruining of all who come within its pestiferous sphere. The members of temperance societies banish distilled spirit from their tables, because they cannot say, with a glass of spirits at their lips, Lord, lead us not into temptation; they would not enter into temptation themselves; they would not bring others into it; they abhor all customary use of that insidious, dangerous drug, which has been a chief instrument in the hand of the great enemy, for searing the conscience and hardening the heart; and preparing for deeds of plunder, and violence, and blood.

'Temperance societies are a system of security, to the members themselves, against temptation, solicitation, and all the numerous means by which men are led into crime; and conscientious members, acting according to conviction, and doing what they wish to do, instead of being bound down by a compulsory oath to a system which they hate, really rejoice in their freedom, and enjoy a liberty

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to which they were strangers before. Temperance societies are cities of refuge for the penitent drunkard, where he is encouraged by the example of the temperate, and supported by the good wishes, and kind advices, and prayers, and friendly superintendence of the temperate who enrolled their names along with that of the drunkard, to strengthen his hands, and cheer him on in the work of reform.

'The grand end, however, of temperance societies is prevention rather than cure. Evil habit, and depraved custom, and prejudice, and self interest, may hold back some of the old from the glorious work of reform; but the young as yet are free. To them in an especial manner we address ourselves. We intreat parents, as they value the peace and happiness of their own hoary hairs, and as they would seek the good of generations unborn, to make it ever an object of their fervent prayer, that their children, from conviction and in the exercise of free choice, should enrol their names on the lists of the temperate, and give the benefit of their example and influence,—the overflowing energies of their young warm hearts, to the glorious cause of the Temperance Reformation.'—*Address of the Ulster Temperance Society.*

The best evidence as to the probability of success is certainly furnished from the United States; and on this branch of the subject, we give the preference to the testimony of our respected friends, Drs. Reed and Matheson.

'I must not omit,' says Dr. Reed, 'in this notice, the Temperance Society. It was instituted in 1826, and has wrought an astonishing renovation amongst this people. From the circumstance that ardent spirits were to be had at about a shilling a gallon, the temptation became exceedingly great. As the demand for them rose, extensive orchards were planted, and fruits and grain were grown for the purpose of extracting spirit; till at length it threatened to become the beverage of the country. The serious attention of the benevolent was called to it. The subject was discussed and urged in all its importance on public notice. At last the principle of total abstinence from spirits as a drink, was adopted as the basis of the Society. It had, of course, to contend every where with unreined appetite and pampered vice; but every where it fought to conquer.

'In the short space of its existence, upwards of seven thousand temperance societies have been formed; embracing more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand members. More than three thousand distilleries have been stopped; and more than seven thousand persons who dealt in spirits have declined the trade. Upwards of one thousand vessels have abandoned their use; and, most marvellous of all! it is said that above ten thousand drunkards have been reclaimed from intoxication.

'I really know of no one circumstance in the history of this people, or of any people, so exhilarating as this. It discovers that power of self-government, which is the leading element of all national greatness, in an unexampled degree.'

Our fourth inquiry went to ascertain the reason why drunkenness should thus be distinguished from other vices;—whether the

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propriety of establishing an Anti-Covetous Society, or an Anti-Roguery Society, could not with equal plausibility be sustained. We find they could not.

'We have no inclination to enter here on a discussion, either of the grounds of association for great moral purposes, or of the limits which should be assigned to such association. It is enough for us to know, that the principle of association has received the cordial, and we might almost add, unanimous, approbation of the Christian world, as illustrated in the numbers, the funds, and the success of Bible, and Missionary, and Education Societies, and all those noble institutions which are the glory of our day. To enter on a general exposition of the argument for the establishment of societies against drunkenness, would occupy more time and space than we can at present spare; but a few hints on so plain a subject, are fully sufficient for satisfying a candid inquirer.

'1. The extent and the enormity of the evil of drunkenness, its desolating influence on all that is excellent in individuals, families, the whole community, call loudly for the most powerful and concentrated agency that can be employed for its overthrow. Those who have read the Digest of Evidence, before the Parliamentary Committee on Drunkenness, must feel this, and let those who have not read it, immediately give that most important document a serious perusal.

'2. Drunkenness is not only in itself one of the great master evils of our day, but to its direct and indirect influences, in creating or aggravating other evils, no limits can be assigned. By associating against drunkenness, we lay the axe to the root of the tree, bearing all manner of fruit, not for the healing, but for the destruction of the nations; and by associating together only for the suppression of drunkenness, apparently, we are really organizing a system admirably calculated to prevent or to suppress very many of the evils on account of which the land mourns.

'What benevolent Society is there which has not been benefited by the Temperance Society? Do Clothing Societies, and Destitute Sick Societies, and Bible Societies, complain unjustly that drunkenness is a most gigantic barrier across the road of their usefulness? Clothing and Bibles, and every thing valuable, fly to the pawn-brokers', at the command of intemperate appetite. *Three-fourths*, it is asserted, of the degraded poverty of our land, may be traced to intemperance. Cut off, therefore, by means of Temperance Societies, the source of this poverty, and the evil ceases. A similar illustration may be given in reference to disease. Why multiply hospitals when the prevention of such a mass of disease is so closely within our reach? Dr. Gordon states, in his Evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Drunkenness, that *sixty-five per cent.* of the diseased in the London Hospital owe their disease to intemperance. The simple inquiry, therefore, is, shall we associate merely for the cure, and not also for the prevention, of disease? We might go on to illustrate the same position by a reference to crime, reminding our readers, that *three-fourths*, perhaps, of those confined in our gaols, have been led on and hardened in crime, by means of spirituous liquor; but we would rather fix attention on

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the obstacles thrown in the way of education and religion. How can the drunkard pay for the literary, moral, or religious education of his children; and how can his children be expected to attend, even on gratuitous education, naked and starving, through their father's drunkenness? We have a right to expect, that all the friends of education will be found among the members of the Temperance Society; and surely it is not too much to expect that all the truly religious will be with us, not because a man must become temperate before he becomes religious, for this is false, but because of the influence which drunkenness exercises in excluding its victims and their dependents from the means of reformation. The whole history of Temperance Societies, proves them to be most efficient auxiliaries to the preaching of the gospel.

'3. The suppression of drunkenness is a most appropriate object for general association, because so many can unite in it, without sacrifice of principle, for the accomplishment of an inestimable good. This requires no explanation to those who know that the fundamental principle of the Temperance Society is, We resolve to refrain from distilled spirit, and promote temperance.

'4. The system of Temperance Societies is simple and comprehensive, and practical; plain and palpable to the comprehension of the weakest. While a foundation of the whole system on scriptural principles, and its advocacy by scriptural motives, alone can warrant expectations of success, those influenced by religious principle may benefit others by uniting with them, and by their joint efforts disseminate invaluable blessings throughout the community.

'5. Very many causes, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, expose the task of reforming intemperate habits and customs to contempt and ridicule, as well as make the situation of the reformed drunkard peculiarly trying; and therefore, all that union can effect is required, to enable those who reform, and who are reformed, to hold fast their integrity, and go right onward in the path of duty and of safety.

'6. The precept and example of the influential classes have been a main cause of drunkenness, by establishing the poison, distilled spirit, as a customary drink, and associating the use of intoxicating liquors with social and mercantile intercourse; it is absolutely necessary, therefore, that the influential should, in the most effective manner, exert themselves to undo the evil of which they have unhappily been the cause,—to teach truth where they have taught falsehood,—to denounce distilled spirit, which they formerly countenanced,—to banish intemperate customs and practices,—to promote the reformation of drunkards, to secure perseverance in sobriety by the temperate;—in one word, to promote temperance; and this they can do by no instrumentality so effectual as the establishment of Temperance Societies.'—*Belfast Temperance Advocate.*

Last of all, we demanded Scripture warrant for the principle, and the following is submitted.

'There is, as we constantly affirm, only one remedy for sin of every kind, and that is to be found in the gospel of Christ; for that "is

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the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth." Our plan, therefore, if it is to be successful, must be built on this foundation; and in truth, it implies certain principles which are to be found only in the gospel. For example: the gospel leads us to renounce sin, and to be zealous for holiness; "for the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."

'The gospel also teaches us to have a tender regard for others, saying, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." The gospel teaches us to deny ourselves for the sake of others, saying, "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let every one of us please his neighbour, for his good, to edification; for even Christ pleased not himself, but, as it is written, 'The reproaches of them that reproached thee, fell on me.'" Lastly, the gospel teaches us, by example and precept, to "consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works." Let us now apply these principles to the object proposed. It is proposed to unite in a society, called a "Temperance Society," by which we agree to observe certain rules, binding us to temperance. The principle of making a covenant for such a purpose is good and scriptural, for we often read of such covenants among the Jews. In the reign of Asa, we are told, "they entered into a covenant to seek the Lord God of their fathers with all their heart, and with all their soul; that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel should be put to death, whether small or great, whether man or woman. And they sware unto the Lord with a loud voice, and with shouting, and with trumpets, and with cornets; and all Judah rejoiced at the oath: for they had sworn with all their heart, and sought him with their whole desire; and he was found of them; and the Lord gave them rest round about." In Nehemiah also we read, that the Jews made a similar covenant, and the names are given of nearly an hundred persons who signed it. Now if the Jews made a covenant to renounce idolatry, why should not we to renounce drunkenness? In this let all sober persons join, and bear the infirmities of those who are less established in temperance. The devil is too strong for us singly; let us then strive to resist him, for a three-fold cord is not quickly broken.'—*Rev. Thomas Newton.*

'Temperance Societies lay as their foundation two great laws, Christian charity and self-preservation. They neither propose to employ a means of reformation superior to the Gospel, nor different from it, but merely to put into practical operation principles which the gospel has taught. There is no account, it is true, of their establishment in the New Testament, more than of the establishment of Bible or Missionary Societies; but all the principles on which they are founded, and which they teach, are to be found there. Their object is to produce a great change on public opinion and practice; their instrument for effecting this is not coercion in any form, but simply the Truth

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spoken in love.—Knowing that prevention is better than cure, their desire is to cut off the sources of drunkenness, and these sources they conceive are found in the opinions and practices of the temperate. Believing the community to labour under gross deception respecting the properties of intoxicating liquors, they are anxious to elicit discussion, and to disseminate truth. It is their object also to awaken public attention to the incalculable and increasing evils of intemperance, under which our country groans, and to the imperative calls upon every man to employ the means with which God has furnished him for the destruction of a plague before which all that is noble and good in our land is fading away. Past years have furnished delightful evidence that union is strength; and this principle they are desirous of turning to good account, by directing against intemperance the concentrated influence both of the precept and example of temperate men. Temperance societies are societies of the temperate, united, not on the ground of a common principle, but of a common practice—abstaining from the use of distilled spirits, and discountenancing the causes and practices of intemperance. A general view of the principles and objects of these societies I now lay before you.

'The gospel is emphatically the "law of liberty"—the liberty of doing what love makes delightful. It is most consistent with such liberty to make every sacrifice consistent with health and duty, rather than cast a stumbling-block in the way of a brother. The Christian has the highest warrant for the use of animal food; yet he cheerfully foregoes his right when the exercise of it would hurt the conscience of a brother, would excite prejudice against religion, or, by the power of example, would induce a brother to sin. "It is good," says the unerring oracle, "neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." The Christian is not forbidden the use of wine, as the Nazarite of old; he does not consider the use of wine to be sinful; yet, when he finds that his use of wine throws a temptation in his brother's way, and affords an apology for excess,—when he finds that intemperate opinions and practices prevail to an alarming extent, and that so many stumble, and are offended, and made weak,—then he suits his conduct to existing circumstances: his language is—"All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient; and I will not use, while the world stands, that whereby I make my brother to offend."

'The apostle Paul would have commended his brother Timothy for acting on this good and wholesome rule of Christian charity, had not the infirm state of his health required the medicinal virtue of a small portion of wine. Paul therefore exhorts him, in the spirit of medical prescription, "to use no longer water," as his only drink, according to his former practice, but to use a *little* wine for his *stomach's* sake and his *often infirmities*.

'Though, therefore, a certain use of wine is allowed in Scripture, yet every man is not only at perfect liberty to refrain from its use when he pleases, but there are circumstances in which abstinence from it is highly commendable, and consistent with the noblest principles of Christianity. There is nothing wrong in abstinence from any particular kind of meat or of drink. While an all-bountiful God has fur-

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nished us with a rich variety of articles of food, he has laid us under no necessity of using each and all of the different kinds. Some of them we may choose, others refuse, as our taste or our reason dictates. There is no breach of a divine command, no disrespect shown to the good creatures of God, in making a choice among the different articles of meat or of drink. Every man is exercising such choice, freely, every day, for the sake of his health or his appetite; and no one counts it wrong. Should either blame, then, or ridicule be attached to him who abstains for the sake of his conscience? Has any man a right to compel me to drink wine, or to quote in justification of his tyrannical conduct, " Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused?" I have just as good a right not to drink as another has to drink; and temperance societies will deserve the praise of all good men if, in the midst of a host of compulsory customs and courtesies, they should be able to do no more than establish the right of refusing.

' In establishing such a right, they will be doing no dishonour to Him who, though the Creator of the vine, commanded the Nazarites to abstain from all that it produces, and who highly commended the descendants of Rechab for evidencing, by abstinence from wine, their obedience to the wise injunction of Jonadab their father. No sincere Christian can consider abstinence from wine to be sinful, after having reflected on the language of Christ respecting John the Baptist: " Among them," said he, " that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John," and yet " John came neither eating bread nor drinking wine." To *command* to abstain is anti-christian—to abstain is an exercise of Christian liberty.

' We require not to be told, then, of the allusions made in Scripture to the use of wine. We know them; but we know, too, that the usual beverage of the Jews was water, and that the Jews were deservedly considered a temperate people. No member of a Temperance Society asserts that it is sinful to drink wine—he has no desire to affix a stigma to its moderate use; all that he contends for is that what is perfectly lawful may, under peculiar circumstances, become inexpedient: in the midst of unbounded intemperance, he is anxious to draw, between his own practice and that of the multitude, a clearly defined line of separation; and being most desirous not only to shun all appearance of evil, but to mark, in the strongest manner, his abhorrence of intemperance in all its stages, he evidences by his practice his conviction that the state and taste of society have been grievously vitiated —he withdraws himself from all connection with those opinions and practices by which, in the present depraved state of society, the use of intoxicating liquor is made essential to health and social intercourse, and from which, as the most prolific of all sources, springs the overwhelming drunkenness of our day.

' Such a course of conduct would be most justifiable and proper even with respect to the wine usually spoken of in Scripture. It may be laid down as a general position that all vinous countries are temperate. France, with all its infidelity, sets a noble example of temperance. But, suppose that in such a country as France wine should be so horribly abused as to become the bane and curse of the country, then the

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truly Christian spirit would call for extraordinary means of reformation suited to extraordinary exigencies; and to avoid every apology for excess, as well as to stamp evil practices with the strongest reprobation, would abstain from that which caused stumbling, and offence, and weakness. The mere circumstance of the article abused being a good creature of God would present no objection to such a course of conduct; for an article good in itself may be so prostituted as to render its use by an enlightened conscientious mind wholly inexpedient. The meat offered in sacrifice to idols was not changed in its nature by being presented to that which, as a mere creature of imagination, "is nothing in the world"—it did not cease from being a good creature of God; and yet the primitive Christians did not hesitate to abstain from it, on account of its having been prostituted to base purposes. It would be easy to find similar illustrations in a multitude of cases, where the wise and conscientious abstain from things indifferent, solely because they have been abused.

'The state of society with us, however, is wholly different from what it is in vinous countries—from what it was in the temperate Judea. By the use of ardent spirits—a powerfully intoxicating stimulus—a false taste has been created, which loathes the light weak wines of the East, and which is gradually exalting the strength of all intoxicating liquors to that false standard which ardent spirits have created. What would the simple fermented juice of the grape be to a population like ours, swallowing down such huge masses of liquid fire? Even our best wines are mixed with undiluted distilled spirits; and yet such is the depraved taste of the great majority of our people that even for them they have no relish. Even with them the process of intoxication is too slow, excitement rises too feebly and gradually; and therefore, among the bulk of the population, wines and all weak intoxicating liquors are in small demand. Strength, not flavour, is the recommendation to every man whose object is to get drunk.

'The argument founded on Christian charity for abstinence from wine, as the simple juice of the grape, receives much additional strength when applied to a liquor mixed as our wines are with another substance of a most dangerous and inflammatory intoxicating property. Against the use of this substance,—against distilled spirits as a necessary or luxury of life,—Temperance Societies lift up their solemn protest.

'The use of wine being recognised in Scripture gives no warrant whatever for the use of every substance possessing intoxicating properties. No wise man would attempt to argue that because wine, in a weak state, may be used in small quantities on certain occasions without injury, therefore the daily use of strong wines is safe, and therefore it is right and salutary to bring into common use any intoxicating substance, whatever be the violence of its intoxicating powers. The use of wine furnishes no warrant for the use of distilled spirits. No revelation from God, no dictate of common sense, ever pronounced them to be a proper substitute. That they have been substituted is a melancholy truth; that they should be is a pernicious error, whose fatal consequences have invaded the peace of almost every family.

'These positions would hold good were wine nothing more than di-

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luted ardent spirits; for in the weakness of the intoxicating material there would be comparative safety. The use of vitriol and water, as a safe medicine, would furnish no warrant for drinking vitriol. But wine is not diluted ardent spirit. It is a distinct substance, which holds ardent spirit in chemical solution with other ingredients, by which the dangerous properties of the ardent spirit are partly neutralised.

'The argument for the ordinary use of opium, is stronger than for that of ardent spirits, since the former is a production of nature, the latter of art; and since, on account of the one affecting the imagination chiefly, the other the passions, a community would be safer with opium in common use than with ardent spirits. But who, in the present state of Christian society, would advocate the moderate use of opium?

'In looking, however, to medical works, we find ardent spirits and opium classed under the same head, as possessing exactly similar properties. They are both narcotics, possessing, according to the meaning of the name, a stupifying, deadening influence. They are both, in the literal sense of the word, *Poisons*. Ardent spirits may not kill as quickly, when taken habitually, as arsenic, but they will as surely; and the few exceptions, which lay the foundation of the drunkard's sickly jests about *slow poison*, afford no more warrant for habitual use than the resuscitation of a man who had been an hour under water would sanction a repetition of the experiment. Every habitual drinker of ardent spirits, with his eyes open to the consequences, is as really and truly a suicide as he who seeks a desperate escape from conscience upon the nearest tree, or in the neighbouring pool.'—*Professor Edgar.*

'I shall close my notice of objections, by adverting to a feeling which indisposes many to enrol themselves as members, because they are required to sign a declaration. From all that I have observed, I can regard this in no other light than that of an over-nice scrupulosity, which they can neither well define, nor offer any solid reason for. Some seem to regard it in the light of a vow. It is not so. The declaration is merely an expression of present determination, and, by an open avowal of existing conviction, giving your public testimony against the evil. As it is a voluntary act on your part, the name that is enrolled to-day can be withdrawn to-morrow; and as no reciprocal claim exists, farther than consistent conduct, while you do remain a member, the obligation is no longer binding than till you choose to annul it. Again, others think they as effectually serve the cause, by acting on the principle, without becoming members. This is a delusion; it wants some of the essential requisites which constitute the strength of our cause. It wants the public testimony against the evil, which forms one of the chief elements for counteracting it. It divests your example of much of that influence, which the simple fact that you are a member, would lend to it. It deprives us of the advantages of that union and combination, which are found to give strength and success to every other cause, for it is a long established maxim, that "union is strength." There are others who consider it an impeachment of their principles, by inferring that they cannot keep themselves sober, with-

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out such an obligation. It implies no such insinuation against those who possess better principles; and the fact, that it is temperate men whom we principally wish to become members, repels such an insinuation. But, have you no sympathy for your weaker brethren who possess them not? Many of them possess no such principles as can stay their minds against the insidious allurements of this deceitful enemy. And in the absence of such, is it not well to anchor their minds by such an obligation, to prevent temptation from breaking them away, and driving them continually on the quick-sands of destruction? Many feel this obligation, when they would feel no other; and it is in the simple fact, that they are members, that their chief safety lies. It furnishes an apology by which they can resist every solicitation from their acquaintances. It fixes their resolution, and settles in their minds, that they are done with the practice; and thus it terminates all those hankerings and desires which would betray them into evil. There is a power and a charm in being a member, which form a fine panoply of defence to many, who possess no higher principles to protect them.'—*Collins.*

Here we take leave of the subject, declining, for reasons of our own, to sum up the evidence, and, for once, vacating the seat of judgement. It is a question of conscience. In this matter we desire, most unfeignedly, that every Christian should decide for himself,—and speedily. Thus far we may venture to go, not as partisans, but as Christians,—to entreat all our readers, without delay, to give the subject a full and impartial consideration. To this it is entitled, not less by the hold it has taken on the public mind, than by the weight of individual piety and intelligence which is already pledged in its favour. There is now a fair presumption that *much* is capable of being urged on its behalf;—that it *may* possibly be our imperative duty to join its ranks; and that even *ignorance may involve guilt.* "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; *if thou sayest, behold we knew it not:* doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his work?" Hitherto, the worst enemy the Society has had to contend with, has been the power of ridicule: the sharpest arrows with which it has been assailed, have been pointed with a sneer. But this is no test of truth: if it had been, Christianity itself would scarcely have survived the severity of that warfare. We trust that none will shrink from the investigation through fear that it may end in a conviction, that they ought to take ground which may prove disagreeable. It is not pleasant to give up any gratification, however trifling:—the more trifling the enjoyment, the more vexatious, oftentimes, is restraint. To withdraw from our tables a luxury which is on the table of a friend, or to refuse to partake of any thing which he offers, on grounds

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which imply disapproval, and which he may interpret unkindly, may, under some circumstances, be very annoying. But what is the value of a Christianity which does not include self-denial, whenever duty either to God or our neighbour calls for it? One word more, and we have done. The follies, the extravagancies, the inconsistencies of some Temperance advocates, form no valid reason for declining a thorough examination into the claims of the Society. It is no argument against *the Association*, that one man refuses to drink coffee, because it is stimulating,—that another, after signing a declaration against spirits, half intoxicates himself with wine,—that a third, under pretence of sickness, hypocritically and fraudulently steals the accustomed dram, or that a fourth doubles his allowance of strong beer, or cider, on the strength of his abstinence from gin. Every good cause needs to be preserved from its friends. It would fare ill with Christianity herself, if she were to be judged by any of the tests to which we have objected. How often has she been wounded in the house of her friends! But what is the chaff to the wheat?

Art. III. 1. *Arboretum Britannicum;* or the hardy Trees of Britain, native and foreign, pictorially and botanically delineated, and scientifically and popularly described. By J. C. Loudon. In 8vo Numbers: 2*s* 6*d*. each. London, 1835.

2. *Characters of Trees.* By William Delamotte. On Zinc. Folio. 4 Plates, 6*s*. London, 1835.

3. *Rudiments of Trees, from Nature.* Six Nos., 1*s*. each. London, 1834.

TRUE as it may be, that the minute expression of foliage is not necessary to the general rendering of natural effect, it is not less certain that the study of leaf, branch, and trunk with almost botanical accuracy, is a part of his educational processes which no well-judging artist will think it wise to neglect. Frequent occasions must occur, in which the knowledge of details, and the skill in their management thus acquired, will be especially demanded. The painter may be required, or he may feel it expedient, to treat landscape on the principles of portraiture, and to depart for a moment from those higher systems and those well-considered conventionalities, which merge specific character in general forms. Nor is this close imitation so uniformly or essentially objectionable as some would represent. It is an easy matter to sneer at Dutch littleness and Flemish elaboration; but they are excellent qualities in their right place, and convey a truer expression of 'things as they are,' than is given by the

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dashing generalizations in which we have too often seen every trace of fidelity and discrimination swept away. Without, however, engaging in discussions that might lead us inconveniently astray from our immediate business, and independently of all systematic views or individual practice in the treatment of landscape, we recur to our first position, (in truth a self-evident one, though not always adopted in actual tuition,) that an accurate study of foliage in all its varieties and all its manipulations, is the basis of sound instruction in this branch of drawing. In our younger days, this principle was but partially recognised, and still more rarely did it find its way into practice. During the usual course of teaching, under a master by no means inexpert, not once was our attention called to this point. Handling, effect, colour, were fairly enough illustrated; but the materials on which these elements were to be employed, found no place in the exercise. Few learners were better off in this respect than ourselves, and most assuredly the larger proportion was in a yet worse plight. Yet there had been able efforts made to provide a remedy for this injurious state of things; and we have now before us a series of engravings by John Cozens, dated in 1789, which are, on the whole, excellently adapted to their obviously intended purpose. They are, apparently, a mixture of acquatint and soft-ground etching, and they exhibit the characters of the more important trees with much spirit and cleverness. We remember to have seen, many years back, a publication of some half dozen folio pages, by a much inferior artist, but whose name was also Cozens, on a singular plan, of which the execution was not worthy of the conception. The skeletons of different trees were represented, each in its own compartment, with stem and branch, as in the wintry state; while the general form of the summer clothing was indicated by a lighter shadow. It must have been somewhat later, we suppose, when Gilpin published, from his brother's drawings, the few but instructive specimens of branch and spray which occur in his work on Forest Scenery.

The first work, however, that obtained extensive popularity, and effected a beneficial change in the modes of instruction, was Laporte's well known series on the "Characters of Trees"; a publication which, with many defects, and very few of the higher excellencies of art, was yet distinguished by spirited and, on the whole, expressive execution. His handling was free and fluent; his manner unsubstantial but unaffected; and his processes altogether intelligible and readily imitable. Some thirty years since, Ackerman published a collection of trees by Huet Villiers, an artist of some skill, but not, we should imagine, previously exercised in this direction: some of his subjects are fairly treated, but the major part are very common-place, and his trunks, with few exceptions, are mere school-boy's work. The intervening

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period has provided an ample supply of rich and scientific production. Delamotte, both on a large and small scale, is admirable: his etchings are of the old school, and his large studies of forest trees are of distinguished merit. Harding has, in his various publications, given some excellent illustrations of sylvan scenery; and we have seen a specimen or two by Barnard, of good execution. A year or two back, a very elaborate series, but on a principle that appears to us altogether mistaken, was lithographed by an artist named Childs. He has represented every tree with its aspect, not as modified by the atmospheric *media* and the generalizing effect produced by the range and rapid motion of the eye endeavouring to take in the whole at once, but as if the sight rested upon every leaf, both individually and collectively. This is not a true exhibition of natural appearances, nor would it be found, in average instruction, to operate otherwise than injuriously.

The works actually before us are of various though considerable merit. The "Rudiments of Trees" is the title of an unpretending but clever series, treated with much spirit and considerable originality: no name is given on the cover, but the last plate is inscribed, J. Wrightson. Mr. Delamotte's "Characters" are marked with much of his peculiar talent, though we do not admire them quite so highly as some of his former productions. They are drawn on zinc, a medium said to possess some advantages over stone: we could fancy that the effect, though clearer, is not quite so rich.

Mr. Loudon's "*Arboretum Britannicum*" will, when completed, be a work of considerable extent, reasonable price, and great utility. The execution of the plates is respectable, but the foliage, especially about the central and foreshortened parts, is deficient in character; and the handling is not so much that of an artist working on a favourite subject, as of an amateur ready with the crayon, but not master of its higher and more expressive management. Perhaps this may be a little hypercritical, and we are not unwilling that it should be so taken: our standard of excellence, however, is partly supplied by Mr. Loudon himself, who has, in some of the Numbers of his "Natural History" Magazine, given some nearly perfect specimens of tree-portrait, in wood-cuts by Williams from drawings by Strutt. For the rest, Mr. Loudon's "Arboretum" merits strong recommendation as supplying a deficiency that has long been felt: the letter-press is full of valuable information.

Having had occasion to introduce Mr. Strutt's name, it would be hardly fair to pass it by without giving him his just praise as the *facile princeps* of artists in this department. The three numbers, all we believe that have appeared, of his "*Deliciæ Sylvarum*," contain some fine examples of forest scenery in a series of bold and masterly etchings. His "*Sylva Britannica*,"

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containing fifty portraits of various trees, executed, as we have somewhere seen it stated, in lithography: they have, however, the appearance, to complete deception, of finished etchings. They are, as subjects, admirably selected: as drawings, they are of exquisite workmanship: and as a collection, they are full of instruction to the artist, and of interest to the lover either of art or of nature.

Art. IV. *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria.* By John, Bishop of Lincoln. 8vo., pp. 480. Price 12*s*. London, 1835.

DR. KAYE has honourably distinguished himself by a series of well-conducted inquiries into the early annals of the Christian Church. Master of that sound and valid learning which enables the possessor to move with confidence and decision amid the embarrassments of a subject requiring the shrewdest exercise of scholarship and discretion in unravelling complication, removing incumbrance, and supplying deficiency, he has addressed himself to his task with a just estimate of his own powers and of the circumstances under which they were to be put forth. Languages dead, and worse than dead, barbarized by vile mixture and evil custom; opinions wild, vague, and discordant; systems extravagant and self-contradictory; facts distorted or misapplied; characters branded or canonized as malignity or caprice might dictate;—such are some of the difficulties, assuredly neither few nor light, which beset the man who fairly undertakes the study of ecclesiastical history in its original documents, and in the materials, infinitely various and multiplied, which are to be examined for their illustration. The labour, however, is of the utmost importance, not so much in its application to the primary questions of doctrine and discipline,—*they* derive from deeper and purer sources,—as in its tendency to elucidate the social, mental, and moral peculiarities of man. A different view of the matter has, indeed, been usually taken. The advocates of conflicting systems, instead of making '*the Law* '*and the Testimony*' their ultimate reference, have called in Prescription, under diverse disguises, as, if not a surer, a more convenient and manageable criterion. The 'Primitive Church,' the 'Fathers,' the early 'Councils,' have been, all and each, placed in that judgement-seat from which there is but one voice that speaks authoritatively. Be it, at the same time, clearly understood, that we have no objection even to the testimony of prescription, if fairly adduced: it throws a powerful illumination, sometimes directly, at other times by contrast and opposition, on great and

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weighty questions. We refuse to admit it only when it is partially or unduly urged, or when, for sectarian purposes, it is raised from its subordinate and ancillary character, to that of a safe and specific guide.

Nothing in these passing observations is meant to apply to the Bishop of Lincoln: he has, we think, taken a wrong view, both of Scripture and of ecclesiastical antiquity, on certain points; but there is no unfairness in his statements, nor subtlety in his manner. He gives distinctly the grounds of his conviction, and uses no official emphasis in the expression of his opinions. We are tempted, though somewhat at the expense of regular succession, to cite in this place a passage which does not occur till near the end of the book, as exemplifying a somewhat striking instance of fair exposition and halting inference.

'In the time of Clement, the name Εκκλησια was given to the place in which Christians assembled for the purposes of divine worship. On one occasion, he opposes it to the word συναγωγή. But in general the word Εκκλησια is used by him to express the whole body of Christians, which he calls the great temple of God, the true believer being the small temple. In describing the progress of the Gnostic towards perfection, Clement says, that "it is possible for a man, even in the present day, who exercises himself in the commandments of the Lord, and lives perfectly and *gnostically* according to the Gospel, to be enrolled in the number of the Apostles. Such a man is the true Presbyter of the Church, and the true minister (διακονος) of the will of God, if he does and teaches that which is of the Lord; not chosen (χειροτονουμενος) by men; not deemed righteous, because a Presbyter, but enrolled in the presbytery because righteous; and although he may not be honoured with the first place (πρωτοκαθεδρια) upon earth, yet will he sit among the four-and-twenty thrones, judging the people, as John says in the Apocalypse."

'Clement proceeds to remark, that these four-and-twenty judges will be selected from the most perfect members of the Church, now composed of Jews and Gentiles; and then adds, "for the degrees (αι προκοπαι) in the Church on earth, of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, are, in my opinion, imitations of the angelic glory, and of that dispensation which is said in Scripture to await all who, walking in the steps of the Apostles, live in perfect righteousness according to the Gospel. These, according to the Apostle, being raised into the clouds, will first minister (διακονησουσι), will then, receiving an advancement in glory, (for there are differences in glory,) be enrolled in the Presbytery, until they come unto the perfect man." Whatever we may think of the comparison which Clement here institutes, one consequence flows necessarily from the passage;—that there were in Clement's time three degrees or orders of ministers in the Church; Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons. On another occasion, Clement says, that precepts are addressed in Scripture to select persons; to presbyters, bishops, deacons, widows. Sometimes, indeed, only presbyters and deacons are mentioned. The office of the former is said to be to amend the soul;

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of the latter, to minister. In the tract entitled *Quis Dives Salvetur*, the titles ἐπισκοπος and πρεσβύτερος, are indifferently applied to the same person; but St. John had previously been described as travelling through Asia Minor appointing Bishops, forming whole churches, and admitting the clergy into the number of those who were marked (κληρῷ) out by the Holy Spirit. Here there is no mention either of presbyters or deacons. It is evident, therefore, that the Bishop was distinguished from the rest of the clergy; he was in truth, the chief Presbyter.'

—No, it could but follow from the most one-sided interpretation of this, that he was *primus inter pares*, the foreman of a jury, the chairman of a bench of magistrates. But neither, in truth, does even this appear. Strip the passage of its *Rhemish* style of translation,—by the way we except this from our concession of 'fair exposition,'—and what will be the result? In the first place, we learn that the Church does not mean the Hierarchy. Next, we find Clement running a parallel between the perfect man and the actual orders of the church: he may acquire the spiritual state and privileges of an apostle; he may be as truly an elder and minister as if he had been chosen, according to custom, *by show of hands*. The whole context is strangely confused in the translation, by the inadmissible application of terms now always used as titular, whereas they were, in their origin, simply discriminating and descriptive. Overseers, elders, stewards, have a clear and incontrovertible meaning: to call them bishops, presbyters, and deacons, is to throw dust in the eyes of the unlearned and credulous. With a clear understanding of their primary intention, the use of such terms may be allowed in practice; but to employ them in controversy, is a mere abuse of a questionable permission. The Bishop of Lincoln admits that Clement elsewhere uses bishop and presbyter as convertible terms, and that he describes the Apostle John as appointing 'bishops' in Asia Minor. Nothing, it should seem, occurs about suffragans or inferior clergy; and it is obvious that the passage refers to the formation of churches and the ordination of pastors. On the whole, however, these paragraphs may be taken as illustrating the honesty with which Dr. Kaye exhibits authorities, whatever may be thought of the manner in which he explains or evades conclusions.

The Founder of the Egyptian Alexandria had in view, says Matter, objects 'purely political.' We have a higher opinion of the pupil of Aristotle, and hold with Dr. Burton, that it was designed not only for the selfish purposes of a conqueror, but to promote the nobler aims of a lover of knowledge for its own sake. After a long and brilliant cultivation of science and philosophy in its celebrated schools, they became the scene of a contest widely differing from the strifes of words in which the sophists

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and rhetoricians of all ages have taken especial delight. Alexandria seems to have been chosen, by a sort of common consent, as a central point where Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity might come, thanks to the liberal policy of the Lagidæ, fairly into collision. After severe struggles and many vain attempts at compromise and alliance, the false and the imperfect ceded the victory to the true; a result to which few contributed more effectually than the eminent man of whose life and labours this interesting volume contains a luminous abstract.

The birth-place of Clement is doubtful. Whether he was Athenian or Alexandrian, ancient authority does not enable us to decide satisfactorily; and modern inquirers are content with an uncertainty which is, after all, of small importance, though its removal might possibly throw partial light on one, at least, of the difficulties which attend the consideration of his history and opinions. It would be of more consequence to the illustration of his writings, could it be ascertained whether his education was commenced, and how far it was carried on, at the one or at the other place; how much of his primary learning was pagan, and how much Christian; to what extent his mental training may be attributable to the schools of Athens, or to the lessons of Pantænus. But leaving this, as beyond our means of adjustment, the information that remains to us concerning his character and compositions will be found in general clear and available, though there are points of obscurity, on which it is more desirable than probable that further explanation should be obtained. The summary given by the Bishop of Lincoln, contains, in brief, all that is known on this subject.

'Clement, according to Jerome, was a presbyter of the church of Alexandria, the scholar of Pantænus, and after his decease master of the catechetical school at Alexandria. While he presided in it, he had the honour of numbering the great Origen among his scholars. He flourished during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla, (i. e. between A. C. 192 and 217,) and was contemporary with Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, from whom he was bearer of a letter to the church of Antioch. Jerome gives the following list of his works, describing them as replete with learning and eloquence, and embracing both sacred and profane literature. Στρωματις in eight books.—Hypotyposes in eight books.—One book addressed to the Gentiles.—Three books entitled, Παιδαγωγος.—One book concerning Easter.—A discourse concerning Fasting.—A discourse, entitled, "Who is the Rich Man that shall be saved?"—One book on Slander.—One on the Ecclesiastical Canons, and against those who follow the errors of the Jews, addressed to Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem. This account of the works of Clement is principally derived from Eusebius, who also mentions an Exhortation to Patience, addressed to the newly Baptized. The address to the Gentiles, the Pædagogus, the Stromata, and the tract entitled, "Who is the Rich Man that shall be saved?" have come down

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to us nearly entire. Of the other works we have only fragments. From Eusebius we further learn that Clement was a convert from heathenism. According to Epiphanius, he was by some called an Athenian, by others an Alexandrian; whence Cave infers that he was born at Athens, and studied at Alexandria. The account given by Photius of the works of Clement, and of the time in which he lived, agrees with that of Jerome.'

Few remains of the writers who flourished in the early periods of Christian history, are more interesting than those in which they address themselves to their pagan contemporaries. Deeply versed in the learning of their times, and thoroughly aware of all that was plausible and all that was extravagant in the creeds of their adversaries, the venerable exhorters and apologists of Christian antiquity have handed down to us invaluable materials, whence to ascertain the true character of the heathen systems of faith and practice. From the crude and coarse mythologies of Greece and Rome, to the splendid dreams of Plato and the subtilizing processes of his school, heathenism, in all its forms and all its disguises, was assailed and confounded by those eloquent and victorious advocates of Christianity. Their modes of conducting an argument were not, indeed, altogether such as would, in the present day, be deemed the most effective; they were, however, unanswerable by their antagonists on any common ground; and we may well apply to these eminent men in general, the qualification which Dr. Kaye, in a former work, makes applicable to one of their number. 'Arguments,' he justly observes, 'which 'appear to us the most forcible, might have been thrown away 'upon the persons he was addressing; and we may surely give 'him credit for knowing by what means he was most likely to 'produce conviction in their minds.' The course of mental discipline which circumstances and the impulse of his own mind had enforced upon Clement, was such as to fit him for high rank among these memorable men. Born, probably, at Athens, in the very centre of all that was either attractive or profound in pagan learning, he afterwards travelled in Asia, and ultimately fixed his residence in Alexandria, the emporium at once of commerce and of literature, the great mart of talent, the free and chosen lists where the old systems and the new were committed in fair and final contest. At first the scholar of the celebrated Pantænus, he afterwards became his worthy successor, and was placed at the head of that famous school which was founded for the express purpose of opposing the errors and heresies of the time. 'In the very presence,' says Matter *, 'of those philoso-'phers who revived the traditions of the most ancient mythology,

* *Histoire critique du Gnosticisme,* Vol. I., p. 33.

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'to blend them with the ideology of the most recent speculations; 'in presence of those sectaries who seemed determined to intro- 'duce into Christianity, the most secret theories of Persia and 'Chaldea, of Judea and Egypt, St. Clement was, by his 'position, compelled to study history and philosophy, the systems 'of religion and those of mythology. Thus his Works, and espe- 'cially his *Stromata*, are an inexhaustible mine of the most 'valuable illustrations of his own time and of antiquity. Com- 'bating the Gnostics face to face, studying their writings, so to 'speak, under their own eyes, he often reproduces their principles 'with more exactness than St. Irenæus, whose habitual residence 'was so distant from their schools.' Of this learning and these abilities, Clement has left us a satisfactory specimen in his "Hortatory Address to the Greeks"; a declamatory, rather than logical composition, but eloquent and convincing. A brief but interesting analysis of this tract is given in the volume before us; and we shall cite a paragraph of the exordium as a specimen of the style, half poetic, half rhetorical, in which he handles these matters. He begins by reminding the Greeks of the beautiful legends received among them as true, concerning the power of music—the walls of Thebes raised by the lyre of Amphion—the wild beasts tamed by the song of Orpheus; he then proceeds as follows.

"Yet, though the face of truth is now revealed to them in all its brightness, they look at it with suspicious eyes. Let us leave them to their Cithæron and Helicon, and the feasts of Bacchus, and their dramatic exhibitions, which are chiefly founded on the calamities and crimes of man. Let us turn to the mountain of God, and to the holy prophetic choir, and draw down from heaven, Truth with her companion Wisdom; that diffusing her light around, she may enlighten all who are involved in darkness, and may free men from error, extending to them intelligence (συνεσιν) as it were a hand to guide them to salvation. Orpheus, Amphion, Arion, and the Greek musicians employed their skill in confirming the perverseness of man, and leading him to idols, and stocks, and stones. Not so the Christian musician: he comes to destroy the bitter tyranny of demons; to substitute in its place the mild and gentle yoke of piety; to raise to heaven those who had been cast down upon the earth. He alone has tamed man, the most savage of beasts; and has indeed made men out of stones, by raising up a Holy Seed from among the Gentiles who believed in stones. Such is the power of the New Song; it has converted stones and beasts into men. They who were dead, without any portion of the real life, have revived at the mere sound.'

This figurative mode of appeal is carried to a considerable extent before Clement grapples with his main subject; but, when he fairly enters on the proper business of his address, he displays considerable energy in his exposition of the errors of Gentilism. The

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spurious deities, the lying oracles, the depraved morality of the heathen worship, are well contrasted with the purity and truth of the Christian religion. This work, with the two subsequent treatises, to which we shall presently advert, seems to have formed a sort of trilogy, completing the scheme of Christianity, in its reference to conviction, to the conduct, and to the affections. The "Hortatory Address" having been designed to effect the conversion of the alien, and his establishment in right principles, Clement's next care was to supply the convert with a manual of pious practice. For this purpose he wrote the Pædagogue; a singular composition, in which the frivolous and the important are strangely mingled. If judged according to present notions, the "Pædagogue" will give no favourable notion of its Author's intellectual energy: there is no appeal to ultimate principles, no sound and systematic survey of moral duty; nothing, in short, of that adaptation to all seasons and all circumstances which a man of large views and vigorous mind would have impressed upon his work. We cannot think that the Bishop's apology for this failure, is to be taken as valid. He defends Clement on the ground of non-intention:—he did not design to compose '*a system of morality.*' Perhaps not: probably, such a work would have been unsuitable to the class whose benefit he principally intended. But the question still returns, whether a mode of composition which excludes all those higher qualities to which reference has just been made, could be, under any circumstances, so effective as one that should have aimed at exciting and informing the intellect, even while conveying the simplest instruction in the most common duties. Or, still more decidedly, can any moral inculcation be permanently impressive, that does not maintain a continual reference to those high motives and essential principles, on which all morality that is worthy of the name, always and unalterably depends?

The third member of Clement's triple arrangement, has obtained more permanent favour than either of the former, and this chiefly from incidental causes. The *Stromata*—'Carpet-work,' or 'Varieties'—seem to have been the turning-out of the contents of his common-place book; a strange but interesting collection of all sorts of illustrations of all sorts of subjects. He gives his own description of the book, as of one in which regular order and connection were disavowed. He speaks of it as answering to its title in its various and desultory composition; as full of abrupt transitions, frequently passing from the subject to matters altogether foreign. He compares it to a meadow or a garden, where fruit and herb and flower are intermingled;—to a wild and rugged country where trees of every kind are mixed without regularity. It will be clearly seen, how much this must

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add to the value of the work; not, indeed, as an argumentative comment, but as a rich treasury of facts, circumstances, and opinions, that would have found no place in a grave discussion, but in this heterogeneous miscellany have been treasured up for the instruction of posterity.

The most substantial—we cannot even here venture to say the best connected—part of these *adversaria*, refers to a character which Clement is pleased to distinguish as the true Gnostic, the perfect Christian, having attained the γνωσις, or 'perfect knowledge of all that relates to God, his nature, and dispensations.' The late Alexander Knox, in his letter to Parken, speaks of this 'portraiture' as 'one of the noblest things of the kind that the 'world ever saw;' qualifying, however, this strong language by the admission, that 'the assertions cannot always be defended.' Dr. Kaye seems to have taken the juster view of the subject, when he describes the work of Clement as less a 'portraiture' than a collection of hints and sketches, finished or unfinished, out of which the picture might be worked up. He calls it 'a representation of different portions of the Gnostic character, thrown 'upon the canvas without order or connexion.' The Bishop goes on to express his opinion, that Clement had not 'formed to himself a well-defined notion of the character which he meant to 'draw.' He was intensely anxious to make such an exhibition of Christianity as might give it favour among the learned and influential heathen; and this feeling led him to 'assimilate the 'model of Christian, as much as possible to that of philosophical, 'perfection.' This continual effort at adjustment, this perpetual watching of the balance in its librations, was unfavourable to distinct and coherent representation; and those who may have occasion to examine this subject, will owe gratitude to the Bishop of Lincoln for his masterly arrangement and definition of the loose materials and vague outline given by the Alexandrine Father. The following paragraph contains a 'picture in little' of Clement's *beau ideal* of the Christian profession.

'The Gnostic is he who understands the law: he does not merely abstain from evil, or do good, through fear or through the hope of reward; he does good through love, and because he chooses it for itself. He strives not to attain to the knowledge of God for any consequences which will flow from the attainment; the knowledge alone is the motive of his contemplation.—Were the choice proposed to him, either to know God or to obtain eternal salvation, (on the supposition that the two could be separated,) he would choose the former. He does good, not occasionally, but habitually; not for fame, not for reward. He is perfected in the image and after the likeness of God. The flesh is dead in him; he alone lives, having dedicated the sepulchre, his body, as a holy temple to the Lord, and converted his former sinful soul to

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God. He is not continent, but habitually exempt from passion, waiting until he can put on the divine form. 'All virtue is habitual in him, so that he cannot lose it even for a moment.'

It will not have escaped our readers, that Clement has adopted the term Gnostic, not for the purpose of giving any sanction to either the name or errors of Gnosticism, but as claiming for Christianity the possession of all that might be conveyed by the term in its higher import. Nothing can be more clearly marked than his distinction between the true and the spurious Gnostic.

Of the remaining extant works assigned to Clement as their author, the Bishop of Lincoln has not failed to take due notice; but the intimations already supplied by us will enable general readers to understand the character and object of the learned and fluent Alexandrian. For ourselves, we cannot rate this eminent man quite so highly as some of his admirers might seem to require. Eusebius spoke of him as the 'admirable.' St. Jerome, as cited by Tillemont, eulogized his works as containing all that was of highest mystery in the sacred writings, and all that was most curious in profane science. St. Cyril of Alexandria, and other ecclesiastical authors, have also spoken with admiration of this eminent man. We shall not venture to contradict these high authorities, and, leaving the matter in the hands of those who may choose to take the surer method of judging for themselves, pass on to a brief notice of a composition ascribed to Clement, but differing in many important respects from his recognized writings. The 'Hypotyposes,' a term 'used by Clement to express the delineation, form, or outline of a thing,' appear to have contained valuable information concerning the early history of Christianity, but in other respects to have been deeply contaminated by heresy and indecency. Eusebius and Photius are the principal authorities for this very indifferent character of a work so much at variance with the acknowledged productions of Clement, as to suggest to the latter a doubt whether Clement was 'really the author of these absurdities.' Dupin suggests a different explanation. 'If,' he says, 'this work were 'so replete with errors, as should appear placed beyond all doubt 'by the testimony of Photius, who had actually seen it, it must 'have been composed by St. Clement, before he had been 'thoroughly instructed in the Christian religion, and while he 'was yet entangled in the opinions of Plato: and this appears to 'me highly probable, since we cannot affirm that he was not the 'author of these books, which are assigned to him on the authority of universal antiquity, nor can it be plausibly supposed 'that they have been so extensively falsified by heretics. The 'opinions themselves, moreover, are precisely those of a man endeavouring to reconcile the philosophy of Plato with the Chris-

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'tian religion; or rather they are those of a half-christianized 'Platonist.' Tillemont inclines to the opinion that ascribes the erroneous portions of the work to heretical interpretation.

Art. V. *Elementary Art;* or the Use of the Lead Pencil advocated and explained. By J. D. Harding. Folio. Twenty-six Plates. Price £2 2*s*. London, 1834.

MR. Harding has done more than any other artist in existence, to aid the progress, on right executive principles, of the student of landscape. He has, from time to time, published lithographical drawings, combining high quality with easy purchase; and we have at hand a collection of these, including almost every variety of scenery, and furnishing a series of lessons of the greatest practical value. His "Drawing-book for 1834," containing twenty-four subjects, of 'infinite variety', is of itself a course of instruction. Plate 10 is a beautiful specimen of artist-like combination;—a picture made up from a bank, a ditch, a meagre tree, a few sheep, and a shattered fence. Plate 17 is a beautiful arrangement of tree, meadow, and water, brought into compact by lines of deep shadow. Plate 27 (23) is an admirably managed woodland scene. But the whole is good; and these are mentioned, rather as gratifying individual taste, than as essentially better than others where all are valuable.

The greater and more elaborate Work now before us, is in all respects worthy of Mr. Harding's distinguished ability. It is not, we presume, meant as a pothook-and-hanger book; but it takes up the learner at an early stage, and carries him on to an advanced period; in fact, to the very last term at which mere instruction can be necessary. The examples are excellent, both in themselves and in their adaptation; while the aid of Briggs and Landseer, though hardly requisite, commends at once the modesty of the Author, and his anxiety for the completeness of his Work. He has availed himself of one method of instruction that is, we believe, in art, quite original, though in morals as old as the Spartans and their drunken Helots: he has introduced some capital imitations of drawings, such as we have often seen pass current as excellent, but full of the grossest outrages against sound principle and genuine execution. So thoroughly like are they to certain villanies of the sort which we have seen and handled, that we could fancy he had actually caught the perpetrators, and set them down to work, by way both of warning and penalty. His dissection, too, of these impostures, and his exposure of their violations of truth and right feeling, are clear and effective. His theory of the relative effect of outline and shadow, is also well illustrated by examples of error and its cor-

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rection. Characters of trees, effects of light and shade, selection of general subjects and particular forms, are richly and expressively elucidated by the instructions and examples of this valuable book. The authorship of the volume might perhaps have been improved by a little compression; but artists are somewhat apt to be eloquent, when writing or talking on the subject of art, and we are accustomed to let them, in this and in other matters, have their own way.

A work of this kind was really wanted; since, notwithstanding a decided general improvement, there is still so much wretched teaching abroad, both in town and country, that some such collection of canons as the present ought to be everywhere at hand, by way both of test and of example. We do not feel it necessary to enter further into particulars, or we could be wordy on the advantages of such a referee. Nor shall we be specific in our criticism of the different subjects: we shall only mention, as peculiarly to our taste, a park-scene at Alnwick, and a beech-grove at Buckhurst.

A valuable supplement, with two illustrative aquatints, on the management of 'the brush', is followed by three or four pages of useful directions in the choice of materials. In one point, however, we differ from Mr. Harding;—we dislike nick-nacks. With him, we patronize French blocks, though not quite so zealously as he does; but we utterly eschew the whole tribe of 'pencil-holders.' A little change in the form of materials, by wearing down or cutting away, is advantageous rather than otherwise, as accustoming the hand to rely more absolutely upon itself. In nine cases of this kind out of ten, the remedy is worse than the disease. It was but the other day that we were called upon to admire an apparatus for sketching in the open air: we took it at first for a portable clothes-horse, but, when taken to pieces and explained, it proved to be a magazine of most inconvenient accommodations, unsteady to the hand, annoying to the feet, and about as fit for the scrambling, wading, and clambering of picturesque travel, as a Punch-and-Judy box strapped at one's back.

Art. VI. *Winkles's Cathedrals.* Nos. 1 to 6. 8vo., price 1*s.* each. London, 1835.

IF the originator of this useful and interesting publication had doubled his charge and extended his plan, the work would have been not only more intrinsically valuable, but more popular and profitable. Even now, a more critical discrimination and a slight enlargement would give it advantages in which it is deficient. The rule seems to be, that each cathedral shall occupy only two or, at most, three numbers; a limitation of which we

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exceedingly question the policy; and we would suggest the expediency of continuing the survey until the more important points of each structure may be exhausted. There should be the nave, the transept, the Lady-chapel, the chapter-house, the cloisters, the crypt, with views of the exterior, and of such other parts as might be worthy of special notice. One Number might be in outline, containing plan, section, details; and if this extension should carry on each subject to five parts, surely such an illustration of some of the noblest monuments of human invention and skill, at a price so easy, must command unbounded patronage. Of the Numbers before us we have little to say but in praise: with one exception, the views are well chosen and fairly handled. Some of the exteriors are defective in clearness and expression, and there seems some mismanagement about the West front of York Cathedral: to our eye, it forms an acute angle with the flank. The south-east view from the river is altogether bad: it is neither illustrative nor picturesque, and it puzzles us to guess how any one accustomed to look on nature for an artist's purposes, could think of selecting such a subject.

Mr. Winkles has just published proposals for a cheap, and we can have no doubt valuable, work on a similar plan, comprehending the more important continental cathedrals. It would, of course, be idle to suppose, that two Numbers—why not three?—and eight plates, can be made to include all the interesting points of a complicated building: we would, however, recommend particular attention to the Apsis, a feature of great elaboration in the Gothic churches of the Continent, and varying, by its polygonal construction, from our own more familiar forms. Ground plans are promised; but we must remind Mr. Winkles that no illustration can be satisfactory, that does not include a transverse section, and a sectional view of at least one compartment of the nave. If details are at all given, the flying buttress should not be neglected.

Art. VII. 1. *Ireland's Misery and Remedy:* or, Ireland a Field of Missionary Labour. A Discourse delivered April 9, 1835, at the Monthly Meeting of the London Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches. By John Hoppus, M.A. 8vo. pp. 70. London, 1835.

2. *The Irish Church.* The Reform Association to the Reformers of England, Scotland, and Wales. 8vo. pp. 40. London, 1835.

3. *Antichrist; Papal, Protestant, and Infidel. An Estimate of the Religion of the Times;* comprising a View of the Origin and Genius of the Roman Catholic System, and of its Identity with every Form of Nominal Christianity. By the Rev. John Riland,

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M.A. Republished, with a Preliminary Address, in Reference to the Third Centenary of the English Reformation, on the 4th of October, 1835. 12mo. London, 1835.

IT is to the honour of the Protestant Dissenters of this country, that almost with one voice they have protested against the iniquities of the Irish Church Establishment. They are reproached with making common cause with the Papists; a reproach which comes with peculiar grace from the members of a Church which makes common cause with the Romish episcopacy against all the Presbyterian churches of Christendom,—denying the validity of any other ministry save her own orders and the Romish,—acknowledging the Romish bishops as true bishops, and excommunicating all Dissenters as, in the language of Anglican prelates, abandoned to the uncovenanted mercies of God. Truly, the charge of an alliance with Papists comes with matchless consistency from the members of a Church the most nearly allied of all the Protestant churches to the Romish, in her constitution, ritual, and pretensions; and whose prelates, in their political character, have made common cause with the Gallican, the Spanish, and the Portuguese priesthood, standing forward as the favourers of the execrable Miguel and the sanguinary Carlos, those upholders of all that is vile in Popery in their respective countries. Common cause with the oppressor, Protestant Dissenters have never made. Common cause with the oppressed and persecuted, whether it be French Protestants, or Irish Papists, or West India slaves, we trust that Dissenters will never refuse to make. If the Irish were Mohammedans, instead of Papists, it would make no difference in this matter. The injustice of compelling Moslem to contribute to the support of the Christian faith, would not be more palpable than quartering a Protestant priesthood upon a Romish peasantry. The principle which binds the Dissenter to the Papist is a very simple one, and it rests upon higher authority than the law of tithes. It is this: "As ye would that men should do unto you, so do ye unto them likewise." This bond of alliance is one of humanity, of citizenship, not of ecclesiastical affinity, like that which connects the Romish and Anglican Churches. Where and when has the Church of England ventured to assail *Established* Popery? Nowhere: she only tramples upon it in the form of beggary and political weakness. Her missionaries are 'the ecclesiastical tax-gatherer and the 'tithe dragoon.' She quarrels with no religion that pays tribute and respects her ascendancy,—with no heresy that does not put on the attitude of dissent. She asks not for congregations, but for revenues, and counts not the alienation of the people, but that of the sinecure, to be the extinction of Protestantism. Such is the political Church against which Dissenters are politically

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arrayed. Religiously dissenting from the Romish Church, they are compelled politically to dissent from the Protestant Establishment,—the one the moral, the other the political bane of that twice cursed and twice robbed country. They have never ceased to war against Popery, but "they war not after the flesh;" the weapons they are taught to wield in the conflict with error, being "not carnal, but spiritual;" not political, but religious. Against political injustice, gratitude to God for their own deliverance from the Persecutor of their fathers, binds them to lift up their voice; and the time is come that that voice will be heard.

The charge, however, of entering into any confederacy with the Papists, and of softening down the character of Popery as an apology for the strange alliance, which has been brought against the Dissenters by certain vile and mendacious calumniators, and credulously echoed by better men, has not the shadow of evidence to rest upon. We are quite sure that such a man as Mr. Riland would not be guilty of the injustice of imputing this policy to any Dissenter, except through misapprehension. The works of Dr. Fletcher, Dr. Bennet, Mr. Cramp, and other Dissenting ministers and laymen, published within the last few years; the polemic disputations in which Mr. Burnet and other eminent Dissenters have taken the lead; the operations of the Irish Evangelical Society, the Baptist Irish Society, and other kindred institutions; the pages of our own Journal, as well as of the Congregational Magazine,—all concur in stamping the charge of falsehood upon the allegation that Dissenters have come to any compromise with Popery*. Nay, the known political sentiments of the majority of Protestant Dissenters are sufficient to invalidate the base imputation. Have any Dissenters been found to say, or to imply the belief by their conduct, that Popery is no longer what it was, in Spain, in Portugal, in Italy, in Austria? Those who grieve at the downfal of Popish establishments, those who would restore the reign of priest-ridden Legitimacy with all its train of social evils, are not found among Protestant Dissenters. But on the other hand, Mr. Riland owns, 'we have 'ecclesiastics who, on the one side, refuse the aid of auxiliary 'churches, for the sake of some unimportant ceremony or dubious 'point of theology; and, on the other, make such concessions to 'the successors of Gardiner and Bonner, as very plainly intimate 'how eagerly they would be *reconciled* to the apostate com-'munion, could this be effected with a plausible appearance of

* The article on Modern Popery in our July Number has been actually represented by an unprincipled Orange paper, notorious for its shameful falsehoods, (the Record,) as a covert apology for Popery!

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'decorum and consistency.' After referring to the supposed corresponding class, 'the impatient and exasperated Dissenter 'who, under colour of self-defence,' enters into 'confederacy with 'Popery,' Mr. Riland proceeds to say:

'But there is a third party among us, divisible into the two sections of Religious Conformity and Religious Dissent. The tone of these, in the debates of the day, it is the more painful to particularize, as proceeding from those among whom the strength of the Protestant cause is expected to reside. What shall we say to the first of them, in connection with public proceedings on the affairs of the Irish Church? On this limited space I can do little more than observe, that, in addresses, spoken or written, in petitions presented to the Legislature, in published replies to assailants, and in Parliamentary speeches, there has not been an obvious, intelligible, and self-evident appeal to the empire *on religious grounds*—standing out, in bold relief, from the surface of political and ecclesiastical feeling. This is not complaining of the mere circumstance, that many excellent persons are strongly attached to the Church of Ireland; neither of their conviction that this Establishment ought to be supported, as an instrument of great national blessings. With such prepossessions we do not immediately interfere. We now are lamenting that the individuals in question have *ostensibly*—for their interior movements are unseen—borne a part in the struggle, as though it were a contest, not between Antichrist and the Religion of the New Testament, but between two rival churches. This mode of conducting the debate is the more observable, because the financial and secularized share of the subject has not been separated from its spiritualities. A by-stander must have suspected that the collection of tithes, the preservation of sinecures, and the splendour of a hierarchy, were objects of equal anxiety with soundness of doctrine and pastoral fidelity. What is the consequence? The Papal faction, the merely political Protestant, and the hard, calculating man of the world, indifferent to any form of Christianity whatever—these several partisans feel as though they met even their *religious* opponents on the low, chaffering terms of civil expediency. Our controversy with the Papists has, essentially, no further connection with the good or evil of the Irish Hierarchy than it has with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, or with the various communions of Dissenters from either Establishment. There may be in either case, indeed, a collateral connection; but the main question is independent of all ecclesiastical accidents: and if we continue to meet the enemy, except upon the common or neutral territory of the Reformation, our defeat will not only be certain, but it will be merited.

'With regard to such religious Dissenters as have been betrayed into an untimely reserve on *their* side—shy of speaking, as their forefathers would have done, against Popery, lest they should too far identify themselves with the defenders of Establishments—how little are they aware of the self-gratulating emotions rising within Roman Catholic circles, when *they* are discovered in the semblance of allies, or of wavering enemies! No upright mind will, indeed, blame an evangelical Separatist for endeavouring to release himself, by constitutional

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means, from paying tribute to a National Church; but, if a person of this character, consciously or unconsciously, is betrayed into a confederacy with such Dissenters as he cannot satisfactorily meet at an assembly for social prayer, or in the arrangements of missions; and forgets that the Romanist is far more decidedly the hater of Nonconformity, than of any established communion which retains much of the general frame-work and ceremonial of the discarded church; he is assuredly treading upon the surface of ice thin and slippery, and barely concealing dark and unfathomable depths.

'But is it too late for this third party—the evangelical forces of all arms—to regain their surrendered position? It is only for them to forget their strife, on the eve of the third centenary of the English Reformation! and to commence the succeeding period by opposing the Crucifix under the banner of the CROSS. This, indeed, may be metaphor; but, like the figurative language of Scripture, it is perfectly intelligible to minds enlightened by the Spirit of Truth and Holiness. To them, and to them exclusively, is the present appeal addressed.'

Most happy should we be to second this appeal; and we are convinced that the Protestant Dissenters are ready most cordially to unite their evangelical force with those of the Episcopal Church, in combating, with revived energies, the errors of Popery. Upon this point, we are glad to be able to cite as a witness the much respected Editor of the Congregational Magazine, who, in reviewing some publications relating to the Ter-centenary of the Reformation, makes the following candid remarks upon the false position in which both evangelical Churchmen and Dissenters have been placed, by circumstances for which neither class are wholly responsible.

'In our judgment, the most scriptural, and therefore the most successful opponents of Popery in this country are to be found amongst those Protestants who contend for the doctrine of justification by faith alone—Luther's criterion of a standing or a falling church. That body possesses its greatest strength amongst the evangelical episcopalians, and the orthodox Dissenters of the United Kingdom; and their combined learning, piety, and zeal, might form in the hands of a gracious Providence an impassable barrier to the further progress of the Roman Catholic religion in this country.

'Unhappily, however, the religio-political questions that during the last ten years have occupied the time of our legislators, and agitated the minds of the people, have to a considerable extent estranged these natural allies, and placed both sections in a false, and we will add, a hazardous position.

'The Protestant Dissenters felt, about eight years ago, that the time had arrived when they should again claim the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which prostituted a sacred institution of Christ to the mere purposes of state, and barred out intelligent and virtuous citizens from that participation in the general government and the local authorities of the empire, to which they were entitled as a birth-

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right in common with their countrymen of the endowed church. On that memorable occasion, the Dissenters were left to contend for the purity of that Christian sacrament, and for that privilege of British subjects, without the support, yea, to a great extent, under the direct opposition of the evangelical party in the national church. While they were thus treated by their brethren, they witnessed in the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom, a generous sympathy with their claims—a sympathy which was made tangible by petitions to Parliament in their behalf. This interested the feelings of the majority of the evangelical Dissenters in the claims of the Roman Catholics, for whom they now felt not only as injured fellow citizens, but as fellow sufferers, and the generous zeal which they had displayed for the emancipation of the Dissenters, prompted them to equally generous efforts for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. That measure was viewed by the majority of the evangelical church party with greater horror than the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and they were not sparing of their reproaches against the Dissenters for the assistance they had given to the great question of Catholic emancipation.

'From that period, as our readers well know, a series of measures have been before the public in reference to the Established Church in Ireland, and the grievances of the Dissenters in England, in the discussion of which it has been obvious that common sufferings have excited a common resistance, and that the Roman Catholic and the Protestant dissenting bodies have been compelled to stand together in the assertion of their political rights, and in their constitutional efforts to rid themselves of the unjust ascendancy of the United Church of England and Ireland.

'Whilst these religio-political questions have thus operated to effect, not indeed a formal and stipulated alliance, but a virtual and tacit one between the Dissenters and Roman Catholics of both countries, the other section of the Protestant body to which we have referred, the evangelical episcopalians, have been brought into a firmer alliance with the great body of their own clergy, who, we will venture to say, are as alien from their theological sentiments and their true interests as the Papists themselves.

'These canonical clergymen maintain and defend opinions that are in natural affinity with the worst errors of popery, and have betrayed such a disposition to amalgamate with it, as forms, in our judgment, one of the most threatening dangers of our common protestantism. Their defective views of the doctrine of justification by faith—their semi-popish notions about apostolical succession—the authority of the church—the efficacy of the sacraments—the use of the Scriptures, *et cetera*, have placed them at the antipodes of such men as Venn, Newton, Scott, and the other fathers of the evangelical party in this country. What, then, has wrought this mighty change in the minds of their successors, the evangelical clergy of the present day, and has silenced the revilings of their ecclesiastical antagonists, the Daubenys and the Thomases, the Norrises and the Polwheles, the Mants and the Tomlines of the orthodox party? We have confessed that the struggles of the Protestant Dissenters against the domination of a

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political establishment, have brought them into apparent association with a party, whose religious opinions are most foreign to their hearts. Let our evangelical brethren too realize the position which they occupy at the present moment, and they will find themselves actually associated with men with whom they can have no spiritual communion, no christian fellowship, owning them and acting with them, not as political allies merely, but as clerical brethren, and this to preserve those state endowments, and that court patronage and favour, which have been the fruitful sources of that false doctrine and worldly conduct amongst their clergy, which we believe they sincerely deplore. If these statements be true, then it is obvious, that politico-religious questions, or, in other words, interests that terminate on this side eternity, have alienated the two great sections of evangelical Protestants from each other, and as by the policy of the Prince of Darkness, they are for almost every practical purpose separated from each other. Evangelical Dissenters will not act with the evangelical Churchmen in their Exeter Hall exhibitions against popery, because they cannot allow their protestant principles to encroach upon the civil rights of the Roman Catholics; and the evangelical Churchmen will not act with the evangelical Dissenters, because their Red Cross Street deliberations are directed against the domination of their beloved episcopacy. Is there not in all this far too much of the spirit of the world? Does not the spiritual Dissenter feel that there are interests more dear to him than civil privileges? and does not the spiritual Churchman confess that there are interests more dear to him than church secularities? Surely, then, if our allegiance to what we consider to be truth will not permit either side to be silent on the question of a church establishment, still, it is the duty of both parties to stand together for their common birthright, a Scriptural Protestantism.'

Did all evangelical clergymen partake of the Scriptural views and catholic spirit of Mr. Riland, a re-union of Protestants would no longer be chimerical; and were the Irish Establishment out of the way, there could be little difference of opinion about the right method of conducting the contest between Antichrist and the religion of the New Testament in that country. The contest, however, which is at present going forward there, is of a very different character. It is purely a political struggle, on the one side for relief from an abhorred grievance, on the other side for an abused ascendancy; and nothing will ever induce the Protestant Dissenters of England to enlist in defence of a political institution which they conscientiously believe to be the main cause of the decrease of Protestantism, the greatest obstacle to the progress of the Reformation in Ireland. For they believe this, upon no theoretical grounds. An experiment of three hundred years' duration has shewn that the Protestant faith can never be forced upon a reluctant nation by violence and compulsion. We are aware how next to impossible it is to dissever, in the minds of a churchman, the twin ideas of Church and Establishment, Truth

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and Tithes, Justification by Faith and sinecure bishoprics. The religion of an Establishment is a geographical religion, the religion of the soil, not of the people; and the Established Church of Ireland, therefore, still calls the country her own, because, with not a tenth of the population within her pale, she owns the tithes. But in these views, how can Dissenters be brought to participate or sympathize? They see that, instead of being even co-extensive with Protestantism in Ireland, above one half of the Protestants belong to another communion; and that the only denomination of Protestants which has not increased, is that for whose benefit the costly and ill-constructed apparatus of the State hierarchy is maintained, at the expense of the whole country.

'The splendid Protestant Church Establishment has done nothing for Ireland, in comparison with the vastness of its apparatus, and its immense resources, even on the lowest calculation of its revenue. So inefficient has it proved, after the lapse of three centuries, in gaining over the Irish people to the principles of the Reformation, that vigorous measures have been taken by Parliament for the diminution of its machinery; a considerable part of which is allowed to be useless, even by the most enlightened supporters of its connexion with the State, who declare the necessity of its being rendered more commensurate to the very limited sphere of the Anglo-Irish Episcopalian population, beyond which, notwithstanding the number of its ministers, the Establishment appears to have made comparatively little salutary impression. In some parts of the country, notwithstanding its supposed advantages for usefulness as the religion by law established, it has been known only as a bare endowment; it has possessed no congregation, sometimes no sanctuary.—Nay, how lamentable is the fact, that the more recent troubles of Ireland, which have called for the presence of troops, and the rigour of martial law, have been mainly owing to the hostile and malignant feelings engendered by those laws which have demanded the surrender of property by Roman Catholics, to support a religion which they are taught to consider as a dangerous and damnable heresy! Even the sword unsheathed, (O spectacle of grief and shame!) expressly to add the dread of ghastly wounds and death to the claims of the avowed church of the meek and lowly Saviour, has utterly failed to give efficiency to those claims; and the Protestant church, descending from her proud eminence as the *lady of kingdoms*, and with her garments stained with the blood of those who were slain in their resistance to her demands, has been reduced to sue, as an humble suppliant, at the door of the Legislature, for the pecuniary means of preserving her clergy from actual want! Can it be imagined that such a system of attempting to maintain the religion of Jesus will ever convert its enemies to friends? or that any kind of compulsion, however modified by ingenuity—whatever Protean forms and mutations it may assume, will prove otherwise than disastrous to the triumph of the truth? *Can such a system regenerate Ireland?*'

Hoppus, pp. 46, 47.

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But the Church Establishment has not been merely inefficient: it has raised up positive obstacles to the diffusion of pure Christianity, both by discountenancing the use of the Irish language as a vehicle of religious instruction, and by the restrictions which Episcopal etiquette has imposed upon the zeal of even its own ministers.

'May not,' asks Professor Hoppus, 'the assertion safely be hazarded, that whatever has been done by the Church of Ireland to conciliate the attention of Roman Catholics, and to effect their conversion to the truth, has not been accomplished in the *spirit* of the Establishment? Every friend to Ireland must rejoice to know, that there are very many among the clergy who are the brightest ornaments to the Christian community; who are sedulously devoting themselves to the spiritual good of their respective neighbourhoods, and are *spending and being spent* in the work. These excellent men owe their usefulness, under the Divine blessing, to their own extraordinary exertions; departing from the mere routine of ecclesiastical forms and rules; being *instant in season and out of season*, in carrying the gospel through their preaching circuits; and acting in the laborious spirit of missionaries.

'The same principle pervades, in a very decided manner, the labours of the numerous purely voluntary Societies, of various denominations, which have been instituted, expressly, for the religious benefit of Ireland. Of these, the incomes amounted last year, if I mistake not, to less than twenty thousand pounds—a sum totally inadequate to the magnitude and importance of the object, when we consider the spiritual destitution of the sister kingdom; or even the temporal weal of the empire at large. What effects might not be anticipated, if resources even approaching to those of the Protestant Establishment, were devoted to zealous missionary labours for the salvation of the Irish!—if the Episcopal Church, no longer bearing the appearance of a mart for worldly emolument and ambition, nor sustained by cruel exactions, but by the offerings of her own wealthy adherents; and strong in the purification of her sanctuary, the simplicity of her aim, and the apostolic labours of her clergy, were to seek no other ascendancy than that which would be attained by winning the millions of Ireland to Christ!

'The Reports of the Societies I have alluded to, and those of the more stated associations of ministers of different denominations, are clear evidence that, notwithstanding all difficulties, great good has been accomplished through these christian exertions. The Irish Evangelical Society alone, four years ago, had fifty-seven agents performing various services; and the Report for the year 1834 sufficiently proves, that in each of the four provinces of Ireland, the gospel, going forth in its own native simplicity, appears, in numerous instances, to have been rendered the means of conversion, not merely to the profession of Protestantism, but also to the truth as it is in Jesus. Yet the spots where there are collected bands of decided and zealous Christians, are still but as oases in the mighty desert. The churches and ministers of all denominations, whose lamps are trimmed and burning

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are but as beacon-lights scattered at distant intervals over the vast tracts of darkness, and are insufficient to produce one continuous and extended illumination.' pp. 53—55.

The Irish Society of London, 'for promoting the Education 'and Religious Instruction of the Native Irish through the me-'dium of their own language,' was established in 1822. It has for its president, a Bishop, not of the Irish Church; and its income is about £3000 a year, derived from voluntary contributions! What a libel is the very existence of this Society upon the Irish Establishment! Does it not imply an admission on the part of the handful of Episcopalians by whom it is supported, that, for the purposes contemplated and the means pursued by this Society, the Establishment, with its princely revenue of £800,000, has been altogether useless? Such at least is the fact. While the Irish language has been employed as the medium of instruction, and the instrument of power, by the Romish priesthood, and the Irish press has been in busy operation at Antwerp, Louvain, and Rome, the crooked and short-sighted policy of the British government and the Protestant hierarchy forbade the attempt to employ it as the channel of conveying Scriptural knowledge to the minds and hearts of the Irish peasantry; and the Irish Bible was virtually placed in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Protestant Church. Forty years elapsed after the death of the apostolic Bedell, before his Irish Translation of the Scriptures was suffered to see the light; and down to the close of the seventeenth century, a single edition of about 600 copies, in quarto, of the whole Bible, and two editions of the Irish New Testament at an interval of eighty years, were all that had been given to the Irish natives. And yet we wonder that the Reformation has not advanced in Ireland! It was not till the year 1828, nearly 200 years after the venerable Bedell sat down to his gigantic labours, that the Irish Bible complete, in its appropriate native *character*, for the first time issued from the press. As an apology for this Anti-Protestant policy, it has been constantly affirmed that the Irish language is exclusively spoken and understood by comparatively few. Mr. Christopher Anderson, on the contrary, states, that no fewer than three millions require that instruction should be conveyed to them through this medium. Two millions will, he affirms, be found in Connaught and Munster alone; 'a number equal to the whole population of 'Scotland, and five times that of its Gaelic natives.' Besides, it has been forcibly remarked, the natives of those provinces who can speak Saxon, (as they call it,) think and feel in Irish; and Protestantism is still a foreign religion, because it has disdained to use the language of the people whom we execrate for blindly clinging to the faith of their fathers!

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Why has not the Reformation advanced in Ireland? The reply is thus given in the able, temperate, and unanswerable pamphlet put forth by the Reform Association.

'The Reformation only widened the breach which cruel and impolitic laws had created. It added another distinction to the distinctions which existed before.—It converted the war of Races into a war of Creeds.—Espoused by the higher Clergy, whose interests had always been identified with those of England, and by the Settlers of the Pale, it became, on that very account, an object of suspicion to the Parochial clergy, and to their Irish flocks.—They rejected it.—We think that in doing so, they closed their ears to the voice of truth; but how much was wanting in Ireland, which endeared that truth to ourselves? If there be one thing that tended more than another to open the hearts of Protestants to the doctrines of the Reformation, it was the privilege of praying to God in their native tongue. That privilege was denied to the Irish. The Liturgy was never translated. It never has been translated up to the present day. The people were told, of two strange languages to choose the one least familiar to them, and which, in lieu of being endeared by old associations, was the symbol of little else than humiliation and conquest. Then, the Clergy sent to replace the old Catholic priesthood, were strangely, and culpably negligent. The only proof of their zeal was the destruction, by armed bands, of churches, which they said had been polluted by the Mass. In place of those great and good men, who founded Protestantism in Scotland, in Germany, and amongst ourselves, Ireland was given in prey to the refuse of the English Church. We wish no stronger evidence upon this point, than that of contemporary Protestant writers, such as Spenser,—men, who saw with indignation the excesses which they have recorded,—and we ask, whether it was by instruments such as these that a great moral revolution could be accomplished? Whether, if the Reformation had been entrusted to similar hands elsewhere, it would have produced the rich harvest which has sprung from the labours of Latimer, and of Ridley, of Calvin, of Melancthon, and of Knox.

'In Ireland, Penal enactments took the place of that rational conviction, which was all powerful amongst ourselves. Without taking one single step for the conversion of the people, the Irish legislature proceeded to lay the foundations of that system of coercion, which has since been worked out with cruel, though fruitless, perseverance. The country was treated as a Protestant country, though Catholic in all but the name. The funds of the Catholic church were transferred by act of Parliament to the ministers of the new Creed, and an Establishment founded upon a scale befitting a nation, although but a fraction of that nation was included within its pale. History tells us how this experiment has succeeded, and how dearly we have expiated the original sin of conceiving that an Establishment could be maintained, which did not rest upon the belief of the majority of the people. In all the dissensions and disturbances which have distracted Ireland, the claims of that Establishment have been mixed up. They have served to perpetuate the old distinctions of Englishry, and Irishry,

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amongst her population;—they have stood as a barrier between the two countries;—rendering any identification of their interests impossible, and forbidding even any kindly approximation of feeling. They have added bitterness to political animosities, and infused a more deadly spirit into political feuds. In vain have we endeavoured, (to use the words of an eloquent writer,) "by one of those daring fictions, in which law leaves poetry far behind it," to deny to the Catholics a legal existence; in vain have we striven to crush them by Penal laws. They constitute the great mass of the Irish people, Out of a population of less than eight millions, 6,427,712 belong to this proscribed Creed. There are but 852,064 Episcopalian Protestants in all, of whom some 80,000, at the least, as Wesleyan Methodists, are Dissenters, to a certain extent, from the Church; and it is for the benefit of these 852,064 souls that an Establishment is kept up, which ought to provide spiritual instruction for a whole people;—endowed with funds amply sufficient to provide it;—founded upon the supposition that a time would come when it would so provide it;—but now, weakening, undermining, destroying, the influence of Protestantism itself, by the irritation which its own claims are necessarily exciting;—contributing nothing to the moral and religious education of four-fifths of the people; but constantly coming into collision with them by its demands, and by the scenes of violence and bloodshed to which the attempt to enforce these demands has unfortunately led!'

pp. 4—7.

For the religious instruction of the seven millions of Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, the State Church makes no provision. And if we deduct from the number assigned to the Episcopal Church, the Wesleyans, who, though included under the head of Episcopalians, support their own ministers and places of worship, we shall have not much above 750,000 souls left within the pale of the Established Church*. But for even the whole of this small section of the population, the Establishment does not actually provide the means of religious worship out of its princely revenues. In Dublin, besides the parochial churches and chapels of ease, there are no fewer than sixteen chapels wherein Episcopal clergymen officiate, and which are supported by funds independent of parochial assessment or tithes. Some of

* It is evident that the number of Dissenters are underrated in the Report of the Commissioners. The Presbyterians, who number 642,356, have 452 places of worship, or one to every 1411 souls. The Dissenters are set down at 21,808, with 403 places of worship; but the places belonging to the Wesleyans are included under the latter head. Taking 300 men, women, and children as the average congregation by which each chapel is supported, we shall have a body of 120,900 Dissenters, including the Wesleyans; which will leave only 752,973 Episcopalians. But 300 is much too low an estimate, and it is difficult to understand how the Established Church can make out her claim to any such number.

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these are endowed or partially supported by Government grants; others are entirely dependent on benefactions and subscriptions. In four or five, the regular congregations exceed a thousand each, and the salaries of the ministers are for the most part above the average of the English benefices. All this church accommodation is independent of the revenues of the Establishment, and would not suffer by their entire alienation. Then, again, we have to consider that portion of the nominally Protestant population for which there is absolutely no ecclesiastical provision. For instance, we have, in the pamphlets before us, a table of seven benefices taken from different parts of Ireland, and containing sixty-two Protestants, in which there is no Church, and no resident clergyman, while the parochial income from tithes amounts to £2888 a year. In another table of fifty parishes, containing 527 Protestants, the united revenues of which are £11,897, there are forty-two without a resident clergyman, and forty-one without a church. In 210 benefices, there is no church; in 157 parishes no Divine service is performed; and in many instances where there is a church, there is no congregation. The provision which the Ecclesiastical Establishment makes for the members of the Episcopal Church, is in a *ratio* directly the reverse of the prevalence of Protestantism. Thus, while in Armagh, the churches are as one for every 900; in Tuam, they are as one for every 300, and in Cashel, as one for every 200, men, women, and children! Under these circumstances, it is difficult to come to any exact estimate of the numbers for whose religious benefit the State provision is rendered available. Excluding the Episcopal chapels supported by free contributions, and the parishes in which no service is performed, it may be questioned, whether the Establishment actually provides for a sixteenth of the population. Half a million, taking the actual attendance at two-fifths, would give 200,000 worshippers in the churches and other places of worship supported by the revenues of the Church throughout Ireland! In Scotland, the spiritual instruction of each member of the Establishment costs 3*s.* 4*d.* per annum. In Ireland, it costs 1*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.*; that is, taking the members at 752,972, and the expenditure at £807,533. But estimating the actual attendance at 200,000, we have a cost for church-room, of £4 a head! In Scotland, non-residence is unknown; in Ireland, the larger proportion of the Church revenues are enjoyed by non-resident incumbents. Almost all the town parishes are of small value; while, in the large and rich benefices of the rural districts, the duty is generally performed by proxy. There are many parishes in the south and west of Ireland, where the benefices are £1000 and upwards in value, and where the clergyman has not more than twenty Protestants to take charge of. In Ireland, every thing is anomalous and arbitrary. The actual teachers of

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the people, the resident incumbents of small benefices and the stipendiary clergy, receive little enough: the bulk of the wealth is absorbed by the Ecclesiastical Staff, the dignitaries, and pluralists, and sinecure rectors of this holy and apostolic Establishment.

Such is the corrupt and odious system of fraud and injustice which it is sought to perpetuate in the name of Religion, and to identify with the interests of the Protestant faith. To uphold this system, are we put to the expense of a standing army for the military occupation of the country, in order that the claims of the Minister of the Gospel of Peace to the tithe of the widow and the pauper may be enforced by the soldier's bayonet!

'In the month of April last, the Rev. T. Locke, another Protestant clergyman, was compelled to employ for ten whole weeks, a force, consisting of several armed Policemen, about sixty rank and file of the eighty-fifth Regiment, and thirty bailiffs, in order to collect a small portion of the Tithes then due to him in the parish of Newcastle. "Seven distraints having been effected, with the loss of several lives, and at considerable expense to the Government, without the example having served to any practical purpose," (we borrow the words from a letter written by Mr. Locke himself,) the Rev. Gentleman proposed, "that a considerable force should be *encamped* in a central and commanding situation, there to remain until the arrears were collected." Government not having thought proper to comply with this request, the troops were withdrawn, after seventy days of harassing but fruitless, labour. In the Autumn, additional aid was granted; sixty men were again placed under the orders of Mr. Locke, and so continued from the 22nd of October until the 11th of December following. They were out every day, during this period, collecting some days 8*l.*, some days 20*l.*, some days as much as 50*l.* and 60*l.*, but never obtaining any money without a distraint being effected, and leaving, at the end of their Tithe campaign, as it has been most justly termed, 500*l.* still due, which they saw no chance, or possibility, of recovering. Well might Mr. Shiel say of this unhappy and unholy system, "that it had cost England millions of her treasure, and Ireland torrents of her blood."' p. 29.

To persevere in this system is, happily, no longer possible. The fate of the Establishment has been sealed by the fatuity of the Orange party and the virulent hostility against His Majesty's Ministers, which has sacrificed the interests of the clergy to the intrigues of a desperate faction. The rejection of Lord Morpeth's Bill by the Peers and the Bishops can have but one effect; that of hastening the downfall of the Sacerdotal usurpation and the final removal of the Monster Grievance, which has too long been the Incubus of Protestantism in that mis-governed country,—once the asylum of learning and the nursery of the infant civilization of Western Europe.

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Art. VIII.—1. *The Treasury Bible:* First Division: containing the Authorized English Version of the Holy Scriptures as printed in Bagster's Polyglott Bible, with the same copious and original Selection of References to Parallel and Illustrative Passages, and similarly printed in a centre Column. Second Division: containing the Treasury of Scripture Knowledge, consisting of a rich and copious Assemblage of upwards of 500,000 Parallel Texts from Carne, Brown, Blayney, Scott, and others, with numerous Illustrative Notes. Interspersed in one thick volume fcap 8vo. 30*s.* London. 1835.

2. *The Same,* printed in quarto, on fine Writing Paper, with lines in the fabric of the paper for manuscript matter. In cloth. 30*s.*

3. *The Condensed Commentary* and Family Exposition of the Holy Bible: containing the Text according to the Received Translation; with Notes embodying the most valuable Criticisms of Ainsworth, Patrick, Lowth, Whitby, Poole, Henry, Gill, Scott, Clarke, Doddridge, Guyse, Macknight, Campbell, &c., and other Criticisms gleaned from Leigh, Parkhurst, Horne, Bloomfield, Townsend, Calmet, Harmer, S. Burder, and other Biblical Labourers, with many original Notes and Reflections for Family Use, never before Published, an Introduction to the Bible, Indexes &c. Imp. 8vo. Part I. to IV. 2*s.* 6*d.* each. Med. 4to. 4*s.* each. London. 1835.

4. *The Holy Bible:* containing the Old and New Testaments, Revised from corrected Texts of the Original Tongues, and with former Translations diligently compared. With Critical and explanatory Notes. By B. Boothroyd, D.D. Editor of the "Biblia Hebraica," &c. Royal 8vo. Part I. to IV. 3*s.* each. (To be completed in Ten Parts.) London, 1835.

THE axiom which is appropriately placed as a motto on the title-page of "The Treasury Bible", if not absolutely and in all cases true, requires only to be slightly qualified, in order to be at least a safe general rule: '*Bonus Textuarius est bonus Theologus.*' What is a good textuary? Not the man who has the text of Scripture at his fingers' ends, or, as we once heard it expressed in nautical phrase, who can box the compass from Genesis to Revelations. There have been many individuals who, with the aid of a good memory, have acquired a familiarity with the letter of Scripture, that has enabled them to cite it for any purpose, and with apparent appositeness, on any occasion, but who have at the same time been very indifferent divines. To a polemic, such an acquaintance with the text of Scripture is an indispensable weapon; but dexterous disputants are not always safe or judicious commentators. The *memoriter* knowledge of Scripture is highly useful, when it is the result of habitual study, not the substitute for it. But a *good* textuary, by which we

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would understand a well-instructed student of the sacred text, in its scope, connection, and bearings, will be assuredly a good theologian, one of the best sort; not having merely *τὴν μορφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς αληθείας εν τῷ νόμῳ*, but, "in the spirit as well as the letter", an able "minister of the New Testament."

The advance which has been made of late years in Biblical science, the consequence, no doubt in great measure, of the fresh impulse given to the circulation of the Scriptures, is one of the most auspicious circumstances of the present times. The authority of the Scriptures, as the only Rule of Faith, was recognized at the Reformation; but it was as the authority of an arbiter, rather than of a teacher or guide,—as an ultimate court of appeal, rather than as an accessible and intelligible medium of evidence and source of information. The notion which then prevailed, and which is still maintained by many, is, that the Church must *teach*, and the Scriptures *prove* the doctrines of Christianity. Thus, the Protestant confession, or symbol, was too much put in the place of the Romish Tradition, as *the Rule of the Rule*, till the original statute-law of Heaven was well-nigh lost in the mass of constructive law, composed of adjudications and opinions of its official administrators, grafted upon the Divine code. Such, however, were not the views of the most enlightened Reformers, —of those who laboured to restore the Bible to its character and office as the great instrument of Divine teaching. They sought not merely to prove from the Scripture what they taught, but to make the Scriptures teach; in order to which they must be not only cited, but searched and studied. To this end, they multiplied translations of the Bible in the vernacular dialects of the people, aiming less at a precise and rigid imitation of the verbal forms of the original, than at a perspicuous expression of the sense, in language which, though to us antiquated, had then all the freshness of conventional use. We require, in the present day, to be recalled to that free, unembarrassed, and cordial handling of the Word of God, which distinguished the practice of the early Reformers. Wedded to the phraseology of 'the English 'Vulgate', with its artificial and ill-executed divisions of the text into chapter and verse, we have been led too much to overlook the scope of the familiar letter of Scripture; and the modern practice of sermonizing upon detached clauses and portions of clauses, with little regard to the context, has not a little contributed to encourage this superficial use of the Word of God.

There is evidently, however, a change taking place—a religious 'march of intellect'—occasioned partly by the extension of education and the means of religious knowledge, partly by the increased distribution of the sacred volume itself, — which is working upward from the taught to the teachers, and making itself seen and felt in the popular species of biblical literature

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which it is calling into existence. Verbose and dogmatical commentary is going out of fashion, and in its place, the common-sense principles of interpretation for which Coverdale and Tindal contended, are beginning to be recognised. Disquisition is beginning to be displaced by exegesis, and annotation by criticism. We hail the salutary change. The complaint that the Scriptures are hard to be understood, has rarely proceeded from the unlearned; for their true import, while hidden from the wise, has been revealed unto babes in human lore. The Bible is the most popular of all books; it is emphatically the people's book; and with the aids of criticism and illustration which are now within every one's reach, the plainest member of a Dissenting church may with ease make himself a better textuary, and thereby a better theologian, than by digging for years in the dark mines of casuistical and polemic divinity, such as employed the painful toil of divines of other ages.

But we have been betrayed into a prefatory excursion which we did not contemplate, and must now proceed to notice the publications before us.

The Treasury Bible presents the most complete and attractive apparatus for the attainment of a thorough *textual* knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, that has ever been presented to the studious and devout. Having been in the practice for many years of using the Polyglott edition of the English Version, we can bear our testimony to the accuracy and appropriateness of the marginal references contained in that edition; and we were really not aware that there could be found room for such copious and useful additions to that judicious selection. The 'Sacred Harmony,' which is the foundation of the 'Treasury of Scripture Knowledge,' we have not hitherto had the opportunity of examining; but a very important improvement has been introduced into the present arrangement. In the 'Harmony,' the whole of the references to a verse, we are told, were arranged thus:

'The verses were first introduced that belonged to the chapter to which the verse under consideration belonged; then the chapter in the book itself; after which the references were arranged, in the usual order of English Bibles, from Genesis to Revelation. If the references belonged to every part of the verse equally, there would be great propriety in this arrangement; but as many of the verses require elucidation *in their separate parts*, a mode of dividing them, to save labour to the student, was considered necessary. This has been easily accomplished where marks are thrown into the text to correspond with those in the margin, but to accommodate a divided mass of references to the text, *without* the use of arbitrary signs, necessarily involved the introduction of the *Present Plan*, which is best exemplified by the following verse, and shows the peculiar necessity of a division of the parallel passages:—

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'ISAIAH 56, ver. 2.

'2. *Blessed.*Ps.1.1..3.—15.1..5.—106.3.—112.1.—119.1..5.—128.1. Lu.11.28.—12.43.—Jn°.13.17.Re.22.14. *layeth* ver.4. Pr.4.13. Ec.7.18. *keepeth the* ch.58.13. Ex.31.13..16. Le.19.30. Ne.13.17. Je.17.21,22. Eze.20.12.20. *keepeth his.* Ps.34.14.—37.27.—119.101. Pr.4.27.—14. 16.—16.6,17. Ro.12.9.

'By reading the text of this verse, it will be seen that the use of the word '*Blessed*' is the first of the sentence illustrated by the references which follow it, and by the second word, '*layeth,*' the end of the first sentence and the beginning of the second are determined, and so on throughout. The additions to a single word point out the particular part of the verse, when the same word twice occurs: thus '*keepeth the*' and '*keepeth his*' occur in this case.

'When the references illustrate the whole verse, the italic words are not printed, because not required.

This explanation will give a sufficient idea of the plan of the present apparatus. In some cases, where the references are not sufficiently numerous to fill the page, philological and explanatory notes have been added, elucidating the allusions to ancient and oriental customs. We take a couple of specimens almost at random.

'2 Kings xxiii. 13., *the mount of corruption, that is, the mount of Olives.* HOUBIGANT, deriving the Hebrew *mashchith* from *mashach,* to anoint, read 'the Mount of *Olives.*' JARCHI, following the Chaldee, also says this was the Mount of Olives; for this is the mount *hammishchah,* of *unction:* but because of the idolatrous purposes for which it was used, the Scripture changed the appellation to the mount of *hammaschith,* corruption.'

'Mark vi. 27. *An executioner,* or one of his guard. Σπεκούλατωρ, in Latin, *speculator,* from *specula,* to look about, spy, properly denotes a sentinel; and as these sentinels kept guard at the palaces of kings, and the residences of Roman governors, so they were employed in other offices besides guarding, and usually performed that of executioners. As, however, we learn from JOSEPHUS, that Herod was at this very time engaged in war with Aretas, king of Arabia, in consequence of Herod's having divorced his daughter in order to marry Herodias, his brother Philip's wife; and as this event occurred at an entertainment given at the castle of Machærus, while his army was on its march against his father in law; we are furnished with an additional reason why a *speculator,* or sentinel, should have been employed as an executioner; and are thus enabled to discover such a latent and undersigned coincidence as clearly evinces the truth of the evangelical narrative.'

Some of the notes might invite comment or criticism, but, as far as we have been able to examine them, they appear to us, with few exceptions, both judicious and valuable, and are evidently the result of much indefatigable pains and extensive reading.

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The most attractive feature of the larger edition of this illustrated Bible, is the quality of the paper upon which it is printed, and the manner in which the pages are arranged, so as to leave below the four columns of the text and 'treasury,' on each page, an ample space for manuscript notes. The quality of the paper is a very fine writing paper, which will bear the ink, and having lines in the fabric of the paper, which become as plain as if they were ruled with pencil or faint ink, when a sheet of coloured blotting paper is placed under the leaf. This ingenious plan, which must have required great care and nicety in the preparation, will be of no small convenience to the student who is disposed to avail himself of the facility for recording the fruits of his own reading or reflection. The volume may thus serve the purpose of a Biblical Common Place Book, in addition to the aids to study which the Notes and References afford. We cannot forbear to offer to the enterprising Publisher, to whom the religious public are already under such great obligations for the beautifully executed Polyglott apparatus, our warmest thanks for this fresh application of typographical skill to the noblest of all purposes—that of facilitating the study of the Holy Scriptures.

The Condensed Commentary is so fully described on the title-page which we have copied, that we have only to speak of the execution of the work; and of this our readers will best judge from a specimen: we shall give the entire Notes and Reflections on 1 Sam. III.

'NOTES ON CHAP. III.—1. *The word—precious*—God then very rarely revealed his mind to any person,—*Pat.*, or by the prophets.—*Poole. No open vision*—no known prophet to apply to for counsel. In all the times of the judges, we read only of Deborah the prophetess, and a prophet, mentioned Judg. iv. 14, and vi. 8, excepting the man of God sent to Eli, (chap. ii. 27.)—*Gill.* 2. *In his place*, in the court of the tabernacle, where were divers rooms for the priests. 3. *Lamp of God*—that in the great shaft of the golden candlestick never went out, but some others did in the morning.—*Pat.* It appears from this and chap. i. 9, that the tabernacle was now called 'the temple,' and that the lamps did not continue burning as at first ordered, (see Lev. vi. 12, 13.)—*Hew.* 7. *Did not know the Lord*, that is, as the next verse explains, how God was wont to teach men his will.—*Pat.* 'Did not know (the voice of) the Lord.—*Wil.* 'How God taught men by an audible voice.'—*Boothr.* 10. *The Lord came and stood*—the voice came near, as if the person speaking were present.—*Poole, Gill.* There was some glorious appearance.—*Kimchi*, so *Scott.* 'The Lord was revealed, and stood and called,' &c., *Targ.* 13. *Made themselves vile*, 'made themselves execrable or accursed both to God and men.'—*Poole.* Κακολογουντες Θεον, 'spake ill of God,' *LXX.* *He restrained them not*, ולא בהה בהם, 'did not frown upon them,' so *Marg.* 20. *Dan—to Beersheba*—see note on Judg. xx. 1. 21. *By the word of the Lord*, 'by his word of command which he chose to deliver to Israel by his

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mouth.'—*Poole.* 'By speaking to him in an audible voice,' as he had done, ver. 4.—*Pat.* 'By Christ, the word of the Lord,' who appeared to him, is probable, in a human form, as he was wont to do to the patriarchs and prophets.—*Gill,* so *Pyle,* and *Beveridge.* Query: Is not the interpretation of *Patrick* the most probable, and would not a visible appearance, as the Son of God, have been mentioned, as in other cases, as that of 'the angel of the Lord?'—*Ed.*

'REFLECTIONS ON CHAP. III.—I. *What a privilege it is to have 'the word of the Lord!'* It was 'precious in those days.' It has been scarce in our country. A cart-load of hay has been the price paid for one leaf only of the Bible, in England, and six months' servitude for a New Testament, in Ireland. Now we have a land of Bibles; may we never neglect the sacred pages, but 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them.' It is our privilege, also, to have God's word preached around us in every direction; and 'blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.'

'II. *We ought at all times to be ready to obey the commands of God.* He speaks to us by the voice of his word and providence, and he addresses our consciences in language that cannot be mistaken. Let every Christian say, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.'—'I will hear what God the Lord will speak, for he will speak peace unto his people and to his saints.'

III. *Submission is our duty when under the chastising hand of God.* 'If Eli had been an ill father to his sons,' says Bishop Hall, 'yet he is a good son of God, and is ready to kiss the very rod he shall smart withall.' 'It is the Lord,' whom I have ever found holy, and just, and gracious, and he cannot but be himself; 'Let him do what seemeth him good;' for whatsoever seemeth good to him cannot but be good, howsoever it seems to me. Every man can open his hand to God while he blesses; but to expose ourselves willingly to the afflicting hand of our Maker, and to kneel to him while he scourges us, is peculiar only to the faithful. Let us therefore humble ourselves 'under the mighty hand of God,' that we may be exalted 'in due time.'

Dr. Boothroyd, whose former Biblical labours have entitled him to the gratitude of the Hebrew scholar, as well as to the general veneration of the religious public, has commenced in the Part before us, a work which cannot fail to be very generally acceptable. Taking the authorized Public Version as his basis, he has not, in the present instance, aimed to produce an entirely new translation, but, by the aid of MSS. and the ancient versions, to correct acknowledged errors in the text, and supply deficiencies, and to render the whole more coherent and perspicuous to the English reader. 'The language of the Public Version is 'generally retained, and few words are admitted which are not 'sanctioned by Biblical use.' At the foot of the page are brief notes, explanatory and critical. The metrical arrangement of the poetic part of the Hebrew Scriptures is preserved, and the authorities for the various readings are given in the notes. In a few words, this edition of the Bible is at once critical and popu-

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lar, presenting, in a compressed and familiar form, the fruits of the Author's labours upon the sacred text, and making over to the English reader in a tangible shape, the results of the extended critical investigations which have been brought to bear upon the various readings found in the extant *codices*. When the work is complete, we shall probably take occasion to advert to it more in detail, but we must now content ourselves with recommending it to the attention of all students of the sacred volume.

We adverted in our last Number to the approaching Tercentenary of the Printing of the First English Bible; and it is indeed incumbent upon us not to forget our vast obligations to the early Translators. Hitherto, those who entered into their labours have too exclusively had our veneration; but, in comparison with Tindal, Coverdale, and their fellow labourers, the task committed to King James's Translators was that of mere Editors; nor did they in all cases improve upon their predecessors. It is, we think, discreditable to our Universities, that no reprint of either Coverdale's Bible, or the Bishop's Bible, has been thought worth undertaking, were it even as a literary curiosity. As Coverdale's Translation is just now a matter of particular interest, and its extraordinary merit has been in certain quarters ignorantly depreciated, we shall close this article with three specimens of this now rare version, faithfully copied from a quarto copy in our possession. The edition is in black letter, without date, and appears to have been 'imprynted in Southwarke for James Nycolson.'

Psalm cxlv.

'I wyll magnifye the (o my God and kyng) I wyll prayse thy name for euer and euer.

'Euery day will I geue thankes vnto the, and praise thy name for euer and euer.

'Great is the LORDE, and maruailous, worthy to be praised: ther is no ende of hys greatnesse.

'One generacyon shall prayse thy workes vnto another, and declare thy power.

'As for me I wyll be talkyng of thy worshyppe, thy glorye, thy prayse and wonderous workes.

'So that men shall speake of the myghte of thy maruaylous actes, and tell of thy greatnesse.

'The memoryal of thy abundaunt kyndnesse shall be shewed, and mē shal synge of thy ryghteousnesse.

'The LORDE is gracyous and mercyful, longe sufferynge and of greate goodnesse.

'The LORDE is louynge vnto euerye man, and hys mercye is ouer all hys workes.

'All thy workes prayse the (o LORDE) and thy sayntes geue thankes vnto the.

'They shewe the glory of thy kingdome, and talke of thy power.

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'That thy power, thy glorye and myghtynesse of thy kyngdome myghte be knowen vnto men.

'Thy kyngdome is an euerlastynge kyngdom, and thy dominion endureth thorowe oute all ages.

'The LORDE vpholdeth all suche as shulde fall, and lyfteth up all those that be downe.

'The eyes of all wayte upon the, and thou geueste them theyre meate in due season.

'Thou openeste thyne hand, and fylleste al thynges lyuynge wyth plenteousnesse.

'The LORDE is ryghteous in all hys wayes, and holye in all hys workes.

'The LORDE is nye vnto al them that call vpon hym, yee all suche as call vpon hym faythfully.

'He fulfylleth the desyre of them that feare hym, he heareth theyre crye, and helpeth them.

'The LORDE preserueth all thē that loue him, but scattreth abrode all the vngodlye.

'My mouth shal speake the prayse of the LORDE. And let all fleshe geue thankes vnto hys holy name, for euer and euer.'

1 Peter i. 1—16.

'Peter an Apostle of Jesu Christ to them that dwell here and there as straungers thorowout Pontus, Galacia, Capadocia, Asia and Bithinia electe accordynge to the forknowlege of God the father thorow sanctifienge of the sprete, vnto obedience and sprenklynge of the bloude of Jesus Christ.

'Grace and peace be multiplied with you. Blessed be God and the father of our LORDE Jesus Christ, which accordynge to his great mercy hath begotten vs agayne vnto a lyuely hope by the resurreccyon of Jesus Christe from the dead to an vncorruptible and vndefyled inheritaūce, which neuer shal fade awaye, but is reserued in heauen for you, that are kepte by the power of god thorow fayth to saluacion, which is prepared already to be shewed in the last tyme: in the which ye shall reioyce, though now for a lytle season (yf nede requyre) ye are in heuynes thorow manyfold tēptacyons that your fayth once tryed (beynge much more precyous then the corruptyble golde that is tryed thorow the fyre) myght be found vnto laude, glorye and honoure at the appearynge of Jesus Christ: whom ye haue not sene, and yet loue hym in whom now ye beleue, though ye se hym not. Euen so shal ye reioyce also with vnoutspeable and gloryous ioye, receauynge the ende of your fayth, euen the saluacyon of youre soules.

'Of which saluacion the prophetes haue enquyred and searched, which prophecyed of the grace that shuld come vpon you: searchynge whan or at what tyme the spret of Christ that was in thē shulde signyfy, which (sprete) testified before, the passions that shulde come vnto Christ, and the glorye that shuld folowe after. Unto the which (prophetes) it was declared, that not vnto thē selues, but vnto vs they shulde minister the thynges which are now shewed vnto you, by thē

which thorow the holy goost sent down frō heauē haue preached vnto you the thynges which the angels delyte to beholde.

'Wherefore gyrde up the loynes of your mynde, be sober, and trust perfectly on the grace that is brought vnto you, by the declarynge of Jesus Christ, as obediēt chyldrē, not fashionyng your selues to youre olde lustes of ignoraunce, but as he which hath called you is holy, euē so be ye holy also in all youre conuersacyon: for it is wrytten: Be ye holy, for I am holy.'

ROMANS XI. 1—6.

'I say thē: Hath god thrust out his people? God forbyd, for I also am an Israelit, of the sede of Abraham out of the trybe of Ben Jamin. God hathe not thruste out his people, whom he knewe before. Or wote ye not what the scripture sayeth of Elyas, how he maketh intercessiō vnto God against Israell, and sayeth: LORDE, they haue slayne thy prophetes, and dygged downe thyne altares, Aud I am lefte ouer onely, and they seke my lyfe? But what sayeth the answere of God vnto him? I haue reserued vnto me seuen thousand men, which haue not bowed their knee before Baall. Euen so goeth it now at this tyme also with this remnaunt after the eleccion of grace. Yf it be done of grace, then is it not of deseruynge: els were grace no grace. But if it be of deseruīg, thē is grace nothing: els were deseruynge no deseruynge.'

Art. IX. 1. *The Christian Keepsake for* 1836. Edited by the Rev. William Ellis. Price 15*s.* in silk.

2. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book for* 1836. 4to. £1 1*s.*

CHRISTMAS presents in September! The Winter Annuals flowering before leaves have begun to turn yellow! Surely the years whirl round rapidly enough without having their end antedated. We do not like to have MDCCCXXXVI. staring us in the face, before we have had our Autumn's ramble with his predecessor. Such were our first thoughts on being surprised with these elegant volumes; but our gathering frowns were smoothed the moment we opened them. Truly, Messrs. Fisher, Son, and Jackson, you deserve well of the public; for a more admirably chosen and delightful series of plates, than the embellishments of the Christian Keepsake, we have never seen in any former Annual; which is saying a great deal. A portrait of the Princess Victoria, to whom the volume is dedicated, fronts the vignette title-page. Next comes Dr. Morrison with his two Chinese translators—a groupe of portraits possessing the highest kind of interest, and exquisitely engraved. Then, good old Wilberforce, to the very life; one of the most successful and characteristic portraits we ever beheld; one is never tired of

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looking at it and conversing with it. Then we have portraits of Mr. Buxton, Mrs. Fry, and Mahommed Ali, a Persian convert. Among the landscapes, are Views of Antioch, Nazareth, the Cedars of Lebanon, Canton, Scene in South Africa, an Interior of the Holy Sepulchre, and a very beautiful scene illustrative of a passage in the Pilgrim's Progress, by an artist to whose merits we shall take another opportunity of doing justice. The whole collection is of the first order. But we must now hasten to lay before our readers a few specimens of the contents. The volume is rich in poetry, and the following stanzas are worthy of a place in the Missionary Annual, for their beauty of sentiment as well as genuine pathos.

'THE GRAVE OF THE MISSIONARY.

'He rests not where the solemn yew
Bends o'er the marble tomb,
And death seems deadlier in the hue
Of still and sacred gloom.

'He rests not where the holy pile
Repeats, through chancel dim,
And hollow vaults, and pillar'd aisle,
The slow-resounding hymn.

'He sleeps not where his fathers sleep
Amid the hamlet's graves;
Where chimes the dull brook, softly deep,
And long dark heather waves.

'But where the sparkling southern isles
Midst pearl and coral lie,
He bore this earth's most earthless toils,
And laid him down to die.

'The mildest tropic airs fan round
The palm that shades his rest,
And the richest verdure lines the ground
That presses on his breast.

'And there the sun, through scented glooms
Slants his departing beam,
And the heron laves its azure plumes
In the bright adjacent stream.

'And there the Deep's low, rolling tone
Is heard when the stars are bright;
When the breeze is low, and men are gone
To the cradling dreams of night.

'No dirge was breathed along the vale,
As his palless bier passed on;
No flowers were strewn, and the spicy gale
Had nought of sigh or moan.

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'No words were said, as dust to dust
They lowered him from the day;
They rear'd above no sculptured bust,
And they coffined not his clay.

'But conchs, and frantic howls, and yells
Ring through the twilight air;
And they cast their plumes and dazzling shells
Upon the matted bier.

'Far had he come; with storm and care
His anxious soul had striven.
But can the spirit feel despair,
Whose hopes know God and Heaven?

'O'er his father land another sky
Hung in the hours of sleep,
The strong winds of that shore rushed high,
With a louder, stormier sweep.

'But he loved his tranquil southern home,
He loved its musky breeze;
He loved its hills of feathery bloom,
And its thick, luxuriant trees.

'He loved the fierce and swarthy men,
Though oft their dark, proud eyes
Flashed, fire-like, in the murky glen,
At bloody revelries.

'Lone had he come—no sword or targe
Hung glittering at his side;
He spake not of the rampant charge,
Of warfare loud and wide.

'He had come to calm the lustful heart,
To stem the passions strong,
To teach a loftier, nobler part,
Than the fight—the feast—the song.

'His tone was mild, his eye was calm,
As day by day he taught,
Beneath the dusky—shading palm,
The hope of holy thought.

'Stern were those warriors, stern and proud,
But their pride relaxed to hear
The truths that from his warm heart glowed,
Fervent, but unsevere.

'At length, on one mild, tranquil eve,
In the glittering moon of flowers,
His spirit took its last, long leave
Of these beloved bowers.

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'But oh! he left the hope behind,
That feels not blood or clay,
That asks no murmur from the wind,
No life-beam from the day.

'And many an olive brow shall come,
And, bending o'er him, hear
His spirit uttering in the gloom
The voice of song and prayer.'

'Friends Lost in Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-Three.

By the Rev. H. F. Lyte, A.M.

'Gone?—have ye then gone?—
The good, the beautiful, the kind, the dear?
Passed to your glorious rest so swiftly on,
And left me weeping here?

'I gaze on yon bright track,
I hear your voices lessening as ye go.
Have ye no sign, no solace, to fling back
To us who toil below?

'They hear not my faint cry,
Beyond the range of sense for ever flown.
I see them melt into eternity,
And feel I am alone.

'To the high haven passed,
They anchor far above the skaith of ill,
While the stern billow and the reckless blast
Are mine to cope with still.

'Oh! from that land of love,
Look ye not sometimes on this world of wo?
Think ye not, dear ones, in bright bowers above,
Of those ye left below?

'Surely ye note us here,
Though not as we appear to mortal view.
And can we still with all our stains be dear
To spirits pure as you?

'Do ye not loathe—not spurn—
The worms of clay, the slaves of sense and will?
When ye from God and glory earthward turn,
Oh! can ye love us still?

'Or have ye rather now
Drunk of His Spirit whom ye worship there;
Who stripped the crown of glory from his brow,
The platted thorns to wear?

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'Is it a fair fond thought,
That you may still our friends and guardians be;
And Heaven's high ministry by you be wrought
With objects low as me?

'May we not sweetly hope,
That you around our path and bed may dwell?
And shall not all our blessings brighter drop
From hands we loved so well?

'Shall we not feel you near
In hours of danger, solitude, and pain,
Cheering the darkness, drying off the tear,
And turning loss to gain?

'Shall not your gentle voice
Break on temptation's dark and sullen mood,
Subdue our erring will, o'errule our choice,
And win from ill to good?

'Oh yes! to us, to us,
A portion of our converse shall be given!
Struggling affection still would hold you thus,
Nor yield you all to Heaven!

'Lead our faint steps to God;
Be with us while the desert here we roam;
Teach us to tread the path which you have trod,
To find with you our home!'

There is an interesting memoir of Dr. Morrison, but we must pass it over to detach a few anecdotes from the Recollections of Wilberforce.

'Upon his religious habits, the mind of the writer of these recollections delights to dwell. He was a Christian indeed. The elevated and consistent tone of spiritual piety which he maintained during the whole course of his hurried public life, was sustained by much private prayer, by a religious observation of the rest of the Sabbath, and by study of the Scriptures. His remarks in his family devotions, on the passages which he read, were generally attractive, new, striking, practical, and in harmony with the spirit of the sacred book. The writer has seen the Bible which he used in private,—the margins were crowded with annotations, references, critical emendations, and marks, all in pencil, and evidently the work of reference and love for the sacred book. I remember his expositions dwelt much on the topics of gratitude to God for redemption, of the debt of love we owe, of the happiness of religion, and the misery of a life of sin.

* * * * * *

'It required some management to draw him out in conversation. And the nearer you observed him, the more the habit of his mind appeared obviously to be modest and lowly. And, therefore, some of those who only saw him once might go away disappointed. But if he

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was lighted up, and in a small circle where he was entirely at his ease, his powers of conversation were prodigious; a natural eloquence was poured out; strokes of gentle playfulness and satire fell on all sides; and the company were soon absorbed in admiration. It commonly took only one visit to gain over the most prejudiced stranger.

'I hardly know, whether it would be worth while particularizing two occasions. He was on a visit to Brighton; the king hearing of it, sent for him one evening, without a moment's notice, to attend at the Pavilion. Mr. Wilberforce was so much surprised that he actually called in the orderly, that he might have the message from the man's own mouth. He hurried on his dress, and went. A large party was assembled, and the king (George IV.) paid him much attention. By degrees he was engaged in conversation, and so fixed the royal circle, that the company did not break up till a late hour, his Majesty playfully accusing Mr. Wilberforce of being the occasion.

'At another time, he was invited to meet the celebrated Madame de Stael, at, I believe, Lord Lansdowne's: there were only two or three guests; one of whom told me that Wilberforce broke out on a suitable topic, leading from it into so eloquent a panegyric of missionaries carrying the gospel to the heathen nations, that the party were rapt in amazement; the conversation afterwards naturally fell into his hands, (such was the expression used to me,) and the evening was altogether delightful.

'I recollect Mr. Wilberforce saying, that he once laboured for hours in endeavouring to convince Mr. Pitt of the real spirituality of Christianity, and of the value of those clergymen whom the world at that day upbraided with extravagance. He succeeded, however, in one important effort. Some project had been nearly carried with the Minister by Mr. Pretyman, (afterwards Tomline, and successively Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester,) but Wilberforce hearing of it, took such pains to inform Mr. Pitt of the real bearings of the case, that it was abandoned. Mr. Wilberforce, thirty years afterwards, told the writer he did not know that he had in anything been more really serviceable to the cause of true religion than by that private interposition.' *Recollections of William Wilberforce, Esq.*

'It may be fairly said, upon reflecting on Mr. Wilberforce's labours for this cause, including the thirty-seven years that he was in parliament after he brought it forward, and the nine years of retirement afterwards, during which he continued to aid and direct in the conduct of it, that there has been no statesman in our memory who has proposed to himself so great an object, pursued it with such perseverance, and been crowned during his own lifetime with such complete success. His extreme benevolence contributed largely to this success. I have heard him say, that it was one of his constant rules, on this question especially, never to provoke an adversary,—to allow him fully, sincerity and purity of motive,—to abstain from irritating expressions,—to avoid even such political attacks as would indispose his opponents for his great cause. In fact, the benignity, the gentleness, the kind-heartedness of his character, disarmed the bitterest foes. Not only on this question did he restrain himself, but generally. Once he had been called during a whole debate, by a considerable speaker

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of the opposition, "the religious member," in a kind of scorn. The impropriety had been checked by the interference of the house. Mr. Wilberforce told me afterwards, that he was much inclined to have retorted by calling his opponent "the irreligious member," but that he refrained, as it would be a returning of evil for evil.

'A friend told me that he found him once in the greatest agitation looking for a despatch which he had mislaid:—one of the royal family was waiting for it,—he had delayed the search to the last moment,—he seemed at last quite vexed and flurried. At this unlucky instant, a disturbance in the nursery over-head occurred. My friend, who was with him, said to himself, Now, for once, Wilberforce's temper will give way. He had hardly thought thus, when Wilberforce turned to him, and said, "What a blessing it is to have these dear children;—only think what a relief amidst other hurries, to hear their voices, and know they are well."

We have room for only one more extract, and we cannot but pronounce the following stanzas one of the most beautiful poems in this delightful volume. We must speak of the Scrap Book next month: it is a highly attractive Omnium Gatherum, fit for —a drawing room.

'The Shepherd's Vigil.

'Silent, and calm, and beautiful
The starry night came down,
Where rush Siloa's waters cool,
Where Kedar's deserts frown;
And deep its quiet shadow fell
Upon the hills of Israel!

'The dark green hills, where oft of old
The patriarchs' tents were seen;
Where lay the still and peaceful fold,
The hanging cliffs between;
Which in his earliest, happiest days,
Heard the sweet Psalmist's lyre of praise.

'And lonely lay the land around,
Lonely as when, of yore,
The footsteps of her God were found
Upon her olive shore:
And where her vine-wreathed gates unclosed
The shadow of her Rock reposed.

'In Bethlehem his father's sheep
The son of Jesse led;
And still on crag and palm-crown'd steep
Of sceptred Judah spread—
A thousand folded fleeces shone
Like snow on mountain Lebanon.

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'Far, far along the purple heights
That stretched into the sky,
Scatter'd as in calm summer nights,
The clouds in Heaven lie;
When distant founts are heard to play
And the low wind is hushed away.

'Silently rose the hour—when He,
Once well in Judah known,
Came to his temple suddenly,
Came veiled and alone:
A stranger in that pleasant land
Their fathers gather'd from His hand.

'He who hath passed the palace by,
In lowly roofs to rest,
The dweller in eternity,
The contrite bosom's guest:
Though angels were his heralds—then
His message sent to shepherd men.

'Watching among the dark green hills,
In the night shadow roll'd
Listening but to the far-off rills
The low bleat of the fold;—
They saw the awful mantle furl'd
That wraps from us the hidden world.

'And voices not of this world's mirth;
But gladness far more deep;
Forms, such as walk'd the ancient earth
Or broke on holy sleep,
Startling the dreamer's dazzled eye,
Swept in unearthly splendour by.

'They heard the words which never now
The ear of night may hear,
For earth's polluted, faded brow
Feels no such presence near:—
And pathless is the mountain sod,
So long by angel footsteps trod.

'THOU, who hast walked the world alone,
With sad and weary feet;
THOU, who didst leave thine ancient throne,
Thy straying sheep to meet;
Tho' fallen and lost the guilty spot,
Yet oh, do THOU forsake it not.

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Art. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the course of October will appear, in one volume octavo, a Treatise on the Functional and Structural Changes of the Liver, in the Progress of Disease, with numerous Cases, exhibiting the Invasion, Symptoms, Progress, and Treatment of Hepatic Disease in India. By W. E. E. Canwell, M.R.I.A., Surgeon of the Madras Establishment.

In the Press, Schleirmacher's Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato, translated from the German. By William Dobson, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The Rev. Eustace Carey has in the Press, A Memoir of the Rev. William Carey, D.D., more than forty years Missionary in India, Professor of Oriental Languages in the College of Fort William, &c., &c. The Work will comprise, a review of his early life and entrance upon the Christian Ministry, by Himself.—A recollection of his early life, by a beloved Sister.—An "Attempt at a Memoir," &c., by the late Rev. Andrew Fuller.—A Critique upon his Character and Labours as an Oriental Scholar and Translator, by Dr. Wilson, Professor of Oriental Literature in the University of Oxford, &c., &c.

Art. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of Mrs. Ellis, Wife of the Rev. W. Ellis, late Missionary in the South Sea Islands, and Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society; containing notices of Heathen Society—of the details of Missionary Life—and of the manifestations of Divine faithfulness in severe and protracted sufferings. By the Rev. W. Ellis. 5s.

EDUCATION.

A Practical Introduction to English Composition, founded on Parker's Progressive Exercises. By Rev. J. Edwards. Fcap. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

A Manual of Ancient Geography. By Rev. W. Hildyard. Fcap. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

The Union and Co-operation of Christian Churches: a Sermon, preached at Loughton, April 30th, 1835, at the First Annual Meeting of the South-West Essex Association of Baptist Churches: and published at their request. By Thomas Finch. 1s.

The Kingdom of Christ in Conflict with the Kingdoms of this World, a Discourse delivered in George Street Chapel, Manchester, June 10, 1835, at the Association of the Baptist Churches for the Counties of York and Lancaster, and published at their request. By the Rev. B. Godwin, of Bradford, Yorkshire. 1s.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For NOVEMBER, 1835.

Art. I. *The Fulness of Time.* By the Rev. W. Maxwell Hethering-ton, M.A. 8vo. pp. 463. London, 1834.

IT is impossible to look, even superficially, on the course of events, as marked out in the leading and undeniable facts of history, after discarding all that may be fictitious or doubtful, without feeling at least a suspicion, that we are contemplating a scene, not of detached parts, nor of combinations, each complete in itself, but altogether distinct from similar processes going on in other quarters. The 'mighty maze' is not 'without a plan.' There is, evidently, not merely partial coherence, but universal connexion. We perceive not only action and reaction, but continuation and progress. Yet it is extremely difficult—perhaps even more than difficult—to detect and follow out the presiding and connecting principle that has linked together, as it were, these separate bundles of active and social existence, in one consistent and continuous system. In other words, it is a labour, arduous indeed, but of the deepest and noblest interest, to inquire into the mystery of Providence; to explore, in a patient and persevering spirit, that half-opened volume in which are written the ways and works of men wise, brave, illustrious, in their own conceits and conventions, acting out in imagination their own lofty schemes, yet, all the while, unconsciously fulfilling the high and unalterable will of heaven.

One of the most common hinderances to the successful prosecution of these inquiries, presents itself in the readiness with which the mind takes up, and the exclusiveness with which it maintains, a favourite idea. In this temper numberless hypotheses have been constructed, and accommodated *ad libitum* to suit a special selection of facts; or, quite as often, the facts

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have been distorted to fit the hypothetical frame-work. Hints, plausibilities, contradictions, floating on the surface or lurking in the dark recesses of history, have all and each, in their turns, been brought in aid of theory; and, probably, after all the pains that have been bestowed upon the subject, we are not much nearer to a satisfactory adjustment, than were our ancestors of the olden time. Still, we are not inclined to deny that great, though sometimes perverse ingenuity, has been displayed in the endeavour to work out this most desirable solution. Genius, learning, perseverance, have been employed in the research, and not altogether ineffectually. Light has been cast on important portions of the great scheme, and bright glimpses have been caught of its admirable consistency, and its steady progress to an appointed consummation.

Mr. Hetherington has made a fair essay toward a further explanation. He is an eloquent writer; he is, moreover, a shrewd investigator; and when we speak of his views as being more extensive than profound, we do not mean to describe them as merely superficial, but as exhibited on a broad scale, somewhat better suited, perhaps, for an escape from circumstantial difficulties, than for their removal. His general plan shall be stated in his own words.

'The principle to be developed in the following work is this. As we fully believe that God brings every man through that kind of discipline best suited to his constitutional peculiarities, and to the production of those results which it is His pleasure to have produced; so we hold, that the world itself has been brought through a similar course of moral and intellectual culture, preparatory to the coming of Him who was manifested to destroy the works of the devil and bring in everlasting righteousness. To establish this view, it will be necessary to prove, that the process of culture through which the world was brought, was expressly adapted to draw forth into full maturity the various powers of the general mind, as they naturally arise in the progress of civilization; that all these leading powers actually were thus excited in natural succession; and that, while, if the Christian era had come earlier, it would have intercepted their development, if it had been longer delayed, man would have sunk into such a state of degeneracy, and even imbecility, as to have materially frustrated the gracious purpose of God, in sending forth his Son to fulfil the law and save the sinner.' p. 10.

A further parallel is drawn between individual and social character in their development and tendency. Man and men begin with things, and end with inferences. In savages, the senses are sharpened to an exquisite edge, and in their perception of details they awaken the astonishment of civilized men; but of general principles they are entirely ignorant. Vapour is to them a mere sign that tells of shelter or refreshment: the exhibition of its

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powers in the steam-engine belongs to a long training and a distant age. Centuries divide the sensual from the intellectual. The life of man supplies a further parallel. 'Youth is acute in 'detailed perceptions; maturity and experience acquire general 'ideas; and philosophy attains general principles.' Thus, in the world's childhood, the social and political qualities are formed and unfolded. The process advances with advancing years: forms of polity, adjustment of rights, definition of interests, gradually but surely struggle into a settled and advantageous shape; a higher principle begins to mingle with the fermenting elements, and public morality is acknowledged as the basis of the political system.

'It will further be found, that there is a deeper and more powerful principle in the human mind than those from which civil polity and common morality spring, capable of controlling both; the principle, namely, of religion, or that which impels men to believe in the existence of a God, and to render Him due worship. The influence of this mighty principle will be found to be altogether supreme in promoting the good or the evil of man, according as it may itself be pure or corrupt. To trace the reciprocating influence of these three great principles upon each other, and upon the common mind, during the development of its powers in the several stages of its progress; and to mark how the various leading events of general history were so arranged as to nourish each and all in their natural process of growth, and to the full amount of their inherent abilities, will engage no small part of our attention. We shall thus be led along the path by which the whole human race has travelled towards that mighty confluence of destinies, "the fulness of time;" and by the aid of the leading ideas already stated, may be enabled to unravel the complicated structure of human society till we arrive at a few intelligible master-principles, and to comprehend some portion of that infinite and gracious Wisdom which pre-determines, arranges, pervades, and governs all things in such a manner, as at once to be productive of the greatest good to His creatures, and to furnish the greatest display of His own most glorious and merciful attributes.' pp. 12, 13.

It will be obvious, that all this must include distinct and even opposite views of the social system, both in character and effects. If there be a tendency to good, there is also an impulse towards evil. The development of the religious principle, without Divine intervention, manifests itself in idolatry and its attendant demoralizations. Advancement in art and science, high intellectual attainment, cannot control nor counteract this fatal lapse. The vanity and malignity of the human spirit, unchecked by the knowledge and cordial reception of religious truth, will not be held back from the work of destruction by aught that human motive can suggest.

'If, then, the course of our researches shall enable us to show, that

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this double process held on its way with equal front, at once cultivating the various powers of man, in all possible relations, and up to their highest pitch; and at the same time, by an incessant course of demoralization and degeneracy, proving the utter impossibility of any physical, intellectual, or moral culture to rescue man from the corruption and misery of his fallen condition, without the infusion of an entirely new principle;—if this can be made clearly to appear, then, the period in which the whole converging lines of the multiform process met in mature completion, may well indeed be termed "the fulness of time"; and the express fitness of the position it occupies in the world's history, both to the nature of man and to the course of events, will tend to supply another vindication and illustration of the wise and merciful providence of Him "who seeth the end from the beginning," "who doeth according to His will in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth," and who causeth "all things to work together for good to those who love Him, and are the called according to His purpose."' pp. 14, 15.

It will be seen at once, that this is an interesting thesis, requiring no slight exercise of the mental faculties in its illustration; and when we feel ourselves justified in saying of the Work in which its demonstration is attempted, that we have found in it much valuable matter and important suggestion, we hope not to be understood as intending censure by the intimation of an opinion that, for the complete exhibition and proof of such comprehensive propositions, there required an ampler collocation and a more severe discussion. In fact, the design is too large and crowded for the canvas; and there have followed, as the inevitable consequences, somewhat too much rapidity in the narrative, and more of omission in the details, than is quite compatible with the satisfactory treatment of a subject so rich and so complicated. Be this, however, as it may, the following paragraphs will, we believe, be found to give a fair general view of Mr. H.'s scheme.

In the few, but generally just and striking comments which occur in reference to the antediluvian era, we find one statement which appears to require modification. Mr. H. assigns, as among the predisposing causes of the extreme degeneracy of mankind during that period, the length of human life, and the great fertility of the soil. Respecting the first, he infers, from the recklessness of death and its results, manifested among ourselves, in the profligacy of a race, the comparative duration of whose existence is, on the largest calculation, as one to ten, that it must in those days have operated most injuriously, by placing at a term scarcely realizable from its remoteness, the close of life. We suspect that there is not much value in this suggestion. Judging on general principles, it should seem probable that the brevity of man's continuance upon earth, and the rapid lapse of time, would

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furnish as frequent and as little heeded subjects of comment, as they may do at present. The moralist of the ancient world, if questioned, in his thousandth year, of the number and colour of his days, would reply—"Few and evil"; while the youth on the celebration of his first centenary, might heave a sigh at the anticipation of his last, and at the quick succession of those steadily recurring revolutions of the great time-marker, which warned him of the season "appointed unto all." And that reflection would be as transient, and that warning as lightly heeded, as they are with us, in our restricted space of three-score years and ten. With the Millenarians, as with the Septuagenarians, the motive would be the same,—the absorbing interest of the present pleasure and the passing hour.

The period before the Deluge stands somewhat apart from the series of dispensations which takes origin from that awful manifestation of the Divine justice; and Mr. Hetherington gives it as the distinctive characteristic of the antediluvian age, that it was 'the development of the paradisiacal state, when tainted by the 'infusion of sin.' For all purposes of actual inquiry, the first indications of human character, as expressed in social and political institutions, must be sought for in the patriarchal times: of these the 'normal type,' to use a fashionable phrase, is to be found in the history of Melchizedek, whom Mr. H. identifies with Shem, and finds in his person a perfect example of that "royal priesthood" which belonged to the patriarchs of old 'before their power had 'merged in monarchy, and their sacred functions passed into the 'hands of a separate priestly caste.' While the sacerdotal royalty of these eminent men is exhibited in the character of Melchizedek, their religious belief is preserved in the book of Job, wherein also we may find the 'dark traces of corruption 'effacing the noble lineaments of that earliest creed.'

The system of government that prevailed in Egypt was primarily a continuation, and ultimately a corruption, of the patriarchal state. We cannot say that we quite adopt the plan suggested by Mr. Hetherington, as the most probable way of accounting for the first peopling of the territory of the Nile. He seems to think that the difficulties which opposed themselves to the direct march of the children of Ham in their progress towards the possessions allotted to them, would send them round by the straits of Babelmandeb; a hypothesis so loaded with improbabilities, as not to tempt us to a moment's discussion. We agree with him, however, in his conviction that the boasted Egyptian science has been greatly overrated, though we cannot think that 'every thing in Egypt may be characterized by ab-'sence of combination of means'; at least if we rightly apprehend the import of the phrase. There was a cordial union between the monarch and the priests for purposes of oppression, though

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the division of power might, by introducing an element of weakness, tend to the gradual mitigation of that stern despotism. In the very bosom, however, of this debased and degrading system, the joint product of tyranny and superstition, there were preserved, in direct and unbroken tradition, the knowledge of the true God and the principles of primeval government. The Jews, first admitted as guests and colonists, but afterwards oppressed as captives, carried forth with them in their miraculous Exodus, the light destined, in its glorious expansion, to enlighten the world, though confined, during a long succession of years, to a despised people and a narrow territory.

If the history of Egypt avail only as the exhibition of man in the infancy of his intellect and his institutions, we seem to advance a step, when we are brought in contact with the nobler people and the more vigorous monarchies of Assyria and Babylon. The view increases in brightness and promise as we approach the kingdom of Persia and its splendid aristocracy.

'This was the closing youth, the opening manhood of the world, when intellect began to assume the ascendancy over sense, preparatory to the departure of the one, and the coming dominion of the other. Symptoms of a similar character began to glimmer on the orient of the world's horizon, even before the sun of Persia had reached its noon. The western expeditions of Darius Hystaspes brought him into contact with Greece, where genius was already beginning to burnish those weapons by which innumerable conquests were speedily to be achieved. Inflated rather than inspired by the demon of vain-glorious arrogance and domineering pride, Persia thought to crush the infant Hercules; and in her baffled and disgraceful recoil there was displayed an omen of the future, which at once foreshowed and led the way to its own fulfilment. The reign of intellect was evidently approaching; and where could its throne be erected, but on the shores of Greece? All that could be done for elevating man above the level of the mere animals, in what regarded the wants and gratifications of the senses, had been done by Persia; and the world learnt, and never has forgotten the lesson: but this very refinement of sensual pleasures, if it elevated and idealized them, confirmed the tyranny which they too readily acquire over man. Had no process followed to break their rod of magic power, the recovery of the human race to a more spiritual existence would, humanly speaking, have been impossible. To prove this assertion, it is only necessary to allude once more to the death-like dormancy of soul, in which Asia has slumbered ever since. It was now time for another nation to take the lead; and since the physical nature of man had now been fully developed, to give full scope and ample culture to his mental being, if happily he might thus be rescued from his degraded condition.' pp. 229, 230.

In the energetic democracies of Greece, then, are to be recognized the world's manhood; and the Author traces, in the brilliant mythology, the perfected institutions, and the high intel-

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lectual qualities of the Hellenic tribes, the 'signs of the times' as accommodating themselves to his theory. Into the particulars of this deduction we must not permit ourselves to enter; nor can we display, in detail, the arguments and illustrations by which he elucidates the Roman history and character, with reference to the same general views. Much valuable instruction, however, is elicited on all these points; and in particular, the circumstances of the Jewish State, in their connection with the different stages of the world's progress, are set forth with precision and ability.

Referring, now, to the extract given in a former page, our readers will be able to form some general notion of the Author's hypothesis concerning 'the fulness of time:' That the world, enthralled by sin, was to pass through a peculiar and experimental process, exemplifying, in every stage, the energy of human intellect and will, but their total inefficacy to effect the great moral liberation; and that, precisely at the point of time when the experiment had been completely tried, and had failed signally and hopelessly, God interfered, and the Divine Liberator came.

'Such was the condition and character of man when the Roman empire attained its zenith;—thoroughly matured, and thoroughly corrupted. Short of that point, maturity had not been reached; beyond it, irrecoverable degeneracy must have commenced. Then was the crisis of human destiny; for the growth of the human being had arrived at the ripeness of full manhood; and the sin of his fallen nature had displayed its intense malignity. In that point met all the converging lines of Providential guidance, according to which had been mapped out the various allotments of the race of Adam. To the momentous character of that epoch all the voices of prophecy bore concurrent testimony; because He who knew what was in man foresaw in what manner, and at what time, would be accomplished His own pre-determinate counsel, and thus governed nature and revelation in harmonious agreement with the laws of infinite and eternal Wisdom. Then,—when that had been fulfilled which was written, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent,"—when "the world by wisdom knew not God,"—when the last efforts of man had been exhausted, and the last foundation of self-dependence destroyed, and the last hope of self-recovery passed away,—when the heart of the universe seemed hushed into a dread pause of indefinite forebodings and silently anxious expectation,—*then*, was it manifest, that "THE FULNESS OF TIME" had come; and then, "God sent forth His Son," that the world through Him might be saved, and "that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."' pp. 369, 370.

Mr. Hetherington has, in a note of moderate dimensions, made a spirited effort to solve the great enigma of moral existence—*Malum, unde et quare?* The essay is compactly and cleverly written; and the result is involved in none of that obscurity

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which metaphysicians appear so marvellously to affect, but which, though it may be a source of the sublime, is quite as commonly the cause of great confusion. The solution is proposed with 'much diffidence'; yet, it is obvious enough, that the Author indulges a little quiet self-congratulation, in the belief that the path of inquiry is henceforward cleared of its most formidable obstructions. For ourselves, we are constrained to say, that we cannot view the matter in the same light; and that, so far as we can see, the entire speculation does but add one more to the already numberless instances that go to prove how easily a theorist can pay himself with words. The great flaw of almost every attempt at effecting this grand demonstration, lies in the substitution of subordinates for primaries: all the solutions that we have seen, deal only with secondary considerations; and perhaps it is not within the range of human intellect to rise higher. Of Mr. Hetherington's notions we cannot say even this: so far as they will bear handling, they belong to the 'tertiary formations.' He sets out with assuming our absolute ignorance 'of what constitutes the essence of any substantial existence,' and travels on through various illustrations, until he finds it to be 'the characteristic of human knowledge, that we know substances but by 'their qualities, and qualities but by their opposites;—that we 'do not know what any thing certainly and essentially *is*;—and 'that the amount of our knowledge of any substance or its qualities, is an approximation to knowing what it *is not*.' This view of things is then transferred to the moral world. That combination of mental and moral qualities which we call *mind*, 'is absolutely unknown to us in its nature or essence; and all 'our knowledge of it is confined to its qualities, which we commonly term *attributes*.' These qualities or attributes 'follow 'the same law already specified in the qualities of material 'things, and are themselves discoverable only by their contrasts: 'right is defined and marked out by wrong, justice by injustice, 'evil by good.' The general summary of these views we have in the following paragraph.

'If the preceding view be correct, it will follow that the knowledge of all created intelligence consists in the perception of contrasts; and that the necessary mode of acquiring knowledge is to endeavour to discover what a thing is *not*, in order to arrive at some approximation of knowing what it *is*. Our knowledge, therefore, separates itself into two great divisions, namely, *negative* and *affirmative or positive*, of which the *negative* is the prior, and the more suited to the nature of created mind. Hence, in order that *good* might be known, it was necessary that *evil* should be permitted to exist. For if *evil* had not been permitted to enter into the created universe, that universe might have been perfectly good in itself, and also in the eyes of its all benevolent Creator; but it could not have understood or appreciated the

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goodness of its own condition. In order to point out the excellence of good, the gracious Creator permitted the existence of its opposite, evil. This dark quality therefore exists, and is valuable not for itself, but for its results; as that method by which alone the spiritual creation could have obtained the intelligent, and consequently the rational, grateful, and adoring perception of good, and of Him who is essential goodness. Instead of being an imputation upon the goodness, or the wisdom, or the power of God, that evil exists in the universe which, for His own glory in the manifestation of His infinite attributes, He created "by the word of His Power," it may perhaps be the unavoidable result of the imperfection incident to created existences, and at the same time the wise method by which is displayed the graciousness of His own condescension to the weakness of created intelligence, devised, guided, and overruled by infinite wisdom, mercy, and love.'

pp. 410, 411.

With the sentiments expressed in the closing sentence of this citation, we cordially agree; and we suspect that, independently of any theory, they will be found to include all that we can know, or need be anxious to know, concerning the high and mysterious discipline to which they refer. It does not, however, strike us that they are, morally or argumentatively, either the *sequitur* or the corollary of what has gone before. Firmly believing that the existence of moral evil cannot, by any fair process of reasoning, be made to bring in question 'the goodness, or the wisdom, or 'the power of God,'—thoroughly satisfied that its presence in the world is the 'unavoidable result of the imperfection incident 'to created existences,' and that it tends to enhance the graciousness and the wisdom of God's dealings with men,—we cannot yet think that Mr. Hetherington has succeeded in ascertaining either the best or the most plausible way of arriving at these conclusions, even if the whole of his premises be allowed. To these premises, however, we object—*first*, that Mr. H.'s doctrine fails in supplying an argument, either adequate or appropriate, for the admission and toleration of what is, to all appearance, a direct invasion of God's supremacy: and *secondly*, that he is apparently in error, when he maintains that all knowledge is relative. We may be very unsystematic in our views; but we have not yet succeeded in making ourselves comprehend how goodness can be less positive, either in itself, or in that happiness which attends its possession and exercise, on the supposition that it has never been disturbed by the presence and temptation of evil. Even on his own shewing, surely the apprehension that evil *might be*,—that there were, in the contingencies of moral existence, dark and disastrous possibilities, opposing good, and bringing in misery,—such a knowledge as this, without the actual experience and contact of corruption, would be enough for that comparison and contrast which Mr. H. thinks necessary to the science of good. But we see no necessity even for this concession. It seems plain

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to us, that the knowledge and experience of good are in themselves blessings of the most positive and exalted kind; while the mere knowledge of its opposite can be nothing more than a circumstance, enhancing, it may be, the enjoyment of the former, but making no alteration in its essential qualities.

We cannot dismiss this volume without again speaking strongly in its praise. Were we asked to recommend a brief but well compacted view of the history of the world, we are not aware that we could refer to a better or more interesting book. The composition is animated, and, excepting in a few instances of doubtful taste,—as where we are told of 'the surges of guilt and ruin, 'that gurgle greedily round the perishing race of Adam,'—scholar-like and impressive.

Art. II. *The Whole Works of the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D.D., &c., with an Essay, Biographical and Critical.* 3 Vols. royal 8vo. London, 1835.

IF it is true of the mass of writers, that they come into the world like drops of rain into the sea, of which the ocean takes no notice, either of their coming in or their going out, it is yet gratifying to observe that some, at least, are launched like stately vessels, well freighted and manned for a long and prosperous voyage. This has been pre-eminently the case with an unusually large number of the writers that appeared in the seventeenth century. They still ride gloriously and successfully over the wide waste of waters. It cannot be the mere love of what is old, that has secured to them the admiration and longevity which so few of the moderns are likely to enjoy. Horace has well said:

> *Jam Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, et illud*
> *Quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri;*
> *Ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,*
> *Nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.*
> *Lib. II. Ep. i.*

There are undoubtedly valid reasons to be found for that reviving partiality to our older writers, which is evinced by a considerable portion of the reading public in the present day. The very fact of the republication and sale of so many of the old authors, supplies a demonstration that they are deemed at least to possess qualities which entitle them to the admiration of posterity. There may be a diversity of opinion as to the measure of praise to which they are severally entitled; but there seems to be none as to the fact, that they are worthy of being preserved, and in the most honourable manner. Now, without troubling ourselves or our readers with an inquiry into the comparative

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merits of the older writers and the moderns, it may be interesting to agitate the question, why so considerable a number of the former happen to be distinguished by those substantial and splendid qualities which are universally conceded to them, and which are allowed to entitle them to pre-eminence in our national literature. How is it to be explained, that the century to which they mostly belonged, shines forth between those which preceded and those which have followed it, like the milky way across the heavens? To us it appears unquestionable, that much is to be attributed to what may be denominated, the romantic character of the age in which they lived. There was a novelty and an excitement in the events of those times, highly fitted to work upon susceptible spirits.

It is a fact sufficiently obvious, and of great interest in the philosophy of mind, that external circumstances possess a mighty influence in giving a permanent direction to the powers of thought, and in calling into operation the various endowments of native genius. Men are, in an astonishing degree, made by circumstances. There are tides and currents in human affairs, which bear them away to their intellectual destiny. The first and chief excitement to human thought is furnished from without. There is the hand which, though it does not make, yet shapes the clay. Just as the climate of a country, which is itself regulated by physical relations, is the principal cause into which must be resolved the varieties of vegetable and animal productions; so, the social relations and the external circumstances of a race of men, an age, or a nation, have a visible and direct influence upon their endowments and mental exercises: these prepare the channel in which their thoughts are to flow, and supply an impetus to the stream, or impart a colouring and impregnation to the waters, as soils usually do to the currents that pass over them. It is from the circumstances in which human beings are placed, that the motives and stimulants to all mental operations are furnished. The intellectual character is formed by the habit of such thinking, and the habit itself is resolvable into the laws of mental association. Without entering further here into the elucidation of this principle, which, we conceive, may be traced in all ages and nations, we pass on to observe, that it is minutely applicable to those smaller sections of human society which are formed by differences of religious opinion and practice.

If it be admitted that nations and ages have a mental type or character determinable by their civil and political institutions, their national transactions, their commercial and domestic habits, or even, to a certain extent, by their geographical situation and local relations to other sections of the great human family, it will equally follow, that the relative circumstances of a sect or religious

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party, in reference to other sects and professions, will exert a commanding influence over the intellectual habits of the more distinguished and leading individuals within that sect. There will be a specific character formed upon the general basis of national character, as that was formed upon the primitive endowments of nature. The raw material derived its qualities conjointly from the seed or stock together with the climate; but now, that material comes to be worked up into a specific commodity, and that commodity again is influenced in its texture by the degree of perfection to which the machinery employed in its production was at the time brought. We are far enough from thinking that there is no original difference in minds, or that any two minds exposed from the earliest training, all through their course, to the same influences, would exhibit the same results. There may be as great primitive diversities in minds, for aught we know, or are ever likely to discover, as among the various raw materials which the operative has to weave into webs. These native endowments or susceptibilities may be as diverse as cotton from silk and flax from wool; and as, in each mind, the property is not simple, but complex, the original diversities may be all but infinite, and, before full development, utterly unassignable. Probably, they are so. It seems worthy of the infinite power and wisdom of God to believe they are so. But all we contend for is, as in the case of the illustration we have used, that the artist determines whether the commodity shall be fine or coarse, figured or plain; the dyer, whether it shall be blue or green, and the consumer, whether it shall be a garment of this shape or that; whether it shall be the tapestry of a royal throne, or the attire of a puppet for children. The corresponding influence in the formation of national and individual character, we attribute to circumstances. And yet these are so various, so complicated, so undefinable and untangible, that it is not easy to catch them at their work. We rather see *what* they have done, than when or *how* they did it.

It will, however, be readily admitted by our readers, that all circumstances of a religious nature have an influence on the education, mental culture, reading, conversation, and literature of an age. The degree of importance attached to points of doctrine or practice in which one party differs from another, will be the rule for determining the degree of tenacity with which these points are to be held, inculcated, and contended for. This will give an intenseness and energy to the mind, when it applies to the study of these points, and will most probably bring them oftener under review, and keep them more habitually before the contemplative faculty. They will become subjects of interest to be always maintained,—points of honour never to be abandoned. The degree of ability with which the favourite positions are assailed, will but awaken new energies in those that have to defend

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them. Talent on one side will evoke talent to meet it on the other; eloquence will call forth eloquence; and thus, by the collision, both or all the conflicting parties, may be raised to higher exercises of thought and reason, while each is imparting to those that are following in the same line of study or argument, the advantages of strenuous application and lengthened experience, like an accumulated capital to commence trade with. How far what is called genius itself, which has been usually defined to consist in a combination of faculties entirely original, may be influenced, in its very early stages of development, by circumstances such as those already noticed, it is not easy to determine. How far the imagination of parents may affect the genius of their offspring, is beyond human science to determine; but that there is such an influence traceable, in some instances, is certain; and it may be fairly inferred that it extends much beyond the particular cases alluded to: they fall under a general law, and are by no means to be taken as exceptions. But the fact of the existence of more genius at one period of a people's history than at another, and of the appearance of genius or its decline, in connection with certain classes of external circumstances, furnishes additional confirmation of these remarks. If the principle we have stated be a true one,—that is to say, if it be a part of the philosophy of the case under review,—it will not be limited in its application to any one class of minds, or any particular order of circumstances, but will embrace all, so far, at least, as it is fairly applicable; reserving always the individuality, the peculiarity, of each mind; for we will assume that no sober and considerate reader would wish us to believe any thing else. The principle itself seems to depend upon the laws of thought, and is intended to include whatever may exert a seminative or impregnating influence upon those powers, either in the way of conceptions or emotions. Was there not an intellectual and literary character formed by our countrymen, during the period occupied by the reign of the Stuarts, which is now universally admitted to have been peculiar, eminent, and in bold contrast to the preceding age, presenting, indeed, a sort of mental stride in advance of time? It seems to have started up at once, or in an unusually short space, upon the foundation laid by the spirit and genius of the Reformation. The ardent and enthusiastic spirit which that event had kindled, continued to burn in the breasts of all the great writers among the different sects of Protestants. From the time when Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr had taken up their residence at our two universities, learning, in all its branches, had experienced a remarkable revival. A race of Englishmen arose, who, for the laboriousness of their researches, the extent of their classical attainments, the amount and accuracy of their acquaintance with antiquity, and above all, for the charms of native genius, rivalled

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the most polished and accomplished of their continental neighbours, and imparted a splendour to the age which produced them, and which yet remains unparalleled.

We do not intend to affirm that they were perfect models, or that the rapid and almost preternatural maturity they attained was altogether free from puerility. Their joints may not all have been well set; their proportions may not all have been graceful, nor their movements always without awkwardness; but none can deny that their youth was gigantic and their strength Herculean. They may, indeed, all be charged with a fond and almost childish devotion to some one or other of the scholastic subtilties which had long been the *ignes fatui* of the learned world. Every man of science and literature was expected, as a thing of course, to range himself under some one of the great masters of dialectic subtilty, and to lend his aid to support some one of those barren metaphysical systems which had attained and preserved so dominant and disastrous an influence over the spirits of men from age to age. Profitless and wearisome, however, as was much of their speculation, and slavishly as their early studies had been directed to these refinements of the schools, they yet derived thence an abstractness, an acuteness in debate, an adroitness and fertility of invention, an originality and profoundness and boldness of thinking, peculiar to themselves. They were inured to the most extraordinary intellectual toil by the efforts they had made to clear for themselves a path through those interminable wastes and barren heaths of scholastic learning to which they had been led, and over which they had been left to roam in a sort of contemplative solitude. These habits had imparted to their imaginations the most uncontrolled, often the most beautiful, but sometimes the most fantastic movements. Hence their philosophy became poetic, and their literature romantic. They dealt more in fiction than in fact; they laboured more at theory than at practice, and their genius continually outran their philosophy. Among all their writers of eminence, we find a flow of thought, a strength and freshness and originality, even in their speculations, which still impart an irresistible charm to their works. They exhibit a luxuriance of imagination which, though often wild, is always beautiful; a bold and adventurous effort of thinking, which is indeed distant enough from the matter-of-fact order of the present day, but which delightfully reminds one of the irrepressible fertility, the universal efflorescence of spring, when Nature seems playful in her youth and wasteful of her strength. Yet, this was accompanied often with a closeness of application, an operoseness of research, an accumulation of learning, the very contemplation of which, only in its results, proves wearisome to the modern scholar, and which astonishes and confounds us the more, as it was the attendant of so much pure,

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resplendent genius. It was a laboriousness, let it be remarked, which the more impatient spirit of modern times has denounced for an incumbrance and a superfluity. It might be so sometimes, but it was usually far otherwise.

While we are descanting, almost indeed at random, upon the peculiarities of these ancient worthies, it may be worth while to observe, that there was a marked difference in the style of thinking and writing, between the great men of the two leading parties —the Puritans and the Conformists. The Author of the Essay prefixed to these volumes has noted it in one particular, between Taylor and Milton. The especial point of contrast which he selects, is an important and striking one. The Writer says:—

'It need hardly be remarked, that the influence of the imagination, as well as of the "gentle prejudice of antiquity," as he himself calls it, led Taylor to lay no mean stress on the *externals* of religion; on matters of a ritual and ceremonial nature. No one, indeed, could believe more firmly than he did, that the essence of religion did not consist in these things. Yet the *tendency* of his nature was evidently rather to overrate their importance, than the contrary: so much is this the case, that probably nothing but a Protestant education could have checked them; while, if he had been born within the communion of the church of Rome, there is but little presumption in saying that his reverence for ancient customs, for rites and ceremonies, for fasts and festivals, consecrated by the example of ages, and invested by his ardent imagination with all that is striking and imposing, would have degenerated into the most abject superstition; and though we cannot believe that, even under such circumstances, Jeremy Taylor would have lost his characteristic mildness and spirit of charity, or that he would not have sustained a reputation worthy of comparison with that of a Fénélon or a Pascal, yet the combined influence of imagination and of his prejudices in favour of antiquity, would probably have rendered him one of the most strenuous champions of that very system, the main errors of which he has done so much to expose. If Jeremy Taylor erred, however, on the side of excessive attachment to matters of mere ritual, he erred no more than one of the most celebrated of his contemporaries erred on the opposite side; we refer to Milton. These great men in some respects more nearly resembled one another, and in others were more completely unlike, than any other men of the age. It is astonishing that any one with so much imagination as Milton, should have *finally* adopted a system of opinions on this subject, at the remotest possible distance from all in which imagination delights, from all that appeals to the senses and the material part of our nature; which regarded man as a purely spiritual essence. Still more extraordinary is it that his imagination, after rejecting its appropriate aliment, could sustain itself in such strength and vigour, on the few simple abstractions which, even at an earlier period, formed his creed; or that the poet should have been able to create such sublime and enchanting visions as are often presented in his prose writings, from such unpromising and unpoetic materials. We have nothing to do here, however,

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with the signal triumph of genius and imagination, which Milton has achieved; we are only concerned to point out the error of stripping Christianity of every thing external; an error which, if generally adopted, and carried to the extent to which Milton carried it in his latter days, would be far more fatal than the opposite error of his great contemporary. It is difficult to say with what excess of forms religion may still exist; but, except in the instance of Milton,—and where is there another such?—it is difficult to say how it should exist at all in a mind that rejects all those circumstantials which, as human nature is at present constituted, can alone effectually fix our duties on our memories; remind us of the times of their recurrence; render them more easy by rendering them regular and habitual; and bind upon us the performance of our devotions, by a powerful complication of associations;—a mind which, under the vain apprehension of enslaving itself to the external and material, will observe no set hours or days for devotions, no outward signs, no particular postures, no stated place. Christianity, though the most sublimely spiritual system of religion, has availed itself of the aid which the external can minister to the immaterial, just so far as is compatible with the most efficient provisions against superstition. Its rites and ceremonies, its external observances of all kinds, are as few and as simple as possible; but still it is not without them. That divine philosophy which pervades the whole scheme of the gospel, and which has so exactly adapted it to the intricate mechanism of human nature, knew man too well, and understood too perfectly his dependence on the senses, the extensive influence of the material world on all his habits and associations, and the inevitable necessity that it should tend powerfully either to vice or virtue, to neglect so important a feature in his constitution.

'The grand difficulty, however, is to maintain this middle path of wisdom. With that passion for extremes which is ever characteristic of human nature, we see, in the age of Jeremy Taylor and Milton, two parties, one of which endeavoured to encumber Christianity with a vast number of idle and fantastic ceremonies, and the other to strip it, to very nakedness, of all that is external. These tendencies existed in different degrees in different individuals. Jeremy Taylor, however, on his side, carried the tendencies of his party to a much less fatal extent than Milton did on his.' pp. xliv., xlv.

The general justness of these remarks we fully admit; though we would suggest a doubt whether it is quite fair to Milton, to assume that he would have made the habits of his later years, habits to a certain degree forced upon him by circumstances, a standard or an example to Christians at large. Many a man may have been driven or seduced into a morbid state of feeling as to his own piety, into a species of abstract and solitary devotion, and, as it regards the externals of Christianity, into a disrobing of it to very nakedness, who may yet have been far from wishing this to be the universal sentiment, or from thinking that such a sentiment could generally subserve the interests of religion or of mankind. Men that feel themselves intellectually elevated above

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their fellows, are prone to make exceptions for themselves, and claim immunity from general laws, and yet they would not wish those laws abrogated, or deem them unsuitable for others. But the Author of the Essay, by bringing these two eminent men into contrast upon one point, and that, as it appears, by no means advantageous in its results to that greatest of poets, we cannot resist the temptation to pursue the comparison a little further. We almost wish the very acute and judicious Essayist had himself pursued it, as he might readily have done, in other particulars.

These two great names seem to be naturally associated; and the contrast of the men, as well as their resemblance, always affords us delight,—the one as the poetic theologian, the other as the theological poet,—each at the head of their respective parties, and both supplying the very richest ornaments which our national literature possesses. Sentiments more opposed upon almost all the controversies of the age, styles of composition more diverse, or habits of thought and reasoning more dissonant, can scarcely be imagined; yet, they have both infused so much of power and sublimity into their writings,—have spread over them such beauty of imagination, such grace of language,—that homage must not only be done to their names as long as their respective parties shall endure to prize the sentiments and opinions they defended, but as long as a taste for what is great and beautiful in intellect shall remain among the civilized nations of the world. The names of two such men are alone sufficient to elevate any age or any country to a proud station in the history of humanity. The imagination of Taylor constitutes his pre-eminent endowment. It was clearly not well balanced by judgement, not well curbed by taste. It may be said to form not the embellishment merely, but the very ground-work of all the other rare and exquisite qualities which distinguish his writings. It is in him a faculty of the most surprising and enchanting kind, always beautiful, sometimes matchless in its creations. It rarely seems exhausted, and almost as rarely seems to produce exhaustion. It operates with the facility and potency of a fabled magician, making beauty to come forth out of deformity, and fertility out of barrenness. He will set you a garden presently full of fruits and flowers, nymphs and fauns, in the midst of a desert. He can people solitude with living forms, and make it vocal with angelic music. If his theme should be common-place, and seem to offer you nothing but the even dulness of a plain, no topics of lofty or arduous disquisition lying within sight of it, yet he will encircle it presently with delectable landscapes, and take you to many a verdant hill and lofty mountain, whence you shall both see and hear the torrent of his mighty eloquence pouring with the majesty of the cataract down the mountains, or listen to the fascinations of his

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soft lute echoing amid the sylvan scenes, or replying to the rippling rill. It cannot be denied that he is sometimes extravagant, sometimes bordering upon the grotesque, and frequently fantastic. His imagination weighs down and cripples his understanding. Its creations are so various, so splendid, and so rich, that they dazzle both his own and his readers' judgement.

In this respect Milton had greatly the advantage. His fancy never overbears his reason. There is a much sterner logic pervading his prose writings. This gives them a vast superiority of impression and effect over the beautiful, but too often evanescent exhibitions of his great contemporary. Taylor was much more prone than Milton to fall into lengthened metaphors, to paint his allusions full length, and work out every object in his landscape in detail. But Milton rarely does more than glance at an image, or hint a metaphor: it has the beauty and rapidity of a shooting star. Taylor sets the whole hemisphere in a blaze of light, and is not very nice whether it be with a galaxy, or an exhibition of fire-works and bonfires. Milton's imagination sparkles or flashes in a word or a phrase, or at the utmost in a single line or sentence of inimitable beauty. His language is poetic, but not his style of thinking. His words are often figurative, but the thoughts they suggest are substantial and weighty. Taylor wrote divinity like a poet, and Milton poetry like a divine.

The opposite qualities of these two great men might be traced, the one to the severer discipline of thought and reason to which persecution had inured the Puritans; the other to the unrestrained play of native genius in the literary and contemplative solitude he had courted, as well as to the more splendid and imposing forms of religion amidst which he had been brought up, and which his veneration for religion itself forbad him to question or to move from the ground of antiquity and authority.

Many of the other mental qualities of these extraordinary men corresponded in a remarkable degree to the respective schools of divinity to which they were attached, and to the line of politics which they favoured. The abstract and homely independence of Milton's mind found an element in the theoretic views of the Puritans, much more congenial than that half-reformed system of Protestantism which was charged with retaining much of the pageantry of popery and all its domination. It was the very same intellectual independence which subsequently led him to abandon Presbyterianism, and embrace views more in accordance with his cherished notions of liberty. On the other hand, the predominating influence of Taylor's imagination imparted an air of authority to whatever was memorable from age or association with human greatness, and gave a dignity and a grace to the imposing splendours of a regal hierarchy, which fettered his judgement, and impeded all the exercises of his reason. Even the very facts

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and truths of Revelation appear to gather lustre in his eye, when set in the pages of the fathers. The Author of the Essay has ably and candidly treated this feature of Taylor's character. He says:—

'It was remarked that the profound erudition of Jeremy Taylor, more especially his intimate acquaintance with all the writings of ecclesiastical antiquity, tended, in conjunction with many other qualities of his mind, to modify his religious character. This observation has been already partly illustrated, in speaking of his excessive attachment to what was external and ceremonial in religion. This effect was in part the result of his imagination. It is observable, however, that his imagination sought no innovations; antiquity had already determined the direction it should take. The same cause, his familiarity with antiquity, has given a peculiar tinge to his religious phraseology, and probably, also, in some measure to his religious feelings. Thus we find him, both in his controversial and his devotional writings, perpetually adopting, and often apparently unconsciously, not only the religious terms and phraseology of early ecclesiastical antiquity, but of those devotional and casuistical writers of the Roman church, with which he was so profoundly acquainted. Sometimes, indeed, his mode of expression, borrowed from these sources, requires to be interpreted with candour, and will inevitably afford abundant room for suspicion and cavil to all those who have not made themselves familiarly acquainted with the general strain of his writings. But on this point we need say little; it having been already observed, that there is no writer who can so ill afford to be interpreted by single expressions, or insulated passages. For instance, had he not frequently declared his belief, that the spirit of religion is something very different from external forms and ceremonies, and that the want of it can never be compensated by any frequency or diligence in acts of mere outward devotion, one would almost be led to think, from his occasional phraseology, that he imagined there was a species of mechanical efficacy in the mere number and assiduity of our prayers, fasts, thanksgivings, alms, and other acts of religion and of charity. Interpreted, however, by an enlarged view of his writings, and not by an exclusive attention to insulated sentences, and making due allowance for the peculiar tinge and colouring which all his habits of thought communicated to his style, we are persuaded there is little foundation for any such suspicions.' p. xlv.

It was this tendency of his thoughts and habits that made him view the sentiments and practices of the Puritans as a sort of Gothic insensibility to every thing graceful and imposing in the externals of Christianity. If the Papist bedizened it with meretricious attire, the Puritan, in his view at least, denuded it of its lawful dress and ornaments. The particular cast of his political opinions may have arisen from the same cause. Royalty takes a stronger hold upon men of a fervid imagination, than any other form of government. Prelacy came next to royalty: they mutu-

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ally favoured each other, and were both more fit for the imaginative divine than for the independent and scrutinizing spirit of the great poet. Taylor's forte, as a divine, lay, as the Essayist has well shewn, in practical subjects, not at all in controversial points of divinity. He settles nothing; we had almost said proves nothing; but every admitted principle or duty which he takes upon him to enforce upon the conscience and the heart, seems to come with a freshness, and a force, and an attractive beauty or persuasive eloquence which makes it irresistible. Milton is incomparably more convincing in bare argument, more powerful and skilful in debate, more confident of his standing, and clearer in his opinions. Little mindful of refinement, of minor elegancies, or even of ease and grace, he is Herculean altogether. The very sound and cadence of his sentences is rather like the full organ than the lyre or the harp. There is majesty and harmony in all his tones; and that which adds so much to the sense of completeness and perfection in the whole is, that every thought seems full-grown. His mind produced no abortions, and, whether beautiful or otherwise, his intellectual progeny were a sturdy race, and all of the masculine gender.

The Author of the Essay has very justly remarked upon Taylor's erudition, and that restless, disturbing display of it which vitiates his very best productions. Taylor appears to have read the classics and the ancients generally, to remember and quote them on every occasion, befitting or otherwise. This gives to his pages that pie-bald appearance, that inlaying of Latin and Greek, which adds neither to the beauty nor the force of his own thoughts, but seems merely to impede their flow, and diverts the reader from the good bishop to some worthless schoolman, heathen classic, or antiquated father, whose opinion is not worth a straw, and whose Latin and Greek seem introduced for no other purpose but to make us wonder how he should ever have fixed so much in his mind, or why he should have fixed it there at all. Milton, on the other hand, appears to have read the classics, and the fathers, and the schoolmen too, but to examine them, not to quote them; to correct his own taste by the best models, not to clothe himself with their ornaments, or to sustain himself by their authority. He appears, therefore, less pedantic, and is always more ready to create for himself than borrow from others. He is evidently more conscious of his own strength, and more disposed to draw upon the opulence of his own imagination, than to cull embellishments from the pages of classical or Christian antiquity. With a taste more perfectly classic and dignified, with an acquaintance equally extensive, and perhaps more minutely accurate, Milton quotes less from the sayings of the classics, but alludes quite as often, and even more successfully and ornamentally, to classic story, evincing a more accurate comprehension, a more

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thorough mastery of their subjects, with less of a verbal recollection. He had evidently 'drunk deep' at the same fount as the classic writers themselves, and was more of a rival than an amateur. In a word, Milton's imagination was quite as rich and original as Taylor's; while his taste was more perfect, and his judgement more accurate and severe. He has all Taylor's brilliancy without his conceits, all his erudition with none of his pedantry, all his variety, harmony, and copiousness of diction, with more uniform vigour and dignity.

The Essayist has done ample justice to the character of Jeremy Taylor. His remarks are throughout just, clear, and discriminating. We have never seen so accurate and so comprehensive an analysis of the Bishop's powers. Admirable as is Heber's life and character of him, it is by no means an adequate investigation or critical estimate of his writings. The portion of the Essay which treats of the Bishop's qualifications as a preacher, is truly admirable and important. We are confident that our readers who may not have an opportunity of perusing the whole of the Essay, will feel gratified by the citation.

'As a preacher, it may be safely affirmed, that Jeremy Taylor's genius was too poetical to permit him to obtain the very highest excellence. Great reputation, it is true, he could not but obtain; unbounded admiration and applause would necessarily wait on eloquence so sublime as his. Still, if the severe principles of rhetoric be applicable at all to the pulpit, as they undoubtedly are,—if eloquence *there*, as in the senate or at the bar, be considered as the great instrument of *conviction* and *persuasion*, then there can hardly be a doubt, that whatever the rank Jeremy Taylor is fairly entitled to hold, it is less than that of some other celebrated preachers. Regarded in this point of view, he was far too *imaginative*.

'It will be observed that we are not now speaking of the mere vices of style or manner, superinduced by circumstances or education; vices which were not so much his own, as those of the age in which he lived, and from which, therefore, scarcely any one was free. We are not speaking of the quaint conceits, the frivolous distinctions, the misapplied learning, the needless subdivisions, the quantities of learned quotation, with which his sermons abound; we are speaking of his genius for oratory *abstractedly*, and in relation to its original structure and native tendencies. Thus regarded, the excess of the poetical temperament is at once apparent. He delights in luxuriant description and ample illustration *for their own sake;* he never thinks of employing his imagination, as the orator always should, merely within the limits most likely to subserve the great practical purpose of oratory. And what is that object? It is not, like that of poetry, to please, to amuse, or even to instruct, alone; nor indeed at all, except in subordination to a higher end: its object is to convince and persuade, and to convince for the very purpose of persuasion. The eloquence of the orator is always practical; and has ever an important practical result in view. It follows from this, that the consummate orator will employ

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all the faculties of his mind, strictly with reference to this end; every thing in the shape of argument or of illustration, will be sternly subordinated to it. If this be the case, the imagination, like every other faculty, will of course be subjected to the same discipline and control, and will never be permitted to transgress those limits within which alone it can conduce to the proposed end. And if it be thus regulated, if it be thus constantly rendered subservient to ends higher than those of delight and pleasure, it will be always employed with moderation. Let us judge of this matter by those unerring practical maxims which nature inspires, and which we instinctively adopt in common life. When *really* intent on gaining some important object, when *really* under the influence of impassioned feeling, though the mind will often give utterance to deep emotion, by figurative, aye, the most figurative language, it will never seek expression in far-fetched, ingenious, or prolonged similitudes. It is not in nature to do so. Such conduct would argue a coolness, a premeditation, a self-possession of mind, totally at variance with intense emotion, and would in general inevitably give the lie to every pretension to it. The imagination, therefore, so far as employed at all, will be employed to render argument more perspicuous or striking by appropriate illustration, and, with incertain just limits, even to adorn it; that is, where the pleasure it imparts may be made directly subservient to the great purpose of persuasion: but even then the true orator will let it appear that it is subsidiary, and not principal; that it is his servant, not his master. When it flashes, it will flash like the lightning, to consume, and not to play in the heavens like the beautiful meteors of a northern sky. Its exhibition, therefore, will be uniformly characterized far more by force than by beauty, by energy than by elegance; and will be restrained within the compressed forms of metaphor, never permitted to expand into the luxuriance of prolonged or laboured simile.

'The success of the few who have obtained the highest rank as orators, and we may also add the comparative failure of the many who have, notwithstanding, been justly accounted, in a subordinate sense, very eloquent, go to prove that the chief elements of the most effective eloquence, that is, of the eloquence which is most likely to *persuade*, are, vigorous reasoning, animated by intense passion, and that a profuse employment of the imagination is absolutely unfriendly to the orator's real object. Such is the character of that eloquence which, of all that has been uttered, is alone entitled to be denominated *perfect;* —we mean that of Demosthenes. It may be granted, indeed, that the exuberance of an excessive imagination will often procure for the orator more admiration and more enthusiastic demonstrations of applause, than the most successful efforts of a more practical eloquence, and consequently render a speaker in one sense more *popular*. But then it is to be considered, that so far as the *professed* end of the orator is concerned,—the actual persuasion of his audience to a certain course of conduct,—all this is a very questionable test of his skill. This loud applause of his rhetorical qualities may be utterly worthless, nay, in many instances, absolutely detrimental; for it not unfrequently happens, that while they have been admiring *him*, they are further than ever from being suitably impressed with the truth and

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importance of the sentiments he has been inculcating, simply because their exclusive admiration of the *speaker* has had a direct tendency to withdraw their attention from his subject. They have been attending a *spectacle;* they expected, they sought their end in the delight they should enjoy there: it will be admitted they have been very well amused; but it is now all over, and they are retiring to their homes, and to the serious business of life, and—as when retiring from the theatre—their first object is to forget what they have heard.

'There may be, it is true, much dispute as to what constitutes an excessive use of the imagination in the orator; it may be justly contended that much will depend on circumstances; on the character of the times, on the habits of the audience, on certain intellectual peculiarities of the speaker. All this may be admitted, without impairing the general truth of the preceding remarks; and general truth is all that is here contended for. Accordingly, it may be said, that whenever the prevailing feeling of an auditor, *at the time* he is listening to a speaker, would give utterance to itself in such words as these; "that is fine," "that is a beautiful illustration," "that is an ingenious thought," "that is a brilliant expression;" there, however the auditor may admire the *man*, the *orator* has failed of his object; the audience are *really* doing homage to the speaker's powers, only when they feel that what he is uttering is important truth, and are silently resolving to act upon it. An intense and overpowering interest in the subject, and a subsequent conduct influenced by what they have heard, or, at all events, resolutions that they *will* adopt such conduct,—these form the most conclusive test of the orator's eloquence. Success is his highest praise.

'Not that the orator need fear that, if successful after this uninviting fashion, he will be defrauded of his fame, even though the audience, at the time he is addressing them, may not have a thought to waste on him. Yet, alas! it is this fear which in so many instances is the secret of false and ambitious eloquence; of an injudicious, and, if the orator be a preacher, the criminal attempt to employ to an undue extent those qualities which shall fix admiration immediately on the speaker. To act thus, is to abandon the substance, to grasp at a shadow.—But though the orator need not fear lest he should be defrauded of his fame, it will not flow in upon him *at the very moment* of his success; it is a reversionary possession; it is when he has effected his object, when the excitement of his audience has subsided, when they have been induced to act, or at least have *resolved* to act as he would have them, it is then, by making his eloquence the subject of distinct reflection or analysis, it is then that his powers will be felt and his merits appreciated.

'The great principle which should regulate every orator in the general management of his powers, is, as we have already observed, best illustrated by the manner of men in ordinary life, when, little thinking that they are sustaining the character or performing the office of *orators*, they are sincerely and deeply anxious to persuade their neighbour to some important course of conduct; to perform some urgent duty, or confer some much needed benefit. The man, it is true, may want many of the qualifications of which undoubtedly no public

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speaker should be destitute; he may want education, copiousness of language, and correctness of style. Still, how does he unconsciously exemplify, in his conduct, all the great principles which ought to actuate the orator,—and which did actuate Demosthenes! How does he select just those arguments which in his opinion will be likely to prevail, and abstain from all of a questionable, or even useless character! With what impassioned earnestness, with what simplicity,—the infallible evidence of sincerity,—does he express them! If, as is likely, when under the influence of intense emotion, he expresses himself figuratively, how few, how condensed such expressions are! All must have had opportunities of seeing *practical* illustrations, more or less striking, of these remarks.

'But suppose all this reversed; suppose the conduct either of the too philosophical, or of the too imaginative orator, (who, it must be recollected, profess to have precisely the same objects in view, only on a larger scale,) should be adopted in private life. If, for instance, a man who wished to obtain an important benefit from another, instead of taking for granted that the same passions and sympathies, the same principles of action, dwelt in the bosom of his neighbour as in his own,—instead of selecting those practical arguments which suggest themselves from the relations in which the parties stood to one another,—should enter into certain lengthened, refined, elaborate, and, it may be, metaphysical arguments, to prove that benevolence is a duty; and after having thus proved what the man never doubted, (who, in fact, was only in doubt as to whether in this particular case he was called to exercise benevolence or not,) he should treat him to some elaborate disquisition on the sublimity of those principles he inculcates; and what is at least as bad as all the rest, express the whole of this edifying harangue in the language of a florid and extravagant rhetoric, or in far-fetched, laboured, and fantastic imagery;—what should we say? To say that the party addressed would listen to the whole with contemptuous coolness, and be possessed with a most absolute persuasion that the idle talker could have no practical object in view whatever, and cared not whether he obtained the benefit he sought or not,—to say that the speaker would infallibly fail of his object, and that he deserved to fail,—would be the least.—We should pronounce him the most egregious fool imaginable. And yet he is not a greater,—not so great, if folly on a larger scale be greater folly,—as the orator who commits the very same errors in addressing a public audience.

'It is not asserted, indeed, that so complete a departure from the principles of practical rhetoric, as the above, is often seen in a public speaker; or that even if there ever were such, it could, under such different circumstances, be equally glaring. That there are infinitely varied *degrees* within which such faults may display themselves, does not affect the general principles here laid down. In proportion as such faults exist, however, they must necessarily exert a pernicious influence, and in that proportion will they defeat the avowed, and, indeed, the only *worthy* object of the orator.

'Neither is it meant, that nothing more is demanded of an orator than of any man in private life who endeavours *to persuade*. Far from it. The difference of the circumstances will, no doubt, dictate a

proportionable difference of conduct; and the great complexity of intellectual effort, which efficient public speaking implies, requires unquestionably the highest order of genius. Still the general principles, somewhat modified, are in both cases the same. The most effective eloquence is always compounded of the same great elements, although they may be conjoined in very different proportions.

'Whether, indeed, the peculiarities which distinguish the style of Demosthenes could ever be introduced into the eloquence of the pulpit, to the same extent as into that of the senate or the bar; or, if at all, to what precise extent they could be introduced; are questions which it is not necessary to discuss here. At the same time, the writer cannot conceal his opinion that they might be adopted much further, not only than they ever have been,—for as yet they have scarcely been recognized at all,—but to a much greater extent than would at first sight probably be thought practicable.

'It must be admitted, indeed, that since the eloquence of the pulpit has so much to do with the general principles of human character and conduct, and with topics which, though abstractedly of overpowering magnitude and sublimity, yet relate to the future and invisible world, far more of general reasoning and of imaginative description are pardonable in this, than in any other species of eloquence. We concede, also, that the eloquence of the pulpit is in a great measure didactic; and, moreover, that it affords little scope for that intense emotion, those transports of passion, (at least of the more powerful kinds of passion,) which so generally accompany successful eloquence on merely secular topics. The strongest feelings of which it admits, have little in common with those turbulent and tumultuous emotions in which, as immediately prompting to energetic action, human nature most delights, and the mere display of which tends to excite a sympathy so much more profound than the exhibition of those gentle and subdued feelings which must ever reign in the bosom of the minister of Christ.

'All these abatements, however, by no means imply that the eloquence of the pulpit is something totally and essentially different from eloquence of any other kind. They only indicate the modifications and limitations under which the same general principles must be applied. As long as it is admitted that the object of the Christian orator is to convince and to persuade, and to convince that he *may* persuade, —and that, moreover, to the most important conduct; as long as that nature on which he is instrumentally to operate is essentially the same; and as long as the same great conditions of persuasion must be complied with; so long must the Christian preacher, if he would be successful, manage his tastes and habits, and discipline his faculties, in accordance with the principles of universal rhetoric.

'It is to be feared, that the true reason why the pulpit has in proportion produced so much less really effective eloquence than the bar or the senate, is to be sought not so much in the different circumstances in which the preacher is placed, or (ascribed) to the peculiarity of the *subject-matter* of his eloquence, but to the melancholy fact,—universally characteristic of our fallen race,—that both the speaker and his audience *feel* less deeply the important truths of religion than the

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most inconsiderable topics connected with the present life. The remoteness and distance of these truths leave them comparatively little power to affect the mind: consequently the preacher has often been tempted to treat them in a cold and professional manner; and the audience, to demand curious disquisitions to please their reason, or brilliant illustration to amuse and delight the fancy, rather than that which alone would satisfy them in other cases,—practical arguments to convince the understanding, and motives directly prompting to action.

'But whatever the causes which have led to this result, certain it is, that the principles of the most effective eloquence have been far less influential in this department than in any other; and, should a vast augmentation of piety, or more just principles of rhetoric in reference to this subject, or, which is more probable, the concurrence of both, lead to an entire revolution both of opinion and practice,—a revolution which in our opinion must take place before the eloquence of the pulpit can attain its proper ascendancy or exercise its legitimate influence,—the great mass of printed sermons will excite the astonishment of the Christian church.

'Vast numbers of them, indeed, will be read and admired as much as ever, and justly: but they will be admired for being *what they are*, excellent dissertations on particular points of theological science; or wonderful specimens of metaphysical subtlety and profound reasoning, of acute criticism or ingenious speculation; of beautiful and impressive description; of rich and varied imagery: many of them will be regarded as well fitted for the closet, where even poetry, and the delight it brings, may often serve indirectly the offices of eloquence, as admirably adapted to the retired hours of a contemplative or meditative piety. But, whatever their merits in these or other respects, the great mass of "printed sermons" will be regarded as totally destitute of all the characteristics of "sermons," if by that term is meant,—what is generally meant,—a certain species of *persuasive discourses*. That they should ever have been delivered from the pulpit with such pretensions, and published under such a name, will justly appear the most astounding of paradoxes. Few and far between, indeed, along the vast range of pulpit literature, are those passages which fully exemplify the principles we have endeavoured to illustrate: at all events, though some favourable specimens might be selected from the compositions of most celebrated preachers, such passages have no sort of proportion to others. Perhaps Chrysostom is the man in whom, notwithstanding his general resemblance to Jeremy Taylor, such passages most frequently occur.' pp. xxxviii—xli.

After this long extract, we shall not be expected to append any observations of our own. The whole is worthy of the most attentive perusal by preachers of all classes. It contains, indeed, the substance of all that needs be said on pulpit oratory, and is worthy of being expanded into a treatise or manual for students of theology. We feel that we cannot too strongly recommend the whole Essay. It bears throughout the marks of extensive reading, sound criticism, and a mature judgement. It only remains for us to say, that the edition of Bishop Taylor's works, here presented

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to the public by Messrs. Westley and Davis, is admirably '*got up*'. It is altogether the cheapest, most complete, and we should even say the handsomest edition that has ever been published. We trust its success will fully repay the enterprising spirit which has sent it forth. The Essay is without a name, but we have little doubt that it proceeds from the same pen as produced the masterly preliminary dissertation to President Edwards's Works.

Art. III. *Letter to Lord Glenelg,* Secretary of State for the Colonies; containing a Report, from personal Observation, of the Working of the New System of the British West India Colonies. By John Innes. 8vo. pp. 119. London, 1835.

THE gentleman to whom the public are indebted for this valuable Report, having, during long intercourse with the West Indies, experienced inconvenience from never having been in the Colonies, determined last September to visit them, in order to observe with his own eyes the working of the great experiment, in the success of which this country is so deeply interested. Previously to his departure, he waited upon His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to ascertain whether there were any points upon which Government desired information; and he was furnished by Mr. Spring Rice with certain heads of inquiry, as well as with letters of introduction to the Colonial Governors. The colonies which he visited in succession are, British Guiana, Barbadoes, Trinidad, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Lucia, Antigua, St. Kitt's, Nevis, Dominica, and Jamaica; all the West India islands, in fact, except the Bahamas, the Bermudas, Tobago, Tortola, Anguilla, and Montserrat.

Our readers are aware that, of the 700,000 negroes in these colonies, Jamaica contains nearly one half; and Barbadoes, which ranks next in population, contains a fourth of the remainder. Of the white and free coloured population of the West Indies, these two colonies contain together more than one-half. The settlements of British Guiana rank next in importance, comprising a population of between 3000 and 4000 whites, between 7000 and 8000 free men of colour, and 90,000 negroes. Then follow in order of their population, Trinidad, Antigua, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Kitt's, Dominica, St. Lucia, Tortola, Tobago, Nevis, and Montserrat. The success of the experiment may, however, be tested as well on a small scale as on a large one; and a peculiar interest attaches to Antigua, which has distinguished itself by setting the noble example of dispensing with the apprenticeship. 'The bold step,' Mr. Innes remarks, 'of masters gratuitously giving freedom to thirty thousand slaves in one day, and

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'thereby making their own subsistence, and that of their families, 'dependent on the voluntary labour of those whom they had 'previously held in subjection, is, I believe, without a parallel 'in the annals of the world.' We shall, therefore, in the first instance, lay before our readers the substance of Mr. Innes's Report respecting the working of the system of free labour in this colony. Next, we shall examine his account of the state of things in the colonies where the apprenticeship system is working favourably; viz. Barbadoes, Grenada, and St. Kitt's; and we shall then be prepared to estimate the causes of the less satisfactory results of the Abolition Act in the important colonies of Jamaica and Guiana, as well as in some of the smaller islands.

Antigua is one of the largest of the Leeward Islands, being about 54 miles in circumference, and containing 59,838 acres, of which only 15,000 are uncultivated. The population consists of less than 2000 whites, about 5400 free persons of colour, and about 30,000 negroes. The estimated value of its exports is about £500,000. This island has for many years taken the lead in the attention paid to the religious instruction of the slaves; and Mr. Innes states, that the principal reason assigned for not taking advantage of the apprenticeship is, that 'the slaves 'were as far advanced in civilization as those in the other colo-'nies are likely to be at the end of it.'

'After having conversed with the negroes here,' he proceeds, 'visited the schools, and observed the respectful deportment and decent appearance of every class of the labouring population, I am inclined to think that the apprenticeship stands every chance of terminating in the other colonies, before the apprentices in some of them will bear a comparison with the present state of the negroes in this island. Here, moral and religious instruction are attended to more extensively than I have witnessed elsewhere. It is supposed that about one-fifth of the whole population is undergoing instruction; a proportion that, I believe, exceeds that of most countries far advanced in civilization. A French admiral, making a tour of the island while I was there, expressed to me in strong terms his surprise and gratification at witnessing such a general diffusion of the blessings of education. The largest Moravian mission in the world is here. There are twelve ministers, and at each settlement there is a school. The colony contributes £300 currency annually in aid of the mission. The minister at the head of the principal settlement informs me, that the number of registered Moravians exceeds 15,000*. If any of these conduct themselves improperly in any relation of life, they are expelled, or suspended until their penitence is made manifest. The Moravians, however, do not

* The United Brethren have twenty-six settlements in the West India Islands and Dutch Guiana, which have under their care 38,316 negroes, of whom 13,236 are communicants.

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outstrip in zeal the clergymen of the Church of England, some of whom labour greatly beyond their strength.'

Mr. Innes does not mention the Wesleyan Mission in Antigua, which has six stations, under five Missionaries, and numbers 2740 members 'in society.' The favourable picture he draws of the results of these efforts, is supported by the evidence given before the Commons' Select Committee in 1832, by Mr. Loving, a gentleman of colour, the Editor of a Weekly Register published in his native colony. After stating that, of late years, a remarkable inprovement in the state of manners among the free persons of colour had taken place, he is asked, 'To what do you 'attribute that alteration of manners?' 'I attribute it,' is his reply, 'to the increased advance in education as well as in spiri-'tual knowledge.'

'Has any remarkable improvement taken place lately in the education of the free population of Antigua?—It has.

'Has a corresponding improvement taken place in the knowledge of the slave population?—Unquestionably it has, and I can very easily account for it. It must be well known to persons who have given the subject any attention, that, since the earliest history of the colonies, the labours of the missionaries there have been most incessant and most indefatigable in instructing and enlightening the minds of all their congregations, both free and slaves: the slaves especially, being the largest number, they have paid particular attention to. At that time the exertions of the Established Church slept; and I may go as far as to say, that of the whole of the population, not one-tenth belonged to the Established Church; nor did even that tenth derive the benefit they ought to have got from religious instruction from that Establishment.

'What were the establishments from which they derived instruction?—The Moravian and Wesleyan, not the Baptist: they have never been in the Windward Islands. This uniform degree of perseverance on the part of the sectarians has advanced the slaves considerably in moral and religious knowledge; but I am happy to say that, since that quarter of the world has been erected into a bishopric, the Bishop of Barbadoes has used the most indefatigable exertions which could possibly have been expected from him, to assist in further advancing that knowledge which had become so prevalent by the exertions of the Wesleyan and Moravian missionaries. . . . . I attribute the sudden advance in the education of the lower orders to the erection of schools by the Church Establishment; because, notwithstanding the very great disposition which the sectarians had to do the utmost in their power, yet, the want of pecuniary means frequently prevented them from extending that knowledge in the way they would otherwise have done; but the bishop having been furnished with ample means for the purpose of erecting schools, he has done so; and the ministers of the Gospel there being under the direction of a most able man, the archdeacon, aided as he is by the rector of the parish of St. John, I think that matters are now going on, in the scale of religious education, most cheeringly indeed. . . . . Of all the islands in that archipelago, it

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has been acknowledged on all hands, that the island of Antigua has a more intelligent slave population than any other.'

Minutes of Evidence, 1934—1937.

Mr. Loving subsequently stated, that he thought nine-tenthsof the slaves of Antigua attended some place of religious worship.

The experiment which Mr. Innes considers as so bold a one, had, indeed, been already made in this island on a small scale. In December, 1828, 371 captured negroes and 36 Creole escheated slaves were enfranchised by the Crown; and Mr. Loving justly adduces the conduct of these people since their liberation, as 'a 'fair proof by which to ascertain the fitness of any colonial slaves 'for speedy emancipation.' Some of them had been in the island as long back as fourteen years; others had been 'not many years 'from their native wilds.' Almost all had attached themselves either to the Moravian or Methodist communions, or to the Established Church. Five months after their emancipation, Sir Patrick Ross expressed his satisfaction, in a despatch, at being able to report to the Home Government, that he had not received a single complaint against them; that not one of them had been committed by a magistrate for the most trifling offence; that there had not, to his knowledge, been any application from them on the score of poverty, and that they appeared to be in general industriously occupied in providing for their own livelihood *. In August, 1831, Viscount Howick stated, in the House of Commons, his entire satisfaction with the result of the experiment, and the encouragement he had thence derived to proceed to the emancipation of all slaves belonging to the Crown, in every colony where such were to be found. Mr. Loving, in June, 1832, bears his testimony, not only to their continued good conduct, but to their exemplary industry. 'With the solitary ex-'ception of a case of petit larceny,' he says, 'no others of their 'whole number had been guilty of any breach of the laws of the 'island' down to the period when he left it in the July preceding. 'With reference to their industry, it is notorious that most of 'the laborious work in the town of St. John is performed by 'them. But the most remarkable facts are, that not fewer than 'five per cent. have purchased their own houses, including three 'freeholds; and of the 371 who received their certificates of 'liberation, only one man and five women have returned upon 'the bounty of the Crown, and even these were obliged to do so 'by medical advice, because they were decrepit, and unfit for 'labour.' (*Minutes of Evidence before the Commons' Committee*, 1988.)

It is from no wish to detract from the merit of the colonists of

* Minutes of Evidence before the Lords' Committee, p. 922.

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Antigua, that we adduce these facts to shew that they acted without rashness in giving immediate freedom to their slaves. In one respect only they ran any risk of inconvenience. Hitherto, no free men had been suffered by the planters to engage themselves as agricultural labourers, lest they should inject into the minds of the slaves, 'notions of liberty incompatible with the interests 'of their owners.' The necessary consequence of this precaution was, to fix a stigma upon field labour, so that, apart from its severity, the employment would be regarded by a free negro as degradation. Mr. Loving gave it as his opinion, that one-third of the slaves, if emancipated at once, would not return to field labour, unless some law were passed for the purpose of confining them to those pursuits in life to which they had been brought up. The third part who would not so labour would, he conceived, be persons that had been disgusted with the life they had hitherto lived, and which they wished to get rid of, because they deemed it a punishment. The remaining two-thirds, he thought, would attach themselves strictly to the soil, from the strength of their local associations.

'Notwithstanding this attachment to the place of their birth, and notwithstanding this fear of want, still you state that your belief is, that the first immediate consequence of emancipation would be, one-third of the whole population having recourse to a vagabond life?—I am of opinion that one-third of them, from *hard treatment and cruel usage*, and other things, have so completely turned their minds against agricultural pursuits, that, in the event of emancipation, they would put down the hoe, expecting that they could get labour of a lighter description elsewhere, by which they would be able to maintain themselves.

'Then the first effect of emancipation would be, either a suppression, by force, of this vagabondism of one-third of the whole population, or a civil convulsion in the island?—Exactly so.'

Minutes of Evidence, 1967, 1968.

The apprehension expressed by this witness, and participated by other sincere friends to the abolition of slavery, had, there can be no doubt, considerable influence in suggesting the scheme of the apprenticeship; an expedient, however, which, it required no profound knowledge of human nature, nor any preternatural foresight, to predict, would go far towards nullifying the Abolition Act, wherever it should be relied upon as the means of coercing labour; while, for the purpose of repressing vagabondage, police restrictions would have been quite as efficacious. The planters of Antigua had the good sense to perceive this, and they resolved to dispense with the purgatorial scheme. Our readers shall now have Mr. Innes's report of the result. At the commencement of the experiment, the attendance of the field negroes was extremely

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irregular; owing, he thinks, to the rate of wages being fixed *too high.*

'Towards the end of September, the planters became so much alarmed, that an investigation was instituted, and the secret council to whom it was intrusted, after obtaining returns of the working of the system on eighty estates, (half the number in the island,) made a most gloomy report. Gradually, however, the attendance increased; and it is now estimated that there are at work (I do not mean continuously labouring, but giving a fair share of labour for four or five days in the week) about *two-thirds of those who worked as slaves. The remaining third consists of young persons sent to school by their parents, and of men and women settled in town in various employments.* There are very few, capable of working, who do not work at all; and I have not heard of more than half a dozen who have left the island.'

On returning to Antigua from St. Kitt's, Mr. Innes found that twenty-four labourers had gone to St. Lucia, to work the *souffriere* there. Here, then, is just the proportion which Mr. Loving anticipated, namely, one-third, who have withdrawn from field labour; but mark the difference between his apprehension of what this one-third would betake themselves to, and the fact. Instead of having recourse to a vagabond life, they are either at school, or 'settled in town in various employments.' There is no vagabondism to suppress; nor has there taken place the slightest civil convulsion. 'On estates where the planter or attorney has 'the tact to conciliate, and to make the labourers feel that he is 'their friend,' Mr. Innes proceeds to state, 'the crops are taken 'off without much difficulty; whereas, on plantations where the 'planter, attorney, or other person in authority is unpopular, 'there is very great difficulty, and the general business of the 'estates cannot be kept up; the consequence of which is a sacri-'fice of a portion of the present crop, and the certainty of that of 'a still greater part of next year's.' Now we all know what is to be understood by the *unpopularity* of a person in authority. The cases alluded to are those to which Mr. Loving referred, when he stated, that, from 'hard treatment and cruel usage', a large proportion of the slaves had become so thoroughly disgusted with agricultural labour, that he anticipated they would at once put down the hoe. It appears that they have not done so, but, even on these estates, continue to labour, though, as might reasonably be expected, with neither the good-will nor the regularity that they manifest where they have been well treated. Can we wish it to be otherwise? Even the popular planters have, it is added, found it necessary to stimulate them 'by making the industrious 'of the first class to earn about a dollar a week during crop-time'; (we presume, by introducing task-work;) but, after crop, when there is comparatively little to do, such a stimulus would not, it

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is admitted, be necessary; and 'it may rather be expected, that 'even the wages originally fixed will not be maintained.' Desirous of comparing the present expenses of estates, the business of which proceeds satisfactorily, with the expenses during slavery, Mr. Innes went into details with several planters, and he found the expenses under the two systems *nearly the same.*

'The planter has, as formerly, to maintain the old and infirm, but he is relieved from the burden of the children. The expense of medical attendance is generally reduced one-third; there are no Christmas or other extra allowances; and these advantages, added to the saving of food and clothing, are fully equal to the wages paid.' *

Mr. Wildman, an experienced planter, calculated that the cost of his slaves, converted into money, taking aged, and young children, and females into the account, averaged 5*l.* per head, per annum. Now it can hardly be supposed that, including the aged and children, more than three-fifths could be efficient labourers. If, then, for five slaves costing 25*l.* per annum, the planter had to employ three at the above rate of wages, averaging for the three classes less than 10*d.* per day, and they worked all the year round five days a week, this would amount to about 31*l.*, being 10*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* per head. But he would not require this amount of labour all the year round; and, except in crop time, this rate of wages, it seems, is not likely to be maintained. It is therefore evident that, by a wise economy of labour, the expense of the new system might be brought far below that of the old one. And Mr. Innes's testimony, confirming our previous calculations, leaves on our minds no doubt of the fact. Absentee proprietors indeed, he says, can have no reliance on their estates being sources of revenue, except by letting them to persons on the spot; and he gives the following instructive illustration of his position.

'There is a fine estate here, which, I believe, will not pay its expenses this year from the crop; and it is the general opinion, that next year's crop would, to the *proprietor*, be unproductive: yet, the gentleman who has charge of it has just taken it on lease, at a rent of 1000*l.* sterling per annum for the first three years, and 1200*l.* a year thereafter; considering, no doubt, that when freed from the restricted au-

* The wages fixed on were 1*s.* 9*d.* currency per day for labourers of the first class on sugar estates, and 1*s.* 6*d.* currency for the second class. From Mr. Loving's evidence it appears, that the wages of free labourers in the town, as artisans, is about 1*s.* 6*d.* *sterling* per day, or 3*s.* currency. In Porto Rico, a free labourer will work in the field from sunrise to sunset for about 1*s.* sterling per day. In Cuba, the rate of wages for working on a sugar-plantation is deemed high at two *pisettas* (about 1*s.* 6*d.*).

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thority of an agent, and invested with the power of a principal, he will be able to bring back and retain the labourers who have left the estate. *It is supposed that he will realize largely by the lease,* and the proprietor has at the same time a certain income, good security being given for the rent. Other estates have been let recently, on terms supposed to be beneficial alike to landlord and tenant. These transactions shew that persons of experience calculate on the eventual success of free labour in this island.'

Surely these facts will open the eyes of absentee proprietors in this country. Another very striking fact is adduced in the Author's report of St. Vincent, which will not be out of place here, as shewing how advantageously the expenses of cultivation might be diminished by the introduction of a better system of husbandry.

'In support of this opinion I may quote the experience of a gentleman in the island (St. Vincent), who in a few years has rendered most important services to the colony. Although not brought up to farming, he had attended to the cultivation of a piece of land near his residence in Yorkshire. Being a man of research, he sought information from agricultural publications and practical farmers, and soon acquired considerable knowledge. Finding his estate in this island managed at great expense in proportion to its crops, he determined to visit it, and endeavour to discover the cause and apply a remedy. After residing a short time on his plantation, he took the management into his own hands. Ruin was universally predicted. Instead of the verification of this prediction, he is now admitted to be one of the most enlightened as well as successful planters in the island. He has greatly reduced expenses; *(in some departments more than one half;)* and he has almost *doubled the crops.* He is more fortunate than his neighbours in having abundance of land, which enables him, without diminution of cane-cultivation, to allow rest to one-fourth; he has taught his apprentices the best way of cultivating their provision ground: without allowing any of it to rest, he has so arranged the succession of crops, that the same article will only be raised from the same ground at intervals of six years, which prevents its impoverishment; he has thus given them an interest in what was formerly only a labour; and he has no apprehension that his apprentices will desert him on the termination of the apprenticeship. Should any leave him, he doubts not that there will be competition for the vacant cottages and grounds, instead of his having to seek for occupants.'

So strong is the attachment of the negroes, indeed, to their cottages and grounds, that, in this same island, several non-prædial apprentices, who are entitled to freedom in 1838, have, for the sake of retaining them, applied to be classed as prædials, that they may not be free till 1840. Under such circumstances, what room can there be to fear a withdrawment of labourers from the soil? Nothing but cruel treatment could drive them away.

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But we have yet to notice the operation of the free labour system in Antigua upon the interests of the negroes themselves. The change, Mr. Innes remarks, has operated unequally.

'The man who has merely to labour for himself, has benefited largely, whilst the mother of young children has had to submit to a great increase of labour and care..... *The mothers generally are so anxious for the education of their children, that many are kept at school after they are capable of working for subsistence.* This deprives the planter of many of those on whom he had calculated to form his third class or gang..... As marriages increase, (*and they are increasing rapidly,*) the custom of throwing the whole support of children on the mother will diminish; and as domestic comforts advance, females will be progressively withdrawn from field labour. This is a necessary consequence, to which the planters must not shut their eyes: they must endeavour to counterbalance such loss of labour by taking advantage of discoveries and inventions for abridging it.'

This caution, except so far as regards the wisdom of economizing labour, can scarcely be necessary, since any withdrawment of hands arising from the advance of civilization is sure to be counterbalanced by the natural increase of the labouring population; and both together, by at once increasing the competition for employment and for local settlement, and by creating fresh motives to industry, cannot fail to give the planters, before long, an amply sufficient command of labour: so that wages will speedily be reduced to their minimum. Even now, wherever task-work is had recourse to, the labourers perform it expeditiously; and Mr. Innes admits that it might be introduced much more extensively with advantage.

We now leave it to the verdict of our readers, to decide whether the experiment of substituting *wages for the whip* has not succeeded in Antigua to as great an extent as the most sanguine Abolitionist ever ventured to anticipate. That the transition has been made without any disturbance, with scarcely any temporary inconvenience, without, so far as appears, any loss to the planters in this Island, is, we admit, greatly owing to the laudable attention which had previously been given to the moral and religious instruction of the slaves. That fact, however, leaves without excuse the slave-holders of other colonies, who have discountenanced and even vehemently opposed any similar efforts to prepare the negroes groaning under their tyranny for emancipation; nor can they be allowed to take advantage of their own wrong, by detaining the slaves in bondage, because they have kept them in ignorance and degradation so as to disqualify them morally for a state of freedom. That, under such circumstances, no inconvenience should result from the liberation of the slaves, could not be reasonably expected. But it is evident, from the Antigua experiment, that the causes which rendered a transition

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from slave labour to free labour at all hazardous, are to be resolved into the vicious economy which had become identified with the old system,—viz. absenteeism, bad husbandry, exclusive reliance upon manual labour, and the sacrifice of capital to produce immediate returns in the shape of sugar-crops, which, like the gold mines of Brazil, have proved ruinous riches to most of their possessors. We shall see presently, that the only doubt that remains as to the safety and expediency of an immediate adoption of free labour throughout the colonies, in the mind of Mr. Innes, or indeed of any competent witness, relates exclusively to the cultivation of that 'precious bane,'—the staple of the sugar colonies.

Let us now see how the apprenticeship scheme is reported to be succeeding in some of the colonies. The island in which Mr. Innes found it 'working more to the satisfaction of the planters 'than in any other colony,' is St. Christopher's, commonly called St. Kitt's.

'Planters who had anticipated difficulty in taking off their crops, admit that they have experienced none, and that the work for the ensuing crop is further advanced than usual. Even the termination of the apprenticeship is now looked forward to with diminished apprehension, and there are persons of property in the island desirous of increasing their stake in land. This happy state of affairs is accounted for by the negroes having discovered, on the outbreaking in August, that insubordination would be promptly suppressed and severely punished; while the stipendiary magistrates, by their firmness, taught the apprentices that good conduct alone could avail them.'

These circumstances have, no doubt, had a beneficial influence; but they will not, of themselves, account for the good conduct of the labourers. Mr. Innes does not advert to the influence which education or religious instruction may have had upon the negroes of this colony, further than is indicated by the significant remark, that 'the schools are numerous and well attended.' The Wesleyan Missionary Society has five missionaries in this island, who occupy seven stations; and there are, according to the last Report, 2,495 members in society. The Moravians have also long had a mission here. It is evident that the instruction of the people has been better attended to than in most of the colonies; and we infer from Mr. Innes's report, that agriculture is in a much more improved state. The plough is in extensive use; there are about five steam-engines, and the same number of water-mills; and an Agricultural Society was formed in 1831, with a view to encourage free labour. That it has not succeeded in inducing free persons to work on sugar-estates, is not surprising, considering the idea of degradation connected with what has hitherto been slave labour. On one estate, the proprietor has adopted a system of free labour without relinquishing the ap-

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prenticeship, and says, it gives satisfaction. The apprentices are paid for task-work, not by the day, and find themselves in food and clothing. On another estate, unqualified freedom was given, on the 1st of August, to all the slaves, amounting to 264; of whom only thirty-six continued to work on the estate for hire, and these not regularly; the remainder having dispersed themselves over the island. We suspect that the proprietor of this estate was an absentee, and that the attorney to whom it was then let, was '*unpopular*.' There is no reason to believe that otherwise so large a proportion would have left the spot.

The scheme of uniting free labour with the apprenticeship has been adopted by a Nevis planter on one of two estates which he holds in that island, where the apprenticeship system is working worse than in any other colony visited by Mr. Innes: on his other estate, 'the apprentices reject the arrangement!' Nevis does not contain half the number of negroes that are found in St. Kitt's; but the contrast between the state of the two adjoining islands is very striking. The explanation given by Mr. Innes is, that 'many of the estates there are managed by inexperienced 'persons; the overseers are frequently hired merely for crop 'time; and the consequence is, constant complaints both by and 'against the apprentices.' Not only is the agriculture of this island far behind that of St. Kitt's, but the handful of whites who have here enacted the two-fold part of legislators and slaveholders, appear to enjoy an unenviable pre-eminence in every moral disqualification. It is a fact which speaks strongly against the planters of Nevis, as compared with those of St. Kitt's; that while, on the slave population of the latter, amounting in 1817 to 20,168, there was a decrease of only 100 in the ten years following, the decrease in Nevis during eleven years, on a population of 9,600, was 190, or nearly four times as great.

Nevis is the island in which, about twenty years ago, Edward Huggins was indicted by the law-officer of the crown for flogging a slave to death in the public market-place, and was acquitted, on the ground that the Act on which he was tried was never intended to be enforced, but was passed only to silence the zealots in England. The facts were admitted; but their diabolical perpetrator was defended and upheld by the majority of the planters; and some members of the House of Assembly lost their seats at the next election for taking part against him! The proceedings of that iniquitous petty legislature, in mockery and defiance of the recommendations of the Home Government, have vied in their spirit with those of the Jamaica Assembly *; and we infer from a statement in the last Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, that a similar feeling prevails with respect to

* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. III. pp. 73, 81.

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the labours of the missionaries there. The passage we refer to is as follows:

'We have in the course of the year opened one new chapel, and enlarged our other three; but, notwithstanding having thus provided above 1,100 extra sittings, our places of worship are still well filled, and sometimes overflowing. The above new chapel was kindly and spontaneously fitted up for our use at the sole expense of the Hon. G. Webbe, Chief Justice of the island, whose liberal and friendly disposition has not only vindicated our character and conduct *when aspersed both in and out of the Legislature,* during the powerful excitement connected with the change in the negroes' condition, but has also aided us in carrying into effect many plans for the extension of our work. We feel it a duty to acknowledge the hand of God in raising us up such a friend, at a time when the tide of popular feeling *among a certain class* ran powerfully against us.'* *Report for* 1835, p. 56.

Mr. Innes tells us, that there is no police force in this island, nor any treadmill, nor any cells for solitary confinement; that, consequently, there is little use in ordering punishments; that 'to send an apprentice to prison is to gratify him, the rations 'being liberal, with abundant space for exercise.' Such were the representations, no doubt, which he received from the planters; and which shew that they still rely upon coercion alone, in order to 'enforce the labour allowed by law.' We hear nothing of schools; and the pious efforts of the missionaries are evidently not countenanced by the legislature. Under such circumstances, who can wonder to find it stated, that 'the greatest gloom and 'despondency prevail'? Mr. Innes says, 'he should not be 'surprised to find it proposed in the House of Assembly to forego 'the apprenticeship'; although, he adds, he 'cannot understand 'how labour can be secured in freedom, when, under apprentice-'ship, the attempt to enforce it thus fails.' That, after visiting Antigua, he should not understand this, is strange. The apprenticeship worked by means of the treadmill, must prove more costly and unsatisfactory to all parties than the system of free labour.

We now turn to Barbadoes, where Mr. Innes found 'the ap-'prenticeship working as satisfactorily as the most sanguine could 'have anticipated.' It is true that, on his second visit to that colony, he found the apprentices 'had been giving trouble,' and were not working so well in June as in the March preceding. This was ascribed to the disallowance of the Police Bill, which had led the apprentices to suppose that there were no means of coercing labour. The system of coercion, then, is not altogether

* The total number of members in society in Nevis is reported to be 1,170.

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abandoned. In so large an island, we might expect, indeed, that very different results would attend the working of a plan which admits of so material a modification, according to the character and policy of the individual planter. The circumstances under which the experiment has to be made in Barbadoes, are somewhat peculiar; some of them favourable, others unfavourable to its success. Among the latter may be mentioned the following. First, the expedients elsewhere adopted for the abridgement of labour are unknown in Barbadoes; the plough, which might be extensively used, is not in general 'approved of,' and 'the estates 'are not large enough to admit of the expense of machinery.' Secondly, it is not the custom of this island to allow negroes land for raising provisions; the planters supply food. There is consequently neither the same hold upon the negroes, whose attachment to their provision-grounds fixes them to the soil, nor the same encouragement to their industry. Thirdly, owing either to the stigma attaching to field labour, or to prohibitory enactments, no free persons are found labouring in the field; and so long as this is the case, the apprentices must be expected to submit to this labour with reluctance. The circumstances favourable to the working of the system are thus enumerated by Mr. Innes, in contrast with the state of things in British Guiana, which he had just left.

'There, (in Guiana,) the population is inadequate to the wants of the agriculturist: here, it is more than adequate. There, the waste land capable of producing provisions is abundant: here, there is no productive land uncultivated. There, the wants of the negroes are few, being almost confined to food: here, civilization being further advanced, their wants are comparatively numerous. There, the local attachment is weak or unknown, from the colony being of recent settlement; here, strong to excess. Between fellow creoles, the greater remoteness of the importation of their respective ancestors confers superiority; whilst the Barbadian creole of recent standing, in yielding to such a claim, prides himself on his superiority over the creoles of every other colony. There are many other distinguishing points that might be enumerated, but these are sufficient to account for the Abolition Act pressing injuriously on the one colony, *whilst it benefits the other.* I use the word *benefit,* it being my impression that the Barbadoes planter has not to apprehend pecuniary sacrifices by the termination of the apprenticeship; and it must be delightful to him to be surrounded, and to have his land cultivated, by free labourers, instead of slaves..... All classes of negroes here are very decently clothed.'

On the subject of the education of the apprenticed labourers, Mr. Innes says not a word; giving as the reason for his silence, that the island 'has the good fortune to be the residence of a 'bishop and an archdeacon who are eminently qualified to impart 'the fullest information.' Barbadoes has indeed been highly fa-

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voured in having so faithful and exemplary an instructor and reprover among her resident clergy as Archdeacon Eliot, to whose persevering, but not unopposed labours, a great improvement in the state of things is chiefly attributable. The earliest attempt to give gratuitous school instruction to the coloured children in Barbadoes, was made by a layman, Lieut. Lugger, Royal Artillery, so recently as 1818. Since then, schools in connexion with the Established Church have been instituted throughout the colony, by the authority of Bishop Coleridge; and there is now 'scarcely 'a town or village throughout the diocese,' the Archdeacon says, (in 1832,)* 'where a knowledge of the Christian duties, accom-'panied with instruction in reading and writing, is not brought 'within reach both of the free coloured and of the slave popu-'lation.' This is good, so far as it goes. We should have liked to know, however, how these schools are attended and managed. It appears, from the same high authority, that the moral condition of the slaves is degraded and vicious. 'The indifference 'and even opposition of the master to the marriage of his slaves,' 'the ridicule with which the marriages of slaves are often treated 'by those who exercise authority over them,' 'the licentious and 'unhallowed connexions openly formed between the superior and 'his dependent,' 'the want of legal encouragement to the marriage 'of slaves,' and the heathen ignorance in which the slave population are retained, are adduced by Archdeacon Eliot, among the causes of the prevailing licentiousness and the infrequency of marriage which he deplores. The immorality, he says, in one place, could not be greater than under the existing law. While he bears willing testimony to the kindness of many proprietors towards their dependents, he is compelled to declare, that acts of cruelty were committed without either punishment or public censure falling on the offender, and that the laws afforded no adequate protection to the bondsman. In the same work, we find the venerable Author combating the assumption that the slaves would become idle on obtaining their freedom; by remarking, that the free blacks of Barbadoes had, by their superior industry, driven the lower orders of whites from almost every trade requiring skill and continued exertion. He allows that field labour was in great disrepute, being 'always associated with the whip and the driver, 'and other tokens of personal degradation; we cannot therefore 'wonder,' he remarks, 'that it is generally shunned. The first 'step towards the removal of the existing dislike to this species 'of employment,' would be, he proceeds to say, 'to engage the 'great mass of our population in a kind of voluntary free labour,

* Eliot's "Christianity and Slavery." See Ecl. Rev., 3d Series, Vol. IX., p. 387.

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'of which the profits may, to a certain extent, perceptibly accrue 'to themselves. To work spontaneously and for our own imme- 'diate benefit, is the distinctive character of freemen;' (a noble axiom, which the framers of the apprenticeship scheme would have been wise to bear in mind;) nor would those who had earned advantages by field labour be likely, he contends, to regard it with dissatisfaction. 'Would they not rather, if permis- 'sion were allowed them, continue to work for their masters as '*tenants on the estate*, receiving either wages in money for their 'labour or a portion of the produce of the land? I believe the 'present condition of the sugar-plantations in those States of 'South America which have granted entire freedom to their slaves, 'will furnish a satisfactory answer to the question.'

The Archdeacon's suggestion seems to have induced one planter 'of great intelligence and experience' in the colony, to commence a system which, after eighteen months' trial, he informed Mr. Innes, was working admirably.

'To a family consisting of a man, his wife, and four children, he gives two acres of land, with a comfortable cottage, in consideration of their providing themselves with every thing except medical attendance, and giving to the estate equal to eight days' labour of one person per week: when there are more than four children, an allowance is made for the extra number. The arrangement is for twelve months, and the apprentices who have entered into it are highly pleased; they find two acres sufficient for rotation of crops. The extension of the plan, the planter expects, will enable him to obtain sufficient labour after the apprenticeship.'

Can there be a doubt of it? And but for the apprenticeship, similar arrangements would have been generally adopted. Upon the whole, our readers will, we think, be enabled to judge pretty accurately, how matters stand in Barbadoes; how it is that the apprenticeship system works more beneficially there, than in Guiana and Jamaica, and why it does not work still better;—namely, because it is not free labour *.

In Grenada, the same system is reported to be 'working so 'much more satisfactorily than the planters had anticipated,' that some of them begin to look forward to the freedom of the apprentices with 'diminished apprehension.' A great waste of labour and a defective husbandry have hitherto prevailed, of which the planters are now becoming sensible; and some of them

* And because, it might be added, the Missions have been able to do little for Barbadoes. The Wesleyan Missionary Society had but three teachers stationed here before the Abolition Act, and numbered only 480 members in society (358 free and 122 slaves) out of a population of 100,000. The Moravians have also a small settlement in the island.

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are disposed to have recourse to the experiment of importing free labourers from Germany; an absurd project, if it is expected that the emigrants will be retained in the capacity of agricultural labourers. At present, arrangements have been entered into with the apprentices, (the stipendiary magistrate being a party to the agreement,) which appear to be satisfactory. The apprentices are to work the same as they did before the 1st of August, in consideration of having continued to them all the allowances beyond the law that had been customary, and a provision being made for the children under six years of age. For extra labour some planters pay money;—we presume for task-work. The negroes generally speak French, and are Roman Catholics. There are many Sunday, and some day schools. Their priests, probably, contribute by their influence to keep them in order. There are three Wesleyan Missionaries stationed in the island, but their success seems to be but limited, as only 262 free persons and 173 slaves are reported to belong to their society.

In St. Lucia, the apprentices appear to be working steadily eight hours per day for five days in the week, which allows five hours for cultivating provision grounds, of which they are allowed as much as they can cultivate; and they employ the Saturday diligently in labouring for themselves. There is a large free population: they do not, of course, work on sugar-estates, but are not idle. 'All the labouring classes here are particularly 'fond of finery, and will work to obtain it.' The colony is not in a prosperous state, owing to the embarrassments of the planters, the injurious operation of the old French law, and the deficiency in the revenue of the colony; but, as Mr. Innes mentions no ground of complaint against the negroes, we may rank this with the colonies where the apprenticeship system is working satisfactorily. In Trinidad, the vexatious and uncertain state of the colonial laws, half Spanish, half English, operates in like manner very prejudicially, and, added to a want of confidence, a deficiency of population, and an utter dearth of religious instruction, must oppose formidable obstacles to the working of any system. The mass of the labouring population, as in the *ci-devant* French islands of Grenada, St. Lucia, and Dominica, are Roman Catholic, and there is but a single Protestant place of worship in the island. Scarcely any thing is doing in the way of instruction, and the neglected state of the population is a reproach upon this country. The sugar-planters are nearly unanimous that no reliance can be placed on procuring labour after the apprenticeship; but this opinion is in the teeth of facts which shew that free labour might be commanded by proper arrangements. 'Four car-'goes of Africans liberated under the mixed commission at the 'Havannah,' had arrived and been located there. The last 'cargo,' consisting of 150 males and 152 females, who arrived

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recently, had been bound as apprentices for three years, on the condition of having, in addition to the usual allowances, 4*d.* currency per day of actual labour, for the first year, 8*d.* for the second year, and 1*s.* for the third year. Mr. Innes had the gratification of ascertaining that these labourers are universally giving satisfaction.

In Dominica, under the apprenticeship system, the field work is carried on with little spirit on the sugar-estates, but 'it has not 'been necessary to inflict many punishments.' The apprentices toil diligently enough, it would appear, for wages, at the sulphur-works, which promise to be more productive to the proprietor than his plantations.

We may add St. Vincent to the colonies in which the system is working doubtfully. A few days before Mr. Innes's arrival, the apprenticed labourers on three estates had refused to work, in consequence of a misunderstanding respecting the allowances for extra labour to which they were entitled. 'It had been neces-'sary to resort to a strong demonstration of force'; and before he left the island, they had resumed their labour. Tranquillity prevailed throughout the colony, but many complaints were made of the slovenly manner in which work was performed; and apprehensions were expressed, that, after the apprenticeship, the present population would not work continuously. Yet, no measure had been taken to supply the expected deficiency; only one planter had adopted task-work; scarcely any thing had been done for the abridgement of labour, the planters wishing to 'avoid outlay'; the plough is not much used: in short, the planters are improvidently, ignorantly, and stupidly adhering to the old system as far as they can,—with the noble exception already referred to, of the Yorkshire proprietor, who is affording them a practical demonstration of the possibility of at once increasing their crops and reducing the expense of cultivation.

We now come to the two colonies in which the apprenticeship is giving the least satisfaction; and first, we shall lay before our readers the unfavourable view which Mr. Innes gives of the state of things in British Guiana.

Here, it is important to premise, that Mr. Innes found himself compelled to assent, on investigation of the facts, to the startling position, that, with all the advantages of British Guiana, sugar-cultivation, on the aggregate, has been a decidedly losing business.

'There are some splendid exceptions, as in mining, where almost princely fortunes have been realized, and others have been moderately successful; but, taking the whole colony, the capital sunk has not yielded an adequate return. My (previous) impressions were different; but, after taking each estate, and obtaining extensive information from parties conversant with details, the balance against adequate return

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was so great, as to leave the question free from doubt. If, then, the aggregate of sugar-cultivation has not been profitable whilst planters had the command of labourers, it is manifest that, when deprived of that command, British Guiana must cease to be a great sugar colony. It will be said that the outlay in settling estates having taken place, the cultivation will be continued while the income exceeds the annual expenses, not including interest in outlay. True: but, if the revenue leaves nothing for interest, planters in debt must be ruined, and an end be put to the extension of sugar-cultivation, or to its preservation as now existing.'

And, surely, sound policy would lead us to say, the sooner the better. If sugar-cultivation cannot be made profitable under what have been deemed the most advantageous circumstances to the planter, it cannot be for the interest of this country, to keep up, by bounties and duties, and at an immense cost in military and naval force, so unprofitable and ruinous a system. Now, long before the abolition of the slave-trade, Bryan Edwards (a writer with whom Mr. Innes ought to be familiar) asserted that, owing to the great expense of cultivation, 'nothing could have saved 'the planters from ruin, but the advanced price of sugar in the 'markets of Europe:' and it is no wonder, he remarks, after entering into a lengthened exposition of the case of the West India planter, that 'a sugar-estate, with all its boasted advan-'tages, should sometimes prove a mill-stone about the neck of 'its unfortunate proprietor, which is dragging him to destruction.' Between the years 1772 and 1792, according to a Report from a Committee of the Jamaica House of Assembly, there had been 177 estates sold for debt, and 55 thrown up, while 92 more remained in the hands of creditors. It is no new discovery, then, that sugar-cultivation by slave-labour is, on the aggregate, a losing concern; and that the sugar produced by free labour would, but for protecting duties, drive the slave-labour sugar out of every market.

We are not aware that this country would have any reason to regret British Guiana's ceasing to be a great sugar colony. The value of these colonies does not depend upon their being sugar colonies. The exclusive attention paid to sugar-cultivation has hitherto operated most prejudicially in retarding the development of the natural resources of the West India Islands, as well as in all other respects. But, should the present gigantic experiment fail, Mr. Innes says, 'it is frightful to contemplate the vast extension 'there will be of foreign slavery.' We contemplate no such consequences under the worst that can happen; being well assured that free labour and free trade together would soon lead to the extirpation of predial slavery, by the sure method of underselling the products of slave labour.

We have already seen, however, that even in the West Indies,

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sugar may be profitably cultivated by free labour. And it seems to be now all but universally admitted, that free labour is the cheapest, where it can be steadily commanded. The apprenticeship scheme is an expedient, not for commanding labour, but for coercing it where it cannot, by the ordinary motives to human industry, be commanded. It rests its defence, as a measure of policy, upon the impossibility of commanding it under the circumstances which slavery itself has produced. There is free labour to be had in Guiana; and 'there are many instances of free ne-'groes remaining on coffee-estates.' But, in the whole of British Guiana, Mr. Innes was disappointed at being able to hear of only one free woman and one free man, who continued, after liberation, to labour in the field on a sugar-estate, and they had peculiar ties to the estate. There are many instances of their continuing to work on sugar-estates at other than field labour, but the hoe is the badge of slavery; and it has been usual, when any of the negro tradesmen or domestics have misbehaved, 'to 'threaten to send them to the field, thereby marking the field 'labour as degrading.' Not only so, but free men, in most, if not all of the colonies, have been prohibited from working at field labour. And yet now, the planters complain of the unwillingness of the apprentices to work in the field on sugar-cultivation, which they naturally regard with much the same feeling that an English labourer would relish being engaged to work at a treadmill. Still, the apprentices submit to the necessity with as good a grace as could be expected.

'There are, of course,' Mr. Innes says, 'exceptions in so extensive a colony; but I should say, speaking generally, that where a good understanding exists between the manager and apprentices, (and the want of such good understanding is probably as often attributable to one side as the other,) there is no great difficulty in obtaining the labour that the law exacts, although some of it is done with less care than formerly; but when the apprentices take a dislike to any of those placed over them, it is quite impossible to obtain the legal quantity of work.'

We rejoice to hear it. We are glad that coercion fails, where ill treatment has alienated the negroes from their employers. That the Demerara planters should be unanimously of opinion that it is perfectly chimerical to expect the continuous labour of the negroes on sugar-plantations after the apprenticeship, proves what has been their conduct towards their slaves. It is admitted to be the prevailing opinion, even in Guiana, that free negroes will work on coffee and cotton plantations. Then, there is nothing in the character of the negro that prevents the success of the experiment of free labour. But the curse of slavery peculiarly hangs about sugar-cultivation; and those who have hitherto ex-

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cluded and rejected free labour on sugar-estates, are now murmuring that they cannot at once command it! In Guiana, there would seem, indeed, to be a worse chance of commanding it, than in most of the colonies, from the slighter hold which the planters, through their own criminality and imprudence, have upon the negroes. In the first place, the negro labourers have no provision-grounds to link them to the soil, but are supplied with fish and plantains. In the second place, they are for the most part without any education. Their common language is a barbarous jargon called Creole Dutch, of which the stipendiary magistrates sent out from this country can scarcely understand a word. 'In the country, it is only domestics and head people 'that are clothed'; and the negro, when free, will have to acquire a taste for the luxury or finery of dress, before he will feel the inducement to work for the supply of that new want. Marriage has been very partially introduced *, and is discountenanced and nullified by the contempt shewn by the whites for the domestic ties or moral interests of the negroes. Polygamy is allowed in many districts. For the education and religious instruction of the children, 'nothing has been done.' The colonists have gone to a very heavy expense, we are told, in building churches, and providing for the clergymen; but in some districts the deficiency is remarkable. On the Corrantyne or east coast of Berbice, comprehending a district of fifty miles, there is not a single church; and in other parts of Berbice, 'the planters give up 'part of their buildings for occasional service.' Of Demerara, nothing is said in this respect. Its colonists enjoy, with a few exceptions, an unenviable notoriety, which would make any claims to religious feeling on their part very suspicious. In no other colony has there taken place a more frightful destruction of human life. The decrease of the slave population in this colony, during twelve years, (1817—1829,) was 12,037, in a population of 835,000; including in the latter sum 5,503 imported! And this decrease receives melancholy illustration from another return. Among a population of 62,000 plantation slaves, the number of offences recorded as punished, in a single year, was 20,157, of whom 8,461 were *women!!* In Berbice, in a population of 21,000, there were 9000 punishments! Is it to be wondered at, that these are among the colonies in which the apprenticeship scheme is not working quite so well as could be wished, and in which the planters despair of commanding free labour? It is

* The marriages of slaves in Demerara, reported from Nov. 13th, 1827, to June 29th, 1828, were 93; viz.—22 by ministers of the Church of England, 40 by a Roman Catholic priest, and 31 by Wesleyan missionaries.

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proper that the state of things should be thoroughly understood; and we are enabled to add a few particulars from the Tables of the Population, &c., of the Colonies, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of his Majesty. Berbice, according to the last census, taken in Oct. 1827, contains a population of 523 whites, (the males being four-fifths,) 1,161 free blacks, (of whom 707 were females,) and 21,792 slaves*. Total 23,476. The following is a return of the number of schools in the colony.

District.	Pub. or Free Schools.	Male.	Fem.	Total.	How support[d].	Expense. £ s. d.	Private Schools.
New Amsterdam.	Free School. (On Madras system.)	30.	25.	64.	By voluntary contributions, amounting to £82 8s. 6d.	Boys..156 11 0 Girls..159 18 9	Eight.

Demerara and Essequibo, contained, according to the last returns, 3,000 whites, 6,370 free coloured, and 69,470 slaves: total, 78,840. We find no return of schools.

The London Missionary Society has six missionaries in the colony of Berbice, and six in Demerara and Essequibo, whose joint returns give only 1,255 scholars, in the Report for 1834; and there had been 261 adults baptized, and 170 marriages within the year. The Wesleyan Missionary Society has four teachers stationed at George Town and Mahaica in Demerara, who report to have in their schools, 105 free boys and girls, and 53 slaves: total 158. The members in society are 399 free, 1,408 slaves: total 1807. The Church Missionary Society have two catechists in British Guiana, and, in two schools, 160 scholars. Such appears, so far as we can glean information from scattered sources, all that has hitherto been done for the religious instruction of the population of 'the magnificent province of British Guiana,' comprising nearly 100,000 human beings!

Jamaica was the last colony visited by Mr. Innes; and here again, but from causes of a somewhat different character, he found the apprenticeship working so unsatisfactorily as to produce upon his mind the conviction, that 'the gradual diminu-'tion of the sugar-cultivation during the apprenticeship, and its 'almost entire annihilation thereafter, can be averted only by the 'early adoption of decided measures for enlightening the appren-'tices, and by the enactment of laws to enforce industry under a 'state of freedom.' With regard to the state of things in this important colony, it will be proper that our readers should have our Author's report more in detail, and in his own words.

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* A later return gives 552 whites, 1,151 free coloured, 21,319 slaves.

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'I have observed, with the deepest regret, that between the apprentices and those in authority over them, there is an extensive feeling of mutual distrust. Except in one district, the negroes are much less respectful in their deportment towards the whites than in the other colonies: they appear to consider that their masters are unjustly withholding freedom from them, and that their labour is without remuneration, although in most districts they enjoy privileges and advantages greatly exceeding what it is in the power of planters in other colonies to confer. I find the apprentices on some estates possessed of wealth, and enjoying luxuries, unknown in most other colonies. It is quite common to see them riding to church, &c., on their own horses or mules; and, on one estate I visited, two had gigs, (subject to annual taxes of £6 currency each,) driven by blacks in livery! The pasture-land in many quarters is unrivalled; and the planters, generally, are most liberal of it to the apprentices, who are permitted to rear horses, &c. Provision-ground is also peculiarly luxuriant; the apprentices are not restricted in quantity, and they have every facility afforded (in many instances at great expense to the estates) in conveying their extra provisions to market. For the cultivation of their provision-ground they have the half of every Friday, and, throughout the year, they have Saturday wholly to themselves. Still, distrust and dissatisfaction are nearly universal; and I have not met with an individual of experience who is of opinion that there is even a chance of maintaining sugar-cultivation after the apprenticeship, except on estates peculiarly circumstanced. Unfortunately, this gloomy anticipation is likely to assist its own accomplishment; it induces persons whose circumstances will admit of their leaving the colony, to form all their plans and regulate their proceedings on the calculation of retiring in 1840, when the apprenticeship will terminate. I however hope that measures will be speedily adopted to reassure them, and prevent so great a calamity as the secession of persons of wealth and experience, at the time their influence will be most wanted.

'The two leading evils of this island are, absenteeism, and what may be termed a monopoly of attorneyships;—these place the negroes at a distance from those to whom they ought to be able to look as their best friends. There are whole parishes with scarcely a resident proprietor of magnitude; and in an examination into the working of the apprenticeship, which took place before a Committee of the House of Assembly, in November last, it will be seen, by the parliamentary papers, that one gentleman was examined who had forty-eight estates, with a population of about 10,000 under his charge. Another witness had charge of twenty-nine estates, (besides one of his own,) with from 7 to 8,000 apprentices. When the size and population of estates are considered, it will be obvious that only a nominal superintendence can be exercised by such attorneys, even when the properties are contiguous; but that when they are scattered, as is frequently the case, no one not gifted with ubiquity, can even go through the form of attending to many of the important duties of an attorney. There are instances of estates upwards of 100 miles distant from each other being under the same attorney; and 100 miles here, considering the

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climate, roads, and modes of conveyance, are equal to 200 miles in England.

'To these combined evils of absenteeism and attorneyship-monopoly, may be traced much of what is distressing and alarming in the present position of affairs. But for absenteeism, it is impossible that the negroes should not have advanced further than they have done in civilization. Had a proprietor resided on each estate, he would have found it for his interest and comfort to be surrounded by persons who could read, and understand the duties of social life; he would have studied to enlighten those on whom his own comfort so much depended, and with whom he must be in daily intercourse. Attorneys, whose visits are necessarily short, suffer little or no personal inconvenience from the ignorance of the negroes, with whom they rarely come in contact, their communications being principally with the overseer. Overseers are so engrossed by their daily laborious occupations, that they have no time to bestow on the mental improvement of those under them; and the book-keepers are too subordinate to interfere. Thus, with few exceptions, the daily business of the estates of absentees proceeds, without instruction forming any part of it; and the negroes are without a family at their head by whose example they might profit. In one of the parishes I visited, the time was in the recollection of some of the residents, when about forty close carriages were seen every Sunday taking families to church; whereas there are now only two such carriages in the parish, the other families having deserted the island. In some large districts, it is uncommon to meet with a married man of influence. In such a state of society, it would be unnatural to expect a high moral tone, or much regard to external religious observances. Indeed, where there is not ready access to the society of amiable females of education, indifference to our highest duties will ever be soon found to prevail. Almost every man I conversed with deplored the state of society, and expressed anxiety for its improvement; but too many have entanglements in which they have been involved, in opposition to their judgment, to be able to set the example they desire with effect; and therefore the amelioration will be a work of time, and must be founded on the introduction of married families, and the encouragement of married men in every department. Hitherto marriage has been an obstacle, if not an insuperable bar, to employment as overseers and book-keepers.'

'Even with every advantage of residence, an attorney of the present day, who faithfully discharges his duties, has no ordinary difficulties to contend against in making the new system work. It is only natural to suppose that the overseers and book-keepers should be out of humour with a system that deprives them of authority to which they had been always accustomed. *Almost to a man, they have predicted ruin as the inevitable consequence of the change, and therefore they cannot be expected to be over-zealous in overcoming obstacles to the falsification of their predictions, especially as their own immediate incomes are not dependent on success.*'

'With regard to the working of the apprenticeship system, I am afraid I cannot report favourably. I do not think that there has been much of the crop of this year lost for want of labour, planters having

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devoted all their strength to taking it off; but this has been to the neglect of other branches of the business, and the consequence is, that the cane-fields for next crop are in many places so dirty and overrun with weeds that full returns cannot be expected from them. Fewer fields have been planted this year than usual; in short, every species of work that could be postponed gave way to sugar-making, and I apprehend it will be impossible to make up by subsequent exertions for the neglect. It is more difficult to secure continuous extra labour here at a moderate rate than in other colonies, from its being more advantageous to the apprentice to apply his own time to raising provisions, than to work for his master at reasonable wages; and on Saturday they do not think of working, that day being devoted to marketing, &c. From an early hour in the morning the roads in the neighbourhood of towns present a lively appearance, from the number of well-dressed negroes resorting to market with fruit, vegetables, &c., on their heads. In saying that extra labour can only be obtained regularly by paying highly, I beg to exclude the digging of cane-holes, which is generally done at less expense than before the abolition of slavery; yet, being performed as task-work, the negroes exert themselves, and earn largely in a short time. I saw the pay-list of an estate, where the holes were four feet square, and about six inches deep, where able-bodied apprentices had been paid frequently equal to 6*s.* 8*d.* per day. Each planter must regulate the wages according to his soil and system. On some estates, cane-holes are three feet and a half square, and six inches deep; on others, four and a half and ten inches: different rates of wages must of course be established. In some districts, ratoons yield fifty per cent. more than cane-plants; in others, cane-plants produce fifty per cent. more than ratoons. In some districts, ratooning is not carried beyond three years; in others, it is extended to ten and fifteen. These discrepancies are easily accounted for; but it is unnecessary to trouble you with explanations, my object being merely to state the existence of such variety.

'I have found the working of the apprentices very much influenced by the character and conduct of the special magistrate of the district. Where the special magistrate understands and performs his duty, the working is comparatively little complained of; but, where he is deficient, complaints are universal, and a great sacrifice of the interests of the planter is the consequence. Too much care cannot be taken in the selection of special magistrates, for on them mainly depends the good or bad working of the apprenticeship system. Here the duties of the special magistrate are more arduous than elsewhere, and I cannot help remarking that these functionaries are still inadequately paid. It is impossible that persons of their rank in society can pay house-rent, keep up the requisite establishment of horses and servants, and support even a moderate-sized family, on 450*l.* a year. The consequence is, that many of those who are married have been obliged to leave their families behind them, thus depriving themselves of the happiness of domestic life, and the community of the benefit of having families of respectability located in every district of the island; a consideration which, I regret to say, has been too much neglected in appointments to official situations in the colonies. As there is nothing

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that so much forwards improvement in the West Indies as the settlement of respectable families there, it is earnestly to be hoped that this will never in future be lost sight of.'

'The coffee-planters are so little apprehensive of being injured by the termination of the apprenticeship, that I have witnessed instances of increasing cultivation, and have heard of the contemplated establishment of new plantations, as well as of speculations for raising ginger, pimento, and tobacco, by free labour. When all are free, it is not to be expected that the growers of such articles will have difficulty in procuring labourers. Now that the number of free labourers is extremely limited, they will not work continuously, even on such productions. It was mentioned to me by an old resident, that in his neighbourhood eighty-three slaves had some years ago been made free under a will. They were located on a pimento-walk, and during crop had an offer of a dollar a day for picking: only thirty-seven were tempted to this easy labour by such enormous wages the first year, and thirteen the second year; subsequently not one would pick; they support themselves by raising provisions, and fishing.

'Some of the families lately imported from England are working satisfactorily on a coffee-estate; and I think that if the negroes should refuse to work when free, coffee-planters may easily support their cultivation by English families.

'It appears to me that the primary object ought to be, to advance the present negro population in civilization as rapidly as possible; to make them sensible of its advantages, and willing to work to procure and retain them. It will not be sufficient to establish schools in central situations; attendance must be made compulsory, until they are capable of appreciating the value of education. It may be deserving of consideration, whether the negroes ought not to be required to contribute towards the payment of teachers: from the liberality of the planters, every deserving negro has or may earn the means, and they value most what they have to pay for. When negroes are civilized, they will not readily give up comfortable cottages and abundance of provision-lands. It is civilization, and their attachment to their cottages and grounds, that will form the hold of the planter on the labour of the negroes. It is clear they do not generally contemplate the abandonment of their present dwellings, for it has been observed in almost every quarter, that when a negro has to repair or build a cottage, he is doing so more substantially and with greater care than formerly, under the persuasion that at the end of the apprenticeship it will become his own. I have heard of many instances of apprentices who, wishing to buy their freedom, and in some cases having even gone the length of paying for it, withdrew from the contract on learning that freedom would be accompanied by the forfeiture of their dwellings and provision-grounds.' pp. 82—103.

Now under such circumstances as these, is it not clear, that nothing but ill treatment would drive the negroes into vaga-bondage?

We regret to find Mr. Innes deprecating the frequent references made to the special magistrates, 'as destroying the good

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'feeling that ought to be encouraged between the negroes and 'their employers.' He must be aware that such good feeling cannot exist, while there is so much occasion for appeals to the special magistrates, who are, after all, but too likely to lean towards the planter. In fact, the special magistrate who dares to do his duty towards the apprentices, is placed in a very trying and unenviable situation. Every difficulty is thrown in his way by the operation of the colonial laws; and he runs no small risk of drawing down legal proceedings against himself for committing an offender. A case of this description is now pending, of which the particulars have been communicated to us, and in which a special magistrate has been served with notice of an action for false imprisonment, by a ruffian who refused to give bail for his appearance to answer for a most wanton and cruel outrage; although the grand jury have returned a true bill against the offender. All that a special magistrate can do in a case of the most violent assault, is either to fine the offender 5*l.* currency, (3*l.* sterling,) or to take bail for his appearance at the quarter sessions or assizes. In the former case, the fine goes to the Crown, and the injured person has no reparation, but is sure to bring down on his own head the vengeance of the man against whom he has complained. In the latter case, all the trouble and expense of the prosecution are thrown upon the magistrate or the poor witnesses; and the magistrate is liable, as in the case above referred to, to the annoyance and additional expense of an action for false imprisonment. Is it to be endured, that the magistrates sent out by the British Government should be exposed to such risks and such temptations in the discharge of their duty? But such is the spirit of the colonial law, that it renders the special magistracy, so long as the apprenticeship lasts, almost powerless.

With regard to a remedy for one of 'the two leading evils' of this island, absenteeism, Mr. Innes does not venture to anticipate any great accession of resident proprietors; but he 'looks 'to an improvement in society from *the difficulties of the* '*planters.*'

'I hold it to be impossible,' he says, 'to make the majority of sugar-estates sources of revenue, without a system of economy and management such as can only be conducted by actual residents, who can apply daily or hourly superintendence, and who can check extravagance, and redress grievances, without control. *With such a system, estates which would entail loss on non-residents, might be made productive to laborious men of agricultural and planting experience;* and therefore such parties will no doubt be found to give fair rents. This would supply a class of society much wanted, and lead to many obvious advantages to the community at large. I am acquainted with an instance of an overseer having recently offered a liberal rent, with good se-

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curity, for an estate which has been unproductive to the proprietor for several years past; and I have heard of many negotiations now in progress.'

A liberal rent, with the prospect of the apprenticeship terminating in five years! Yet, the overseer must know what he is about. What a plundered and persecuted body are the West India proprietors! They *have* been plundered, but it has been by their own attorneys, planters, and slave-drivers, who, now that their reign of abused power is approaching its term, are thus coming forward to purchase or lease the estates which were going to ruin under the old system of corrupt and costly agency. We now find even the champions of the West India interest, reproaching the proprietors with having suffered themselves to be 'persuaded or compelled by the representations of the stupid and 'violent assemblies in the islands,—stupid, violent, and ultra-'liberal these clubs of slave-drivers have ever been,'*—and, 'for-'getful of all their professions,—blind, too, to the inevitable cer-'tainty that they had no hope of carrying on West India culti-'vation but by the just compromise urged upon them,'—having pertinaciously refused every reasonable proposition, till bribed 'by the ready penny' to be extorted from the people of England! And what is now the conduct of these stupid, violent, and ultra-liberal apprentice-drivers? We have the testimony of Mr. Innes, that the overseers and book-keepers, naturally out of humour with a system that takes the cart-whip out of their hands, are, almost to a man, throwing every difficulty in the way of its working. And as to the conduct of their superiors, the recent proceedings of the House of Assembly shew that they have improved in neither wisdom nor moderation. A patriotic writer in the Jamaica Watchman, who signs himself "A Native," has given an explanation of the late rupture between the Executive and the Legislature, which, though it rests on anonymous authority, we deem not unworthy of being adduced in illustration of the present posture of affairs.

'I know that the fashion has been, with a certain party, recklessly to oppose every thing coming from the Executive or the Government. This they absurdly call patriotism or independence. Ignorance and prejudice would be the more proper appellatives, for it cannot be denied, that, to the one or the other of these, may be traced the opposition which has been offered to every humane or tolerant measure brought under the consideration of the Assembly. Wedded to the old and antiquated notions, and with minds narrowed and bigoted by the

* Such is the language of the Standard Newspaper, in defending the conduct of the Marquis of Chandos on resigning the Chairmanship of the West India Proprietors' Committee.

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partial and tyrannical system which has so long prevailed in this island, the men to whom I allude, with some rare exceptions, are absolutely incapable of looking beyond the present, or taking such an extended and general view of the subjects brought under their consideration, as the welfare and happiness of the people demand. For an example, I need go no further than the *apprenticeship plan, the now fruitful source of all the differences which exist in the island, and the cause of the rupture between the Executive and the House of Assembly.* Let the impartial observer of the act of that late body say, whether previous to, or since the abolition of slavery, they have regarded the subject of emancipation in the light they ought to have done, or have legislated on any one occasion in the manner, or with those views, which ought to have dictated to them the proper mode of procedure. Previous to the passing of the abolition act, their only object seems to have been, their every energy directed towards, the securing to themselves absolute power. It was in vain that a gentleman now absent from the island (and whose principles I admit are in many respects opposed to mine, but who in that respect took the most correct and enlightened view of the subject) pressed them to adopt certain measures of rather a liberal and humane kind. The determination was, to hold on the foundering bark until she was engulfed in the vortex of the apprenticeship. *And what has been the blind and foolish policy adopted since the decree against slavery has gone forth? It has been to regain as much as possible the absolute power which that measure annihilated.* To this end every effort has been directed, and it would be astonishing indeed, if, entertaining such dissimilar views, the Government at home and the Legislature here could agree as to the enactments deemed by the latter necessary for the preservation of good order in the colony.

'Having paid so costly a price as twenty millions of pounds sterling for the emancipation of the negroes in the colonies, the British people naturally expect that they will be considered and treated as freemen, yielding unrequited labour to their late master for a term of years. The Colonial Legislature unfortunately views the negro through a different medium. *Its members, themselves apprentice-masters, cannot bring their minds to regard them as free men; and hence the struggles to re-invest themselves with the unlimited and arbitrary authority which they, previous to the 1st of August, 1834, possessed, and the dissensions and rupture consequent upon such endeavours. And this must continue to be the case so long as the apprenticeship lasts, and such men constitute the Legislature.*

'To expect that the British Government and people will yield to the clamorous and unreasonable demands of the Jamaica Legislature, is absurd; and *hence it is evident, the former will be driven either to do away with the remainder of the apprenticeship, and declare the negroes absolutely free, or deprive the island of its legislative right—a right which has been most grossly abused and applied to the worst of purposes.*'

One of the points upon which the Marquis of Sligo has given offence to Mr. Barrett and his clique, is, his discountenancing

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the immigration, or what has been justly termed the 'white sla-'very' scheme, and his having spoken of the mortality among the poor German emigrants as 'frightful.' Mr. Innes admits that, 'as emigration has hitherto been conducted, much mis-'chief and little good have resulted from it.' For mere labourers, he says, 'I have heard of none equal to the Africans who have 'been released under the mixed commission, and sent to Tri-'nidad'; and he follows this remarkable admission with the following suggestion.

'It may be deserving of the consideration of Government, how far it may be made compatible with views of philanthropy, to encourage arrangements for importing negroes from Africa, under similar indentures to those entered into by persons from Madeira and elsewhere.'

This would come to nothing short of re-establishing a *man-trade*, under not quite so specious a pretext as led to the original importation of Africans into the Spanish colonies. But it appears that British capital is still largely employed in the slave-trade itself; a startling and horrible fact, which makes the above suggestion the more strongly to be deprecated. Mr. Innes says:—

'In the course of my tour through the colonies, I have had frequent conversations with naval men on the open, daring, and successful continuance of the slave-trade; and they one and all expressed surprise that the British Government should afford facilities to it by making the island of St. Thomas our packet-station. They say, St. Thomas's is principally supported by the profits of the slave trade, and that the inhabitants avail themselves most liberally of the means our packets afford of procuring information of the stations of our men-of-war, which information is speedily conveyed to the slavers. I am not qualified to offer an opinion, but naval men assure me, that the packet-station might be removed to the British island of Tortola, without the slightest inconvenience to the service, whilst the removal, and the making that island a free port, would benefit Tortola and the neighbouring British islands, which are greatly in want of all the aid the British Government can give them. It is notorious in Jamaica, that British capital is largely employed indirectly in the slave-trade. Large and numerous shipments of goods from Liverpool, &c., arrive here merely for trans-shipment to ports from which the trade is carried on direct; from these ports the goods are sent to Africa in exchange for slaves. The officers of his Majesty's Customs here may be able to furnish valuable information on this head, should Government desire to investigate the subject. Some of the finest fast-sailing schooners that belong to this island, have been sold for the slave-trade, and are actively employed in it: indeed, I am informed that some government schooners, distinguished for fast sailing, sold since the war, are now in the same service.' pp. 105, 106.

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Mr. Innes thinks, that it ought to be the primary object with the planters, 'to advance the present negro population in civilization as fast as possible', in order to make them 'willing to work, to procure and retain its advantages': and yet, almost in the same breath, he recommends the importation of untaught, uncivilized Africans! How are we to reconcile these contradictory recommendations? True it is, that the present negro population is already too far advanced in civilization to suit the views of the obstinate adherents to the old system. They would prefer wild Africans.

But nothing short of a total change of system can, it is evident, save the people of this country from being duped, the compensation money from being thrown away, and the proprietors themselves from being ruined. Sugar-growing had ceased to be profitable by slave labour: it is not likely to pay much better under the apprenticeship system, which provides a redundant supply of labour, without giving a command over it, such as can be exerted only by means of wages or the whip. But, so long as the base and dishonest hope is cherished, of re-establishing the coercive system, there is little chance that those vigorous reforms of a vicious agricultural economy will be generally adopted, which are essential to the success of the magnificent experiment.

Mr. Innes's pamphlet fully bears out the correctness of the anticipations expressed by ourselves, in common with the most intelligent friends to Emancipation, as to the inefficiency of Lord Stanley's transition scheme. The negroes are quite as well fitted for freedom as they will be in the year 1840; and no greater inconvenience would have resulted from their immediate liberation, as in Antigua, than is likely to ensue from the termination of the apprenticeship in those very colonies where they are supposed to be the least prepared for the change. A withdrawment of a portion of labour was reasonably to be expected; and to meet this, a determined effort to economize labour by means of the plough and machinery, and to stimulate labour by task-work and other inducements, would have been, as we believe, in almost every instance adequate. But the whole crew of slave-drivers, the brutal villains who have grown hardened in profligacy under the cart-whip regime, must be got rid of. It would be good economy to pension them off; or let them go seek employment in Louisiana and Mississippi. Not only so; the entire apparatus of agency must be changed, and a wholesome system of tenancy be substituted for that of middle men, with their train of overseers, managers, storekeepers, &c., whose salaries, together with the waste attaching to every part of the economy, have hitherto swallowed up the profits of the proprietor.

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Art. IV. *Horæ Hebraicæ;* an Attempt to discover how the Argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews must have been understood by those therein addressed. With Appendices on Messiah's Kingdom, &c., &c. By George, Viscount Mandeville. London. Royal 8vo. pp. 568.

THIS is the age of patrician authorship. How many noble names are enrolled among the contributors to our literature, either as original writers or as translators! This we may in a great measure ascribe to the enlightened spirit of the times, which, commencing with the middle classes of society, is working its way, like leaven, to the opposite extremes. The greatest impediments it has hitherto had to encounter, have been in its progress upwards. Luxury, indolence, and dissipation have been far more impervious to its influence, than ignorance, recklessness, and poverty. Yet, even these it has partially conquered. Men who could boast no hereditary distinctions, but who held the letters patent of their nobility immediately from Almighty God, have, by their surpassing talents and acquirements, forced themselves within the privileged circle, and imparted weight and worth to an order whose intellect and virtue were sinking far below the average value of the same qualities among their inferiors in rank and station. In science, in classical learning, in the fine arts, especially in poetry, several of our nobility have at least aimed to distinguish themselves. The last few months have exhibited two productions from patrician pens, that cannot in strictness be classed under either of these heads, and which, though exceedingly different in their nature and execution, treat on subjects that do not often occupy the studies of any but professional divines and theologians. Lord Brougham's Natural Theology, and Viscount Mandeville's Horæ Hebraicæ, are, as respects their authors, very extraordinary performances. Not that for a moment we would be supposed to compare the two men, either in their intellectual powers or in their qualifications as writers. In both respects, the one is immeasurably superior to the other; yet is the work of Lord Mandeville erudite, ingenious, full of criticism and elaborate argument, discovering great diligence in collecting materials; and we wish we could add, equal labour in arranging and applying them. But, as the object of the task which he imposed upon himself was to establish ultra, supralapsarian Calvinism, and the millenarian notion of Christ's personal reign upon earth, and this from a critical investigation of a portion of holy writ in our view the least susceptible of such an interpretation, we cannot but regard the main attempt as a failure, while we willingly admit that there are many subordinate parts which a devout mind may study with pleasure and advantage.

Before we proceed to confirm this qualified judgement upon the

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Horæ Hebraicæ, we may be excused for expressing the sacred satisfaction with which we read the noble Author's intimation of the circumstances in which it originated. Lord Mandeville does not content himself with merely writing a treatise on Christian doctrine: he exemplifies that doctrine in his life. Whatever errors there may be in his views, they cannot be fundamental, and they detract nothing from the excellence and consistency of his Christian deportment. The Work before us, it seems, was drawn up in portions, and delivered in 'weekly expositions at family prayers.' Few noble families, we fear, recognize their chaplain in the head of their house. The master of the fold is not always its shepherd. The domestics of Lord Mandeville are taught more divinity in a week, than a whole university dispenses in a year; and though the system to which he is attached, in the hands of some of its abettors, has been made the occasion of licentiousness, yet, as enforced by his Lordship, its whole tendency is to impart and to invigorate the principles of universal holiness.

We have said that this Work is founded on what is called the supra-lapsarian scheme; and that this is the case, the following extracts sufficiently prove. The phraseology, too, is as strange as the doctrine is ultra. Speaking of the 'oneness between Christ and 'his brethren,' which brethren he describes as 'the many sons the captain of salvation is bringing to glory,' his Lordship tells us in so many words, that all of them were given to Christ irrespective of the fall, 'to be with him one lump in the bundle of life.' (p. 245.) 'The oneness,' he further adds, 'is between Christ and those 'sanctified by,' or in '"God the Father;" that church of the first-'born which opened the womb of God's eternal decree, one in 'and with their head before the consideration of the fall,—"pre-'served in Christ Jesus," as their federal head, in the decree of 'the means after the consideration of the fall, and in consequence 'of this, they are in time effectually called.' This, his Lordship continues, 'accords with the distinction of Goodwin's, which he 'argues out in his work on Election. "That God had respect 'to man as *unfallen*, in his election of him to the end, and also 'unto man, as fallen into sin, in the decree of the means;" so he 'distinguishes (Eph. v. 23) Christ as the "head of the Church," 'in the supra-lapsarian decree, and the "saviour of the body," 'in the sub-lapsarian decree.' Again, 'Messiah is introduced as 'a son of Adam before the consideration of the fall; and the sons 'of God before their redemption, are those sons of Adam in 'whom the *Wisdom-Mediator* delighted before the world was.' (p. 247.) In a previous page he says, 'that the communication of 'blessedness, if taken simply and singly, might, I conceive, have 'been accomplished without the many sons having been permitted 'to fall into sin, but by their having been upheld like the elect 'angels in *an overfall way*.' (p. 235.) This strange term, which

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occurs more than once, his Lordship acknowledges to have borrowed from Hussey, with whose subtilties and distinctions he seems mightily pleased. We have no wish to controvert the general proposition, 'that the foundation of God's covenant dealings with 'us, is an eternal compact between Jehovah and Christ;' though we should rather say, "the Father and Christ." But we think there is more sound than sense in exclamations like the following: 'How comforting and strengthening is it to a weak believer, to 'see eternal covenant love—eternal covenant dealings—eternal 'covenant relations—eternal covenant engagements, begin at 'Christ the head, and descend from him to the redeemed seed!' (p. 273.)

The very strong statements which this Work contains, on the subject of the absoluteness of the Divine decrees, are neutralized as to any dangerous effects they might otherwise produce, by the antagonist influence of such views of the Mediation of the great High Priest, as to his sympathy with, and his power to succour and to save the tempted, which are presented from page 331 to page 339. Appendix O, on Perseverance, also proves with what anxiety the Author would guard the interests of true holiness; and those who admit his premises, dare not question his conclusions. We confess, however, this mode of teaching Christianity is not to our taste. It is too scholastic and metaphysical; nor does it quite accord with our conception of "the simplicity that is in Christ."

The principal object of the present Work, and which the Writer labours with all his ability to establish, will appear from the following propositions. After maintaining that the present government of Christ in heaven is of co-ordinate authority with that of the Father,—that his session at his Father's right hand, is only until his enemies are made his footstool,—that when this takes place, he is to give up the kingdom to God, never more to resume it,—but that he is then to descend to earth, to enter upon a distinct kingdom of his own,—his Lordship thus proceeds, illustrating each proposition by a series of critical and other remarks.

'Prop. I. The Lord Jesus Christ shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom.

'We have hence arrived at these facts; that the Lord Jesus gives up THE KINGDOM to God the Father, upon leaving his right hand; and that the same Lord Jesus enters upon HIS KINGDOM, when he appears to judge the quick and the dead. It may also be perceived, that the supreme kingdom of God is the one in which Christ reigns for a limited period; and that it is HIS OWN KINGDOM, in which he shall reign "for ever and ever."

'The eternal kingdom of Messiah is the throne of his Father David, on which he reigns subject to the Father. This is the kingdom to

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which Messiah comes when he comes to judgement, but he comes to judgement as Son of Man.

'Prop. II. The judgement will most probably occupy a considerable time.

'Prop. III. The judgement of the dead or wicked and the reward of the saints, apparently shall commence simultaneously upon the blowing of the seventh trumpet.

Under this proposition, the Author anticipates and endeavours to meet an objection of his brother Millenarians, from whom, in some particulars, he acknowledges, that for the sake of his hypothesis he is compelled to differ. They (the Millenarians) maintain, that the judgement of the wicked or the dead will take place at the end of the thousand years: our Author thinks, it will commence with them. Here we have a great deal of elaborate criticism on the style and structure of the Apocalypse; but, after all, the difficulty is lamely got over, or we should rather say, obstinately remains.

'Prop. IV. Wherever Christ commences his reign, there for ever he will continue it, and that will be on this earth. This is supported.

'1. Negatively.

'(1.) This earth will last for ever. 1 Chron. xvi. 30; Ps. lxxviii. 69; xciii. 1; civ. 5; Isa. xlv. 17, 18. The destruction, 2 Peter iii. 7, being only superficial, as the flood was, ver. 6, and see ver. 13.

(2.) There is no mention in Scripture of Christ's leaving this earth.

2. Positively.

(1.) From Ps. lxxxix. 29; Mic. iv. 7.

(2.) Messiah will reign, in the midst of Zion his church, in the habitable earth to come; or on this earth renewed: comp. Rev. iii. 21, with v. 10; Heb. ii. 5; Rev. xxi. 1, 2, and ver. 22; Ezek. ult. Zec. ix. 10.

(3.) For ever and ever. The possession of Canaan will be for ever, even a thousand generations, Ps. cv. 8—11. His throne shall be for ever and ever, Ps. xlv. and Heb. i. As the days of heaven, Ps. lxxxix. 29, or, "as the Sun," 36, 37. It shall be everlasting, and shall not pass away, and shall not be destroyed, Dan. vii. 14, (two negatives,) it shall be for ever, and there shall be no end, Luke i. 33, and Isa. ix. 7; see also 1 Chron. xvii. 12; Mic. iv. 7; I subjoin Scarlett the universalist's translation of Rev. xi. 15. "The kingdoms of the world become the [kingdoms] of our Lord, even the Messiah himself, and he shall reign to the ages of ages."* Heb. i. 8, "Thy throne, O God [is] to the age of the age." Luke i. 33, "The Lord will give him the throne of David His father, and he will reign over the house of Jacob to the ages, and of his kingdom there will be no end,"—*Ditto.* This last is not only positively, but negatively, stated, and I should

* Mr. Sirr, from Griesbach, reads it thus; "The wordly kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ, is come, and he shall reign for the ages of the ages."

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think the second clause explanatory of the first, and it is clearly exclusive of all limits. It moreover, I conceive, explains the promises of perpetuity, or, "unto time concealed and for a long while," given to David, and others, in the Hebrew Scriptures.

'The dominion of the second Adam will extend to whatever the dominion of the first Adam embraced, or to wherever the curse extended; Ps. viii., Rev. xxii. 3, "No more curse." (Perhaps also Acts iii. 21.) I will conclude by subjoining Beverley's definition of the kingdom. "This kingdom may be described to be a supreme economy, or government, and dispensation of God towards the family of heaven and earth, in the fulness of times, wherein Jesus Christ as the great Son of man, who was first visibly humbled to the death of the cross, shall, in the very same nature, be so exalted far above principalities and powers, and every name that is named in heaven and the earth, to the glory of God the Father; and as the divinity of the Eternal Word united to itself the human nature, retired its glory, that the human nature might be in a humiliation, whereof the divine was infinitely incapable, and yet, in regard of personal union, was said to empty itself, and to make itself of no reputation; even so shall the Divine person so economise and model the lustre of its glory, that the humanity shall have a glory as singular to itself, as the humiliation was; and the divinity of the person of Christ be glorified and exalted in this glory; even as it was humbled, and became of no reputation, in the humiliation of the human nature."' p. 128, 9.

The exposition and commentary which are intended to establish these propositions, embrace only the first three chapters of the epistle, and the first ten verses of the fourth. What the Author deems collateral portions of the Old Testament, he likewise presses into his service; as the second Psalm, Psalm the forty-fifth; Psalm the eighth, and ninety-fifth, and the fifth and twelfth chapters of Isaiah. But that part of his task in which he puts forth all his strength, is the passage in the fourth chapter, where it is said, 'there remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God.' This rest, he strenuously contends, is neither more nor less than the land of Canaan: this, he assures us, is the promise made to the Fathers, renewed to the Israelites, and perpetuated under the Christian dispensation. This is to be the heaven, the only heaven of believers. This is the sabbatism of which his Lordship speaks with so much confidence and with a satisfaction bordering on rapture. Here, after the visible heavens and the earth that now is have undergone that renovation which will make them fit habitations of the Lord of Glory, and the myriads of his redeemed, Jesus will establish his everlasting kingdom, and in Canaan erect his throne, and hold his state for ever. This is the ultimatum of all his Lordship's labours. This is his scheme. And a sorry one it is. It has been so often demolished, that it is not required of us to contend with a shadow. We would only

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observe, that his own statement should have induced the Author to pause, and, before he arrived at his conclusions, to have taken up the whole subject in the length and the breadth of it; to have analysed in fact the whole Scripture testimony. Perhaps, had he pursued this method, he would not have been compelled to make the admission, that the views he entertains of this Epistle, 'almost 'wholly differ from the many expositions of this portion of God's 'word, which, at different times, have been given to the church.' (*Preface.*) It likewise appears to us, that at the very outset the Author laid a snare for himself. His attempt is, 'to discover 'how the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews must have 'been understood by those therein addressed'; and all along he proceeds on the assumption, that the believing christianized Hebrews, who had renounced the vain traditions of the Fathers, and who looked upon the glosses of the Rabbins as so many cunningly devised fables, were guided, in all their views of the Christian Revelation, by the very things they had renounced, and by nothing else. That the Rabbins and his Lordship hold identical opinions, only differing in their application of them as to the person who is the Messiah, we consider as fatal to his hypothesis. For instance, is it any support to the gratuitous assumption, that the world is to continue six thousand years, and that the seventh is to be its Millennium, its golden age of blessedness, that the same thing is affirmed by the Rabbins, and contained in the Jewish Talmuds, Gemara, Sanhedrim Pereck, and other authorities? Yet so confident is his Lordship, that this is grounded upon Scripture, that he assures us that signs of the last Antichrist are beginning to appear among us. 'Who,' he exclaims, 'will say that 'these unclean spirits have not gone forth in our land? Are 'there not teachers, separatists, holding a very low standard of 'conduct, united with those who are destroying dominion, and 'with those who persecute the true followers of Christ?' (Page 432.) The evil of being separatists, we cannot think so very great, if state religions are in general what his Lordship expresses his fears that they are. 'I fear, it is true, that the nations of 'Europe from the time of Constantine, though called Christian, 'have been but hypocritical nations.' Separatists, therefore, may have some good ground for their nonconformity. But it seems, they unite with those who destroy dominion; and yet we are told that powers and dominions are the very things which are opposed to Christ, and which He will destroy at his coming; and the reason they are so opposed and so obnoxious to divine wrath, his Lordship supposes to be, their rejecting Jehovah and his Christ—'saying *they derive their right to govern from those who are* '*to be governed.*' (Page 143.) A dreadful heresy indeed in the eyes of a Tory! To support the grand fundamental principle of

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the British constitution, namely, that all power originates with the people, is to reject Christ, and to rush into a state of hopeless apostasy!

Apart from what is objectionable in this volume, there is much that answers to the analogy of faith. As far as the noble Writer keeps the grand argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews in view, he substantially agrees with the eminent writers who have preceded him; which argument is, 'to advance the doctrine of the 'gospel above the doctrine of the law, and that by reason of 'Christ revealed in the gospel, and the gospel revealed by 'Christ.' (Page 33.) In laying down the book, regarding the avowed and principal design of the Writer, we cannot but regret that so much learning should have been misapplied, and so much labour expended in vain.

Art. V. *Poems*. By Robert Styles. Post 8vo. London, 1835.

CORRECT sentiment, devout feeling, easy versification, and a few of the glow-worm gems of a poetry which loves to sparkle among the violets and primroses of a mild summer evening, are the chief characteristics of this unpretending volume. 'Rathcormac,' the last poem in the work, kindles into something higher, and breathes a generous and patriotic indignation which, we doubt not, is responded to by every heart, except that of the priest and levite: if it can be predicated of such beings, that human sympathy has found a place in their bosoms. Of course we speak of those only, and such we have met with, who attempt to palliate, if not to justify, the atrocious massacre these lines so bitterly record. We present the following, not because it is superior to any other article in the volume, but simply because the page is open before us, and we have neither time nor space to give any other.

'STANZAS.

'This world, 'tis said, is a world of woe;
And often do we find it so,
Yet let us not despair.
We're journeying to a better one;
And, when our pilgrimage is done,
Shall find no sorrow there.

'Though rough the road and hard the fare,
"Endurance" is the badge they wear,
Who travel to the skies:
If bright and fair the way had been,
Our hearts would linger o'er the scene,
And lose the heavenly prize.

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'O may we then submissive bow,
Nor question what we ought to know,
And some have understood;
That trials we so keenly feel,
Our heavenly Father's love reveal,
Who sends them for our good.

'Affliction leads us up to God;
We feel the stroke, yet kiss the rod.
He chastens whom he loves.
We can a parent's hand discern,
And penitent to him return,
Who thus his children proves.'

Art. VI. *Illustrations of the Annuals,* for 1836.—1. The Christian Keepsake.—2. The Landscape Annual.—3. The Picturesque Annual.—4. The Oriental Annual.—5. The English Annual.

THE decorations of the Christian Keepsake are of a very attractive kind; at once beautiful as works of art, valuable as illustrations of important localities and circumstances, and interesting as memorials of individuals the objects of our attachment or respect. That which must be regarded as the gem of the collection, is the portrait of Dr. Morrison, with his Chinese secretaries. The fine intellectual countenance of the eminent Missionary, looking out of the picture, is admirably given, and the accessories are yet better: the two scribes, intent upon their work, are drawn with much skill. The limning of Wilberforce is to the very life; full of gentle, yet shrewd and animated expression. Our favourite, however, is the Cedar-forest on Lebanon. There is a little obscurity in the effect, which should have been explained; it does not very clearly appear whether it is sunset, sunrise, or some accidental illumination that gives its peculiar character to the picture; but, whatever this may be, the drawing is expressive and interesting. There are two subjects from Bunyan, by Melville, an artist who is aiming high, and with much ability: the 'Shepherds on Mount Clear' is an exceedingly clever design. Views of Antioch and Nazareth, with scenes in Africa, China, and the islands of the Pacific, furnish a pleasing series of picturesque illustrations. Portraits of Fowell Buxton, Mrs. Fry, the 'African Prince,' Mirza Mohammed Beg, and the Princess Victoria, increase the interest of the volume. The 'Chapel leading to the Cave where the Cross 'was found,' gives a striking interior; and a vignette of Indian scenery and superstition, adorns the title page.

In the Landscape Annual, Mr. Roberts follows up, with un-

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abated spirit, his illustrations of the Alhambra, by a series of drawings from one of the most thoroughly picturesque provinces of Spain. Andalusia is rich in subjects for the pencil. The Moorish structures which still remain, are of the highest interest; and the scenery which surrounds the cities, and borders the streams of that beautiful region, gladdens the heart of the artist. Cordova, Seville, Xerez, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Malaga, have chiefly supplied Mr. Roberts with his materials, and he is not a man to dismiss them from his hand tamely. The Mosque of Cordova, and the Alcazar of Seville, have supplied him with two fine Moorish interiors; while, in the church of San Miguel, at Xerez, he exhibits a nave and transept of the most luxuriant Gothic. The Giralda, at Seville, and the Ruins of Italica, shew the traces of the two great conquerors of Spain, the Roman and the Arab. But we really cannot go on, year after year, tasking the small vocabulary of art for varied terms of discrimination, to distribute among a hundred subjects of similar kinds, though of different feature; and we must dismiss the present volume and its twenty-one engravings, with general and emphatic praise. We must not, however, forget to mention the exquisite wood-cut vignettes which head the different chapters; they are at once beautiful and illustrative.

'Heath's Picturesque Annual' is devoted to the illustration of Petersburgh and Moscow; both cities very striking and picturesque, no doubt; yet not, we should think, precisely in the way that would be required for the purposes of an Annual. Great care, however, has evidently been used in the getting up; and the various artists have done justice to Mr. Vickers's drawings. The long perspectives of Petersburgh, and the strangely composite architecture of Moscow, a wild mixture of classic, Gothic, and Tartaric, have afforded subjects of considerable novelty. There are some interesting views of the Kremlin, and two good church interiors.

The 'Oriental Annual,' this year, is much superior to its second appearance, and quite equal to its first. The weak point in Mr. Daniel's paintings lies in a too implicit reliance on his perfect mastery of the mechanism of his art, that leads sometimes to a defective discrimination in his choice of subjects, and at others to something like tameness in their execution. Of these negligencies there is, however, but little in the volume before us; and we are happy to greet a favourite artist in his best mood. Great care, too, has been employed in the execution of the plates. Brandard, Pye, and other able engravers, have put forth their strength; and the consequence has been an equality of execution, always desirable, though seldom attained. As in former instances, Mr. Daniel has given much interest to some of his landscapes by the introduction of striking animal episodes. The tiger-hunt,

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the fight between the lion and the buffalo, the monkey plucking the crow, are of this kind. The Brahminee bull and the small Ceylonese deer, are equally beautiful, though more quiet representations. The 'rich Mohammedan' is a design characteristic enough, but somewhat insipid. The 'Hindoo woman' is better. Maskat, with its singularly wild and rocky scenery, its narrow seas, and its picturesque forts and vessels, furnishes several views. Indian architecture here, as in his other publications, finds in Mr. Daniel an able illustrator: some of these buildings are very striking, and we could wish that in a future volume Mr. D. would give us a few interiors of the Hindoo and Jain temples. The tombs of Patan chiefs at Old Delhi, and the rude statue which gave its name to the island of Elephanta, are well chosen and expressive subjects, as are the two or three more general views which occur at intervals. There is an exceedingly rich and attractive drawing of a jungle and lake, with a small temple, and Hindoo women at their ablutions, that is an especial favourite with us; and we should include in the same preference, the three very beautiful illustrations of the cave-temples of Elephanta and Salsette. A piquant vignette exhibits a distant view of stream and wood, with a fore-ground made out by the roots of a mangrove tree, with an 'adjutant' perched upon the trunk.

The plates to the 'English Annual,' have, we believe, been previously before the public, as the decorations of a fashionable periodical. They consist of picturesque views of noblemen's seats, and of portraits of our female aristocracy. It is not necessary that we should criticize that with which the world is already familiar, any further than by describing the Work as of a pleasing and popular character. The landscapes are by Daniel, and the portraits by artists of eminence.

We shall have something to say about the literature of these and the other Annuals in our next Number.

Art. VII. *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan,* with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society. By Emma Roberts, Author of "Memoirs of the Rival Houses of York and Lancaster," &c. In three Vols. small 8vo. London, 1835.

MISS Roberts has turned her residence in India to most excellent account. We have not yet seen a work descriptive of our territories in the Eastern world, so well adapted to convey to the untravelled reader a correct and vivid idea of those scenes which the pencil cannot delineate, and those characteristics which compose so large and essential a part of the moral picture, but which are overlooked, or passed over as too minute and trivial by

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politicians, statists, and scientific travellers. The contents of these volumes, consisting of the Author's observations and recollections, are of a light and desultory nature, such as we might expect to find in the familiar correspondence of a clever and accomplished woman who united feminine tact and minuteness of observation with the masculine tone acquired by travel. But they will answer no unimportant end, if they contribute to strengthen and diffuse in the public mind that feeling of curiosity respecting India, upon which alone can be built up an adequate interest in the condition and destinies of the most splendid colonial empire which Divine Providence ever entrusted to a European power.

'During the long period in which the Continent was closed to 'adventurous footsteps, it seems wonderful,' Miss Roberts remarks, 'that India should not have been more attractive to per-'sons of truant disposition. The works of Daniel and of Salt were, 'or ought to have been, sufficient to shew that the plains of Hin-'dostan possessed objects meriting attention; but they were suf-'fered to pass unheeded, and few seemed to think India worthy 'of a thought, until the publication of the journal of the late 'Bishop Heber afforded newer and juster ideas of a country re-'plete with interest.' Maria Graham, adverting, in 1813, to the same apparent indifference of the English public respecting India, and the remarkable deficiency of works in our language, containing such a popular and comprehensive view of its scenery, monuments, and the manners and habits of its inhabitants, as we are commonly furnished with by travellers in countries incomparably less deserving of notice,—thus endeavours to account for the fact. 'The chief reason probably is, that few people go to this remote 'region as mere idle or philosophic observers; and of the multi-'tude of well educated individuals who pass the best of their 'days in it, the greater part are too constantly occupied with the 'cares and duties of their respective vocations, as statesmen, 'soldiers, or traders, to pay much attention to what is merely 'curious or interesting to a contemplative spectator. Having, 'for the most part, too, the prospect of a long residence, they 'rarely think, on their first arrival, of recording or digesting the 'impressions which they receive from the spectacle that is spread 'before them; and wait so long to mature and extend their in-'formation, that the interest of novelty is lost, and the scene be-'comes too familiar to seem any longer worth the trouble of a 'careful delineation.' This is not all. A very large proportion of those persons who go out to India, never see much more of the country than the immediate neighbourhood of the banks of the Hooghly, or of the provincial capitals of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies; and an intelligent reader of Bishop Heber's work will be in possession of more extensive information respecting that

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vast country which stretches from Thibet to the ocean, than many a military officer imprisoned in his cantonments, or than the civilian who has passed ten or twenty years in Calcutta. Bishop Heber, speaking of an English traveller whom he met with at the capital of the Oude dominions, says, that he was the only Englishman whom he had heard of, except Lord Valentia, that had visited India from motives exclusively of science and curiosity since the country has been in our possession. This gentleman was merely 'making a tour.' Lord Valentia's volumes, though a valuable accession to our knowledge of the East at that period, are very deficient in specific description and the sort of information which the volumes before us supply. Mrs. Graham's journal contains only an acconnt of what could be seen or gleaned during a few months' residence in Bombay, an excursion to Poonah, and a transient visit to Calcutta and Madras. The Author of "Sketches of India" has furnished some very pleasing picturesque illustrations; and we must not forget to notice the ponderous and costly "Oriental Memoirs" of Mr. Forbes. The Oriental Annual, too, has served, by the joint labours of the pencil, the graver, and Mr. Caunter's graphic pen, to familiarize to numerous readers, some of the wonders and beauties of those distant regions. With these exceptions, almost all our modern publications on the subject of India are entirely occupied either with its political and military history, statistical inquiries, details and suggestions relating to its trade and commercial resources, or learned discussions respecting its mythology, language, and antiquities; in all which the mass of the public take extremely little interest.

This popular indifference, at first view so unaccountable, considering the attractions which India combines, and so much to be lamented in its results, can be surmounted only by injecting information, in the shape of entertaining detail, into the reading public; more especially information relating to the living manners and human interests of the millions of its inhabitants, such as may waken the sympathies of the heart. How is it that a stronger sympathy is felt in the nations of ancient Greece and Rome, known to us only through the page of history, than in those extant nations whose interests and destinies are so intimately mixed up with our own? How unreasonable it seems, that a million of modern Greeks, not more Christian than their former Turkish masters, or a few millions of Poles, distinguished by no other virtues than their courage, should excite a more vivid and intense interest in the minds of the British public, than a hundred and twenty millions of Orientals, who acknowledge the British sceptre, and in whose well-being we ought to feel so deeply concerned! We cannot regret that, in connexion with the great moral question of Slavery, the West India Colonies should have engrossed so large a portion of public atten-

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tion. Nay, we think that the West India islands have not hitherto attracted that portion of attention which they will command, when their scenic attractions, their natural resources, and their intrinsic value as colonies, come to be better and more generally understood. But it may be as well to bear in mind, that Calcutta alone numbers as its inhabitants a larger aggregate of human beings than are contained in the whole of our West India possessions; and that, were the whole of the Caribbean islands to be submerged in the Atlantic, it would not occasion the destruction of so much human life and happiness, as the desolation, by any physical catastrophe, of the single province of Bengal. The whole white population of the West Indies would not stock an Indian city with inhabitants; and the entire population of both Americas, from the Polar Sea to Cape Horn, is not equal to that of British India!

Such considerations, however, appeal to the understanding, but take no hold of the imagination, and therefore do not touch our sympathies. We are made to feel *for* others, only by learning to feel *with* them; and we sympathize, not with aggregates, but with individuals. Even the philosopher and the philanthropist, then, must applaud the attempt to bring the minds of English readers into immediate contact with the various nations and tribes, Christian, Mohammedan, and Pagan, Anglo-Indian, Patan, and Hindoo, who people the plains of Hindostan and the table lands of the Indian peninsula. It is of the highest importance that the public generally should be taught to take a deep interest in Indian affairs, and in the administration of our Indian Government, in order that, when the political interests of a hundred and twenty millions of human beings are involved in the questions brought under the notice of the British Legislature, there may not be the disgraceful spectacle of empty benches or a listless house, and, on the part of the press, a frigid and superficial notice of topics which parliamentary gentlemen deem a *bore*, and the public do not care to understand.

Miss Roberts's volumes deserve to be popular, and she will achieve a great and beneficial service, if she succeeds in rendering the Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan interesting and familiar to the bulk of readers. It is really a very delightful work. We shall waive all criticism, to which indeed its contents present few temptations or provocations, and proceed to give some rather copious extracts, as specimens of the Author's lively style and power of description, and of the ample, varied, and minute information which she has collected; the result, evidently, of acute and diligent observation, and of no ordinary opportunities of intercourse with both European and native society.

We must begin with her amusing description of the Government-house; for, though Calcutta has been often described, no

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preceding traveller has taken us through this imperial museum of human curiosities, the palace of the representative of the British sovereignty in the East.

' Government House, Calcutta.

' Bishop Heber, in speaking of the vice-regal palace of Calcutta, says, that it has narrowly missed being a noble structure: persons of less refined, or, as some would call it, less fastidious taste, do not concur in this censure, or admit that the architectural blunders of which the critic complains, have had an injurious effect upon the appearance of the building. It is altogether, whatever may be the fault of its details, a splendid pile; and standing isolated on the Calcutta side of the large open plain, which forms so magnificent a quadrangle opposite Chowringee, it is seen to the greatest advantage from every point, being sufficiently connected with the city to shew that it belongs to it, yet unencumbered and not shut out by any of the adjacent buildings. It consists of two semicircular galleries, placed back to back, uniting in the centre in a large hall, and connecting four splendid suites of apartments. "Its columns, however," observes the Bishop, "are in a paltry style; and instead of having, as it might have had, two noble stories and a basement, it has three stories, all too low, and is too much pierced with windows on every side."

' Somewhat of effect was probably sacrificed to convenience and the accommodation necessary for the establishment of the governor-general; but the great objection to it as an Asiatic residence, which does not appear to have struck the elegant and accurate commentator, is the want of colonnades and porticos. The principal entrances are approached by noble flights of steps; but these, being without shelter, are never used except upon state occasions, when a native durbar is held, and the nobles of Hindostan come in all their barbaric pomp to pay their respects at the vice-regal court; a circumstance of rare occurrence in the present day. The carriages of the European visitants drive under these steps, and the company enter through the lower regions.

' The effect upon a stranger who has not been previously made acquainted with the cause of the arrangement, is very singular. It is scarcely possible for a lively imagination to escape the notion that, instead of being the guest of a palace, he is on the point of being conducted to some hideous dungeon as a prisoner of state. The hall which opens upon the dark cloister formed by the arch of the steps above, is large, low, and dimly lighted, completely realizing the *beau ideal* of the interior of the Inquisition. A good deal of rubbish of various kinds, piled confusedly, and put out of the way behind rows of pillars, traversing the length of the hall, favours the supposition that it is a place of punishment; for in their shapeless obscurity, these fire-engines, or printing-presses, or whatever they may be, have very much the appearance of instruments of torture.

' Upon the floor, the spectator who has imbibed the apprehension that he has been entrapped into some pandemonium of horror, may see the dead bodies of the victims to a tyrannical government thickly

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strewed around: human forms apparently wrapped in winding-sheets, and stretched out without sense or motion upon the bare pavement, add to the ghastly effect of the scene. These are the palanquin-bearers, who, wrapped up from head to foot in long coarse cloths, are enjoying the sweets of repose, little dreaming of the appalling spectacle they present to unaccustomed eyes. Many dusky figures move about with noiseless tread; and were it not for one redeeming circumstance, the whole panorama would be calculated to inspire horror and alarm. In the midst of these dreary catacombs, gay parties of visitors, ladies in ball-dresses, and gentlemen in full uniform, are passing along, not in the least discomposed by appearances so familiar to them, even when there is the additional *agrémen* of a fog, which in the cold season usually casts a mystic veil over these subterraneous apartments.

'Emerging from the damp, darkness, and corpse-like figures of the sleepers, an illuminated vestibule leads to a staircase, handsome in itself, but not exactly correspondent with the size of the building, and the halls of state to which it is the approach. It is not until the visitant has gained the altitude of the hall, that the eye is greeted by any portion of the pomp and grandeur associated with our ideas of a court. Guards are now stationed at intervals; those which were formerly attached to the Governor-general were a splendid and picturesque set of men, clad in strange and striking costume; warlike, as became a military power, and particularly ornamental, as the appendages of state. The spirit of retrenchment which has lately descended to petty savings, unworthy of the masters of so magnificent a territory, has removed and abolished this appropriate guard of honour; and the natives, already astonished and disappointed by the contrast afforded by the simplicity and plainness of their European rulers, with the pomp and pageantry of oriental courts, viewed this last innovation with disapprobation and regret. As the visitor ascends, the turbaned domestics of the household become more numerous; long corridors leading to the wings, matted and lighted, present noble ideas of the extent and grandeur of the building; and at every landing-place, the necessary pause for breath is spent in admiration of the contrivance of the architect to ensure a circulation of air, which comes so freely through the connecting galleries.

'The suites of apartments devoted to large evening-parties occupy the third story. The ball-room, or throne-room, as it is called, is approached through a splendid ante-chamber; both are floored with dark polished wood, and supported by Ionic pillars, leaving a wide space in the centre, with an aisle on either side; handsome sofas of blue satin damask are placed between the pillars; and floods of light are shed through the whole range from a profusion of cut-glass chandeliers and lustres. Formerly, the ceilings were painted, but the little reverence shewn by the white ants to works of art, obliged them to be removed, and gilt mouldings are now the only ornaments. The throne, never particularly superb, is now getting shabby; a canopy of crimson damask, surmounted by a crown, and supported upon gilt pillars, is raised over a seat of crimson and gold. In front there is a row of gilded chairs, and it is the etiquette for the viceroy and the vice-queen, upon occasions of state, to stand before the throne to receive the pre-

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sentations. There is, however, nothing like a drawing-room held at this court; no lord-chamberlain, or noblemen in waiting, or any functionaries corresponding with these personages, except the aides-de-camp, who are seldom very efficient, being more intent upon amusing themselves than anxious to do the honours to the company. In these degenerate days, so little state is kept up, that after the first half-hour, the representatives of sovereignty quit their dignified post, and mingle with the assembled crowd.

'There is no court dress, or scarcely any thing to distinguish the public nights at Government-house from a private party, excepting that, until lately, no gentleman was permitted to appear in a white jacket. An attempt was made by Lady Hastings to establish a more rigid system of etiquette; she had her chamberlain, and her train was held up by pages. An intimation was given to the ladies that it was expected they would appear in court plumes, and many were prevented from attending in consequence of the dearth of ostrich feathers, the whole of the supply being speedily bought up; and as it was not considered allowable to substitute native products, there was no alternative but to remain at home. The extreme horror which European ladies entertained of appearing to imitate the natives, banished gold and silver from their robes. Not contented with the difference in the fashion of their garments, they refused to wear any articles of Indian manufacture, careless of the mean effect produced by this fastidiousness. Few had been accustomed to European courts; and having once established rules and regulations of their own, they stoutly resisted all attempts at alteration and innovation, every arrival being obliged to submit to the customs of the colony. The great influx of strangers at Calcutta has effected some change in the system. Visitors are not now so much under the control of the leading people; they appear in whatever may be the fashion in England; and instead of, as heretofore, being obliged to rip off the silver trimmings from their dresses, or discard them altogether, to avoid the appellation of *nautch* girls, they are allowed to sparkle and glitter without provoking many invidious remarks.' Vol. III. pp. 69—76.

'Government-house is the only place in which the guests are not allowed to introduce their own attendants: the servants of the establishment are numerous, and perfectly equal to the duties required. They are handsomely clothed in livery, according to the Hindoostanee fashion; wearing in the hot weather white muslin vests and trowsers, with *cummerbunds* or sashes, twisted with scarlet or some other colour, and the crest in silver in their turbans. In the cold weather, the vest is of cloth of the livery colour. They are all fine-looking men, and the uniformity of their appearance gives them a great advantage over the promiscuous multitude usually in attendance at large parties; though the absence of the personal domestic is considered by many a heavy grievance, and more especially by those who are deprived by the existing regulations of the indulgence of the hookah.'

Ib. pp. 77, 78.

In former days, when the service of the Company was nobility in India, society in Calcutta was split into as many distinct and

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jealous gradations as the Brahminical castes; and at all public entertainments, rank was formerly a matter of much greater concern at the Government House than at St. James's. But times are greatly altered as well in India as in England; and Prescription and Etiquette are being heel-trodden by liberal Innovation. The following sensible remarks are deserving of attention. They illustrate at once the arbitrary nature and the true use of those conventional laws of breeding which keep familiarity within the bounds of respect, but which must vary, like the import of phrases, and the accidents of usage, according to the associations which form the shades of meaning in both manners and language.

'Without wishing to impugn the motives upon which the former rulers of India have acted, it is impossible not to admit that a more liberal system is better suited to the present time. Doubtless the innovations which have taken, and are still taking place, will be very unpalatable to those who remember the extraordinary dignity attached to official situations and white faces in former days. But those who entertain more enlarged views, will rejoice that some of the barriers which have divided persons of different persuasions and different complexions from each other, have been broken down and are disappearing. Bishop Heber, whose kindness of heart and liberality of mind have justly endeared him to the Indian world, was the first to shew an example to the intolerant and exclusive patricians of Calcutta, by opening his doors to respectable persons of all sects and countries. At his house, Christians of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant churches met, together with Hindoos, Moslems, Jews, and Parsees. He recommended the religion which he preached, by the practice of the widest philanthropy; and had he been spared, the popularity of his manners, and the well-known benevolence of his disposition, would have done much towards the removal of prejudices, which have, for so long a period, prevented a free and social communication between Europeans and Asiatics.

'A few native gentlemen, who have either adopted English customs, or are so well acquainted with them as not to be guilty of any misapprehension or mistake, have for many years mingled freely in the fashionable circles of Calcutta, making their appearance at private parties, and joining in the subscriptions for public amusements. They were distinguished in large assemblies for the elegance of their costume, and the splendour of their diamonds; and persons who did not enter into the narrow notions which were but too prevalent, regretted that a much larger proportion of the same class should not have been encouraged to follow their example. Latterly, invitations to Government House have been very widely extended amongst the natives of rank; and the introduction of men, ignorant of the rules and regulations of European society, has given offence, and occasioned disgust to those who do not consider the measure to be expedient, or who refuse to make allowance for early notions and rooted opinions, which nothing but more intimate association can dissipate. Asiatics, at present, are

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not aware of the restrictions imposed in Europe by etiquette and good-breeding on the intercourse between ladies and gentlemen. They see them converse together, dance together, and walk arm in arm together, and when admitted to the same degree of familiarity, they are apt to make very ridiculous trespasses. Without the slightest intentional rudeness, a native gave great offence by seating himself on the arm of a lady's chair; and not knowing the precise limits which propriety has marked out, they do not always offer the deferential respect which women expect, and which, rather inconsiderately, they exact more strictly from foreigners than from their own countrymen, who, being better acquainted with the rules and observances, are less excusable in their breach or omission. At this day, the degree of decorum necessary to be adopted in the presence of French ladies, is so little understood by John Bull, that he is continually offering insult and annoyance, by exceeding a latitude in conversation, which he has erroneously supposed to have no bounds. It is thus that Asiatics offend, and constant intercourse can alone render them acquainted with the terms upon which gentlemen mix in respectable female society. It is certainly not very agreeable to be obliged to give the lesson; but the consequences are too important to be neglected, especially at a period in which there are such strong manifestations of the abandonment of prejudices hitherto supposed to be insurmountable.'

Vol. III. pp. 81—84.

We must turn back to the first volume, to select our fair Author's interesting description of the modern (native) capital of Bahar, which now ranks, in wealth and population, beyond either Delhi or Agra. Bishop Heber saw Patna only from the river, as he passed; and Lord Valentia, who visited it, has dismissed it with a very brief and inadequate notice. So far as we recollect, Miss Roberts is the first traveller who has described the interior of this still flourishing emporium.

'Patna is the first native city of wealth and importance passed by the voyagers of the Ganges, on their way to the upper country. It stands on the right bank of the river in the province of Behar, and here the marshy soil of Bengal is exchanged for the arid sands of Hindostan; camels seldom penetrate farther, and from this point the hot winds cease to be felt; those which blow in the damp atmosphere of Bengal not being worthy of the name. The thermometer may be equally high, but the heat outside the house is more supportable, and the disadvantage of which many complain, arising from the uselessness of *tatties*, is counterbalanced by the pleasures of the evening drive. As soon as the sun has set, it is practicable to go out; whereas, in the plains of Hindostan, the air does not become cool until the night is far advanced.

'Patna, though it does not contain any single building of great celebrity or peculiar beauty, is rich in the remains of Moosulman splendour, and its appearance from the river is highly picturesque. The houses of the wealthy classes, which are very numerous, are handsome buildings, flat-roofed, and surrounded by carved balustrades. Many

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are of considerable extent, and, though exhibiting the usual symptoms of neglect, when seen from a distance make a good appearance.

'The intermixture of these residences with peepul-trees, broad ghauts, the remains of Gothic gateways of dark red stone, (which possess a truly feudal air,) and the numerous temples devoted to Hindoo and Moosulman worship, produce a striking effect; and when the river is full and brimming to its banks, turret, spire, and dome being reflected in its broad mirror, the *coup-d'œil* is exceedingly imposing. . . .

'The enormous wealth of Patna is probably the chief cause of the pride and insolence of the inhabitants. Many of the great men of the city are exceedingly rich; and at a *durbar* held by Lord Amherst, on his way to the upper provinces, one of them offered, and it is said, gave, a lac of rupees to have his name inserted at the head of the list of native gentlemen who paid their respects to the Governor-general on that occasion; the consequence which this precedence would ensure him among his own people being well worth the money bestowed upon it.

'Patna carries on an extensive trade, and is famous for its manufactories of table-linen and wax candles. It also possesses very expert workmen in every department of mechanical art; amongst the minor branches are bird-cages, constructed with great ingenuity and even elegance; the frames of some being delicately inlaid with ivory, while the wires of others are strung with coloured beads. The natives of India of all ranks are fond of keeping birds as domestic pets; and at the proper seasons, persons go into the hill districts for the purpose of collecting the rarer sorts, which are carried about for sale to all parts of the country. The beautiful little *avadavats*, or lālls, as they are commonly called by the natives, on account of their bright ruby colour, are in great request; these, together with many other kinds, are easily procurable at Patna; where also may be found bears, and the fiercer inhabitants of the hills, in a state of captivity. This city is a grand mart for opium, that precious commodity which enriches so many of the native agents, who as they wax wealthy live in the style and assume the title of nawábs. The soil is favourable to the growth of potatoes, a vegetable which is much cultivated for native consumption in India; but the London traders who recommend their rice as the true produce of Patna, are in error in vending the grain of superior quality under that name. Rice is chiefly grown in the low marshy tracts of Bengal, and it is not extensively cultivated any where else; nor does it constitute the food of the people of Patna, who substitute cakes made of flour, as the accompaniment of their *kaaries;* it is dear, on account of its being brought from a distance, and in the upper provinces only appears upon grand occasions at the tables of the lower orders, who are exceedingly economical in their mode of living, and to whom the bazaar-prices are affairs of the greatest importance.

'The streets of Patna can only be traversed on horseback, or upon an elephant, being too narrow to admit of any wheel-carriage superior to the native *rhut*, a creaking, nodding, nondescript vehicle, in which the ladies of the country, concealed from public view by thick curtains, huddle themselves when they travel or pay visits. The best houses face the river; many of these have a dismal appearance on the side of the street, shewing only a high blank wall, perforated with a few small

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windows in the upper story; a free circulation of air apparently not being considered essential to health or comfort. Other mansions are enclosed in large walled courts; and in passing along the principal street many porticos are visible, peeping out of recesses, or small quadrangles, which seem to be the entrances to stately buildings belonging to people of rank. The houses tenanted by the middling classes are exceedingly crazy, and have somewhat of a Chinese air, each story lessening in size, and standing in the verandah of the one below. They are removed, according to the Indian custom, a little from the public path, crowded during the day with men and animals, (horses, buffaloes, bullocks, camels, and goats,) by being raised upon a platform about a foot high from the street. The houses occupy the centre of this platform, a margin being left all round, which sometimes stretches beyond the verandah, and forms a shelf, or counter, on which the goods of the inferior shopkeepers are displayed in baskets, none of the richer and more elegant articles being exposed to public view in India. The shops of the *hukeems*, or apothecaries, make the best appearance; they are furnished, in the primitive style, with herbs of various kinds, neatly arranged, and reminding the stranger of the descriptions given in some of the histories of London of the ancient state of Bucklersbury, when simples formed the stock in trade of medical practitioners.

'Amid much that is unsightly, there is a great deal to admire in the long avenue which stretches from gate to gate of the city, every few yards bringing some picturesque object to view;—lofty open cupolas, in the most elegant style of Moghul architecture, surmounting handsome mosques, are contrasted with solid towers of the dark-red stone, which seems to have been the favourite material in former times. The houses built for the accommodation of the English residents, on the first occupation of the city, now long deserted and falling into decay, have a singular and melancholy appearance. Their construction, after the European fashion, shews that they were destined for foreigners; and their desolation recalls to the mind the tragic fate of those who trusted themselves to a hostile race, smarting under the recollection of recent defeat.

'A large piece of ground, consecrated and converted into a Christian cemetery, spreads its grass-grown mounds in the midst of the dwellings of the heathen and the unbeliever, and is still the burial-place of those who have the misfortune to die within the reach of its doleful precincts. The crowded charnels belonging to the Christian community of India, are usually sufficiently dreary to fill the breasts of the living with horror and disgust; but that of Patna asserts a painful pre-eminence over all the rest, and if the dead could feel discontented with the place of their interment—a fact supported by ghost-stories of great authority—they would assuredly arise from graves dug in this unhallowed spot, and flit and gibber through the streets: a most effectual plan to rid themselves of their Pagan and Moosulman neighbours, who are exceedingly superstitious, and refuse to enter dwellings which have the reputation of being haunted.

'Those who are willing to brave the dirt and heat of a closely-built city, may find much amusement in an evening's visit to Patna. The

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streets are crowded to excess, the whole male population swarming out to enjoy the dust, or assembling in the verandahs to smoke their hookahs, while gazing on the scene below. Native *palkees, taunjohns,* and *rhuts,* force their way through masses of men and boys, the attendants being little scrupulous about the manner in which they clear the avenues for their masters' equipages. Nothing in India can be done without noise, and the din of the passengers is increased by the cries of *chokeydars,* and the incessant vociferations of *fakeers,* stationed at the corners of the streets. The shops are all lighted up, and as the evening advances, the dusky buildings, which rear themselves against a dark blue sky, studded with innumerable stars, have a solemn and imposing appearance; much that is paltry and sordid is obscured in deep shadow, and only the more prominent objects are revealed to the eye. Patna, at this time, assumes a gorgeous aspect, presenting a succession of temples and palaces worthy to have been the abodes of the luxurious Moghuls.

'The city is not often honoured by European visitors, who seldom approach it except upon duty. When there is no particular object of celebrity to attract attention, Anglo-Indians, either from contempt or apathy, rarely enter the native towns in their neighbourhood; few take any interest in the study of Eastern manners, and they are, generally speaking, so careless of pleasing or offending the people amid whom they reside, that however respected the government may be for its good faith and wise ordinances, its civil and military servants can scarcely fail to be exceedingly unpopular in their private and personal character. Intercourse with foreign nations has not yet had the effect of softening and polishing the manners of our proud and disdainful islanders, who usually contrive to make themselves hated wherever they go. The gracious example of a few distinguished individuals, whose courtesy has endeared them to all ranks and classes, is unfortunately disregarded by the majority of British residents in India.'

Vol. I. pp. 170, 1—181-7.

Miss Roberts has devoted a chapter to the description of three ruined capitals, the sites of which, though overgrown with jungle, and tenanted only by the wild animals, still attest their ancient magnificence; Gour, Mandoo, and Bejapore. The first of these is stated by Ferishta to have been the capital of Bengal 730 years B.C. Its ruins may be traced over an area fifteen miles in length by three in breadth, and it is supposed to have been as populous as Peking is now. The Author of "Sketches of India" has given a very striking picture of the scene; and a minute survey was taken by the late Mr. H. Creighton. Both accounts will be found in the Modern Traveller. (India, Vol. II., pp. 151—164.) Still, Miss Roberts's more brief description will be acceptable to our readers.

'India abounds in deserted cities,—vast, extensive ruins,—many of which may be described in the words of the Prophet Isaiah, as peopled only with desolate creatures. One of the most remarkable is Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal. The remains of this once flourishing place

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are to be found in the district of Dinagepore, a few miles to the southward of Malda. Its decline and abandonment were caused by the desertion of the Ganges, which formerly flowed beside its walls. About two hundred years ago, the course of the river took a new direction, turning off to a considerable distance from the place to which it had brought wealth and sanctity. To no part of the city, occupying a space of twenty square miles, does the Ganges now approach, nearer than four miles and a half; and places formerly navigable are now twelve miles from the stream which so unaccountably and capriciously forsook its ancient bed, leaving behind it all the melancholy consequences of the alienation of a powerful ally.

'There is something very poetical in the catastrophe of a city suffering under a fate which may be compared to the miseries resulting from human perfidy; and never did the fellest of war's dire bloodhounds, fire, sword, pestilence, or famine, commit more fearful havoc than that which has silently and stealthily devastated a city once so fair, that it was styled by the Emperor Humaioon, the abode of paradise. The wild luxuriance of vegetation which characterizes Bengal, has nearly choked up the magnificent remains of Gour. A beautiful lake, adorned with many islands, spread its crystal waters to the eastward of a strong fortress; but both the lake and the citadel have vanished, and the splendours of the city can only be estimated by a few majestic remains of mosques, towers, and gateways, which still exist, to shew how deeply it was indebted to architectural taste and skill. The buildings of Gour were very solidly constructed of brick, and a stone which has been by many persons mistaken for marble, but which geologists pronounce to be hornblende. Vast quantities of the materials have been carried away, and sold for building in the neighbouring towns and villages, but there are still large mases of strong masonry scattered over the surface of the ground, which have been so completely covered with brushwood, and so intermixed with the gigantic roots of trees forcing themselves through the rifts made by time and the elements, as more to resemble huge mounds of earth, than the remains of human habitations.

'The bricks with which Gour was built are remarkable for the solidity of their texture, the sharpness of their edges, and the smoothness of their surfaces,—characteristics which they have preserved through a series of ages, and which have rendered them a very marketable commodity. Many beautiful edifices have been destroyed without mercy, for the sake of the materials; and it is only the most solid which have defied the ruthless assaults of the pick-axe and crow-bar. Here are also to be found great abundance of the coarse enamelling resembling Dutch tiles, which at one period was so commonly used in the buildings of India. The painted mosque, so called on account of its gay colours, is profusely decorated with this glazing; and the tomb of Hussein Shah is faced with bricks beautifully carved, and glazed in blue and white.

'The arch of the principal gateway, which in picturesque beauty can scarcely be surpassed, is upwards of fifty feet in height; the wall is of correspondent thickness, and its massy strength promises to defy the ravages of time for centuries to come. It exhibits all the splendour

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of decoration common to the buildings of the Moslem conquerors in India, and perhaps no scene in the world can be dignified with more solemn grandeur than that which is displayed in these noble remains, forming an entrance to the wildest and most desolate jungle imaginable. Amidst the reeds which encumber the soil, may be seen the dwindled relics of fruits and flowers, now wild, which in other days adorned luxuriant gardens: the palm-tree still flourishes, but the coarser vegetation of all kinds is too redundant. The circulation of air is impeded, the weeds are permitted to wither and decay upon the ground; and from these deposits, and from the swamps produced by neglected tanks, miasma is created, which threatens the visitor with disease and death. A few feeble attempts have been made to bring land which Nature has rendered exuberantly fertile, under cultivation; but the patience of the supine Bengallee has been wearied. The most effectual processes, those of cutting down the brushwood, and burning the weeds, have been neglected, and, content with a bare subsistence obtained amidst clouds of tormenting insects, the foulest air, and the most noxious vermin, the neighbouring population neglect the sources of wealth and comfort which lie so invitingly before them. The tanks, long neglected, and rendered pestilential by the impurities of their stagnant waters, swarm with alligators, and cannot be approached without danger, notwithstanding the pious exertions of resident *faqueers*, who employ themselves in the unenviable task of taming these stupid and hideous monsters.' Vol. III. pp. 239—243.

Mandoo was the seat of a short-lived Mahommedan dynasty in the fifteenth century, and succeeded to the honours of Dharanugger and Oojein, the earlier capitals of Malwah under its Bheel and Rajpoot rajahs.

'Though, as at Gour, vegetation has sprung up so thickly and strongly as almost to overwhelm many of the buildings, the ruins of Mandoo have not so completely yielded to the evil influences to which they have been exposed, and the situation is much finer and more striking. Originally Hindoo, the residence of the Dhar Rajas, it afterwards became subject to the Patan government, and upon its capture by Acbar, who made himself master of all the Mahomedan states in his neighbourhood, it fell gradually into decay. Mandoo is built upon a large tract of table-land, upon the summit of a mountain belonging to the Vindhyan range, in the province of Malwa, and upon the occupation of this part of the country by the British, it was found to be a shelter for predatory tribes, the strong-hold of Bheels, who, after robbing and slaughtering in the plains, returned to this solitary fastness, which then effectually secured them from pursuit. Upon the occupation of Malwa and the neighbouring provinces by the British, the Bheels were deprived of this sanctuary. . . . . Though the Bheels have been dispossessed of Mandoo, tigers are still there in great force, preferring the halls and chambers of palaces to dens and caverns in the neighbouring woods. Parties who come over from Mhow to visit the still splendid remains of the city, are in some danger of encountering tigers in the streets, they being the sole in-

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habitants, with the exception of the usual complement of faqueers, who supply a meal to their four-footed companions, when other game is scarce.

'Notwithstanding the frightful neglect and desolation which have for so long a period characterized Mandoo, a very large portion of its buildings are still in a tolerable state of preservation. It possesses some of the most beautiful specimens of Afghan architecture to be found in Hindostan, and is celebrated for its reservoirs of water, and the subaqueous apartments around them, the luxurious retreats, during the hot winds, of the princes and potentates of this once populous district. The ship or water-palace, as it is indiscriminately called, is one of the most remarkable of the relics of Mandoo. It is built upon a point of land between two large tanks, or rather lakes, and is as much admired for the beauty and the picturesqueness of its architecture, as for the singularity of its situation. No one can look upon this delightful abode, without experiencing the most painful feelings of regret at the inevitable destruction to which it appears to be doomed. Not even in Gour, are the sensations produced by the total abandonment of a once splendid city by its human inhabitants, of so melancholy a nature as those which are excited by the awful stillness and utter solitude at Mandoo.' Vol. III. pp. 249—253.

But the noblest remains of Mohammedan art and splendour in the Peninsula are those of Bejapoor, styled by Sir James Mackintosh, 'the Palmyra of the Deccan'*. 'Were it not for the 'absence of marble,' Miss Roberts says, 'Bejapore might vie 'with Delhi and Agra; and perhaps neither of these places can 'boast of buildings equal in magnificence to the tomb of Mah-'mood Shah, or the *Durga* of Ibrahim Padshah in the gardens 'of the Twelve Imaums.'

'Though not so totally abandoned as Mandoo, Bejapore contains a very scanty population, composed chiefly of Mahomedan priests and religious beggars, attached to the different mosques and durgas, the poorer classes of Mahrattas, and a few more orthodox Hindoos: the latter rejoice greatly in a small tank containing liquid of a milky hue, which they assert to be the true water of the Ganges, brought by a pious Brahmin to the city, and renewed in all its sanctity by some miraculous process. The city consists of two parts, both surrounded by a wall; that comprizing the citadel being much more strongly fortified than the remaining portion. At a little distance it does not betray the ruin and desolation which lurk within. Cannon still bristle upon the bastions, and the immense assemblage of towers, domes, pinnacles, and spires, which shoot up into the sky, partially intermixed with tamarind and other trees, deceives the distant spectators, who cannot imagine that they are about to enter a vast wilderness, where

* Of these magnificent ruins, a description will be found in Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIII., by Capt. Sydenham; and another, less minute but more recent, by Capt. Sykes, in the Bombay Transactions.

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the human habitations have crumbled into dust, leaving mosques and mausoleums to tell the tale of former glory. Though the palaces which once graced Bejapore, could not have been inferior in splendour to any of the imperial residences still existing in India, they have suffered to a far greater extent than the tombs and temples in their neighbourhood: many of the latter still being perfect, and promising to survive during many centuries.'

* * * * * *

'Bejapore is celebrated for its tamarind trees. The groves which have arisen amidst the once populous streets and thoroughfares of this extensive capital, have not, as at Gour and Mandoo, completely usurped the soil, or become the agent of desolation: the growth of vegetation is slower in the arid plains of the Deccan; and the green canopy of the trees and the cool shades beneath them, are particularly agreeable amidst the immense masses of buildings. The inhabited part of Bejapore bears a very small proportion to the space which is almost wholly deserted; large tracts occur, entirely covered with ruins,—the remnants of dwelling-houses long laid prostrate on the earth. Emerging from these dreary looking fragments, we come to some splendid building still entire, and while passing through immense quadrangles, watered by fountains and adorned with flowers, we can scarcely believe they are situated amid a wide waste of ruins. The fort is garrisoned by a few Mahratta soldiers, who keep the guns in tolerable order; and every season increases the number of visitants, attracted by the report of the architectural wonders of the place. There are several fine tanks and reservoirs of water kept in good preservation; one of these, which bears the name of the *Taj Bowlee*, is a splendid piece of workmanship, surrounded by a *serai*, for the accommodation of travellers, and approached through a noble gateway. Very little of the ground which is unoccupied by buildings, has been brought under cultivation, and the whole of the country around the city exhibits marks of neglect. The inhabitants, who are not numerous, are perhaps too poor to repair the ravages of war, or they have not yet acquired confidence in the security of property. The noble ambition which would lead to the restoration of fading splendour, does not appear to belong to the native character. Though displaying a passion for the pomp of architecture, they have no pleasure in preserving the works of others from decay; comparatively slight exertions would suffice to avert the fate which seems impending over Bejapore; but if left to the public spirit of the ruling powers, we fear that there is little chance of its ever regaining any of the advantages it has lost; and it is impossible not to regret that this beautiful city belonged to the ceded portion of the district.

'Religious mendicants abound in Bejapore; these are chiefly of the Mahomedan persuasion; although, besides the small pond, supposed to contain the holy water of the Ganges, there is a Hindoo temple of such great antiquity, as to be said to be the work of the Pandoos, the architects to whom the cathedral-like excavations of Ellora are attributed. This temple is extremely low, the roof resting upon clusters of pillars, formed of single stones, and apparently, belonging to an age earlier, or at least ruder, than that which produced the magnificent

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designs and rich sculptures of the cave-temples.'—Vol. III., pp. 256—269.

As a contrast to these pictures of Oriental magnificence, our readers shall have a description of the British cantonments in the neighbourhood of the once flourishing city of Etawah, on the Jumna, which 'exhibit in full perfection the dreary features of 'a jungle station.'

'Upon a wide, sandy plain, nearly destitute of trees, half a dozen habitable bungalows lie scattered, intermixed with the ruins of others, built for the accommodation of a larger garrison than is now considered necessary for the security of the place; a single wing of a regiment of sepoys being deemed sufficient for the performance of the duties of this melancholy outpost.

'The bungalows of Etawah, though not in their primitive state—for upon the first occupation of these remote jungles, doors and windows were not considered necessary, a jaump, or frame of bamboo covered with grass, answering the purpose of both—are still sufficiently rude to startle persons who have acquired their notions of India from descriptions of the City of Palaces. Heavy ill-glazed doors, smeared over with coarse paint, secure the interiors from the inclemencies of the cold, hot, and rainy seasons. The walls are mean and bare, and where attempts are made to colour them, the daubing of inexperienced workmen is more offensive to the eye than common whitewash. The fastenings of the doors leading to the different apartments, if there be any, are of the rudest description, and the small portion of wood employed is rough, unseasoned, and continually requiring repair.

'The intercourse between the brute denizens of the soil and their human neighbours is of too close a nature to be agreeable. If the doors be left open at night, movable lattices, styled jaffrys, must be substituted to keep out the wolves and hyenas, which take the liberty of perambulating through the verandahs; the gardens are the haunts of the porcupine, and panthers prowl in the ravines. The chopper, or thatch of a bungalow, affords commodious harbour for vermin of every description; but in large stations, which have been long inhabited by Europeans, the wilder tribes, retreating to more desolate places, are rarely seen; squirrels or rats, with an occasional snake or two, form the population of the roof, and are comparatively quiet tenants. In the jungles the occupants are more numerous and more various; wild cats, ghosaumps, (a reptile of the lizard tribe as large as a sucking pig,) vis copras, and others, take up their abode amid the rafters, and make wild work with their battles and their pursuit of prey. These intruders are only divided from the human inhabitants of the bungalow by a cloth stretched across the top of each room from wall to wall, and secured by tapes tied in a very ingenious manner behind a projecting cornice; this cloth forms the ceiling, and shuts out the unsightly rafters of the huge barn above, but it proves a frail and often insufficient barrier; the course of the assailants and the assailed may be distinctly traced upon its surface, which yields with the pressure of the combatants, showing distinctly the outlines of the various feet.

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When it becomes a little worn, legs are frequently seen protruding through some aperture, and as the tapes are apt to give way during the rains, there is a chance of the undesired appearance of some hunted animal, which, in its anxiety to escape from its pursuers, falls through a yawning rent into the abyss below. Before the introduction of cloths, snakes and other agreeable visitants often dropped from the bamboos upon the persons of those who might be reposing beneath; but although, where there are no dogs or cats to keep the lower story clear of intruders, the dwellers of the upper regions will seek the ground floor of their own accord, they cannot so easily descend as heretofore. Notwithstanding the intervention of the cotton canopy, however, there is quite sufficient annoyance without a closer acquaintance with the parties, for night being usually selected for the time of action, sleep is effectually banished by their gambols. The noise is sometimes almost terrific, and nervous persons, females in particular, may fancy that the whole of the machinery, cloth, fastenings and all, will come down along with 10,000 combatants upon their devoted heads. The sparrows in the eaves, alarmed by the hubbub, start from their slumbers, and their chirping and fluttering increase the tumult. In these wild solitudes individuals of the insect race perform the part of nocturnal disturbers with great vigour and animation. At nightfall a concert usually commences, in which the treble is sustained by crickets, gifted with lungs far exceeding in power those of the European hearth, while the bass is croaked forth by innumerable toads. The bugle-horns of the mosquitos are drowned in the dissonance, and the gurgling accompaniment of the musk rats is scarcely to be distinguished. In the midst of this uproar, should sleep, long-wooed, descend at last to rest upon the weary eyelids, it is but too often chased away by the yells of a wandering troop of jackalls, each animal apparently endeavouring to outshriek his neighbour. A quiet night in any part of India is exceedingly difficult of attainment; the natives, who sleep through the heat of the day, protract their vigils far beyond the midnight hour, and, however silent at other periods, are always noisy at night. Parties from adjacent villages patrol the roads singing, and during religious festivals or bridal revelries every sort of discordant instrument, gongs, and blaring trumpets six feet long, are brought in aid of the shouts of the populace.

'Such is the character of a night in the jungles.'

Vol. II. pp. 198—203.

That which many readers will deem the most amusing portion of these volumes, consists of the sketches of Anglo-Indian manners and native customs, which give a peep into the interior of family arrangements, and conduct us from the nursery to the cemetery. We have a lively chapter upon 'shops and shopping'. In fact, nothing seems to have escaped the Author's observation that might be set down among the characteristics of Hindostan. From graver topics she has abstained; and we do not feel disposed to blame her for her reserve, but cordially recommend her volumes to the perusal of our readers.

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Art. VIII. *Grecian Sculpture;* comprising a Series of Engravings of the most celebrated Specimens of Ancient Art, a great Portion of which is now in the British Museum; in numerous Instances exhibiting the Figures as they were previously to their present state of Mutilation; and many Subjects which have been totally destroyed since their representations have been delineated. Originally published in Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens, with numerous important Additions. Engraved on nearly Two Hundred and Fifty Plates, and exhibiting upwards of One Thousand Figures. With Critical, Historical, Descriptive and Explanatory Remarks. Published in Parts, Imperial 4to. London, 1835.

IT is certainly needless to dilate on the merits of the Elgin Marbles, and it must be almost as superfluous to remind the reader of the fame of Phidias and Pericles, as to extol the talents of Stuart, Revett, and Pars; artists to whom modern architecture is largely indebted for the most splendid series of engravings ever produced by private enterprise and perseverance. We state this without hesitation, as the expense, labour, and danger of long continued travels among a semi-barbarous people, were undertaken and wholly borne by the devotedness of individuals, unassisted by national patronage.

Works of art are peculiary unfitted for verbal criticism; and the names of the artists engaged are the best criteria of excellence: we shall therefore do little more than extract from the first Part a brief statement of the proposed contents of this publication.

'The drawings are by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, Painters and Architects; William Pars, Travelling Professor of the Fine Arts, under the patronage of the Dilettanti Society; Willey Reveley, Esq., Architect; C. R. Ryley, and Sir F. L. Chantrey, R.A. Engraved by Aliamet, Basire, Baxter, Blake, Grignion, Hall, Landseer, Moses, Newton, Sharp, Skelton, Smith, Stothard, R.A., Strange, Taylor, Walker, Woollett, &c.

'The following is an imperfect sketch of the subjects in readiness, or in preparation for this Work, exclusive of those not yet actually commenced.

'About a dozen views of the edifices whence these subjects have been obtained; several as restored by Stuart, shewing the original situation of the sculpture on their pediments, friezes, metopes, &c.

'Upwards of 100 plates from the metopes, friezes, and pediments of the Parthenon, at Athens.

'Thirty from the Temple of Theseus, at Athens.

'Five from the Temple of Pandrosus, at Athens.

'Two from the Temple of Aglauros, formerly at Athens, now totally destroyed.

'Nine from the Temple of the Winds, or Tower of Andronicus Cyrrestes, at Athens.

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'Twenty-seven from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, frequently called the Lanthorn of Demosthenes, at Athens.

'Three from the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus, at Athens.

'Eight from the edifice called the Incantada, at Salonicha.

'And a large number from various sources,—cameos, medals, busts, bassi-relievi, sepulchral vases, altars, inscriptions, architectural details and ornaments, &c.

'The whole forming a matchless collection of exquisite examples for the student of the fine arts, of pictorial authorities for the classical scholar, and of the most interesting specimens of antiquity which can excite the attention and engage the investigation of the dilettante.

'The following is a list of the engravings in Parts I. and II.

'Part I. Theseus, as usually designated; or Hercules, according to Visconti; from the eastern pediment of the Temple of Minerva, at Athens: engraved by Mr. Isaac Taylor, from a drawing by Sir F. L. Chantrey. This statue is numbered 93 in the Elgin Saloon, British Museum.

'Statue of Helen; from the Incantada at Salonicha. Engraved by John Hall, from a drawing by James Stuart.

'Basso-relievo, Zephyrus, the West Wind; from the Temple of the Winds, at Athens. Engraved by R. Strange, from a drawing by James Stuart.

'Equestrian Figures, from the western frieze of the Parthenon. Elgin Saloon, 54, cast. Engraved in outline by T. Baxter, from a drawing by William Pars.

'Basso-relievo, from the western frieze of the Parthenon. Elgin Saloon, 58, cast. By the same artists.

'Part II. View of the eastern front of the Temple of Minerva, at Athens, as it appeared previously to the removal of the sculpture by the Earl of Elgin. Engraved by D. Lerpiniere, from a drawing by William Pars.

'Head of one of the horses of the Chariot of Night; from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. Elgin Saloon, 98. Engraved by Mr. Isaac Taylor, from a drawing by Sir F. L. Chantrey, R.A. (Two sketches.)

'Sculpture—Combat of Greeks and Persians; from the frieze of the Temple of Aglauros. Elgin Saloon, 160, 161. Engraved by W. Sharp, from a drawing by W. Pars.

'Equestrian Figures, from the western frieze of the Parthenon. Elgin Saloon, 56, cast. Engraved by T. Baxter, from a drawing by W. Pars.

'Pericles; from a terminal bust in the Townleian Collection, British Museum. Engraved by John Hall, from a drawing by C. R. Ryley.'

We have only to add, that the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge scarcely rival this work in extreme cheapness: a most praiseworthy item in favour of a

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work intended for students: at the same time we observe that the fine edition in colombier quarto, will form a very splendid work.

Art. IX. *Ministerial Solicitude and Fidelity.* A Farewell Sermon, addressed to the Congregation of Holland Chapel, North Brixton, June 21, 1835, with a brief History of the Author's Connexion with that Place of Worship. By John Styles, D.D. 8vo., pp. 44. London, 1835.

WE hold ourselves fairly excused from noticing single sermons, for we doubt whether even our powerful aid would ensure their sale. Farewell Sermons, Ordination Sermons, Funeral Sermons, are very proper things; and it may often be fitting and expedient, to submit them to the ceremonies of the press; but the public, in these busy times, cannot be expected, or at least cannot very easily be induced, to take much more interest in such ephemeral publications, than in a paragraph of a newspaper. We confess at once, then, that our motive for noticing this Farewell Address is supplied by the contents of the Postscript. The Author, one of the ablest preachers and writers of the day, has been brought into difficulties through not duly considering the admonition contained in a text which is to be found in Luke xiv. 28. 'He built,' he tells us, 'in faith, hope, and charity,' but he forgot to consult the sister virtue, Prudence; and she has frowned upon the well-meant and public-spirited enterprise. Holland Chapel proved a failure. It absorbed four-fifths of the Preacher's income, and left him to support himself from his private resources, and by his literary labour. The causes of this failure are thus ingenuously explained.

'In the first place, considering the state of the neighbourhood, the chapel was much too capacious and costly to insure a sufficient number of hearers of a decided character and of adequate ability to sustain the weight of its expenditure. Had it been a burden less onerous, I might have triumphed over the fickleness and fluctuation of a population that was subject to perpetual change. In the next place, as I had taken the whole responsibility, the management of the temporalities of so large an undertaking was incompatible with my spiritual duties; and as I was not deeply imbued with the "learned spirit of human dealing," I was unequal to a task which I ought never to have imposed upon myself. I had embarked my property, and few were willing to share with me any part of the risk. I was generously assisted by individuals, and the congregation, more than once, came forward very liberally to my aid; but debts accumulated, and feeling the delicacy of my situation, I feared if I pressed too often upon the resources of

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others, I should be charged with being selfish and mercenary,—an imputation which I dreaded to incur.

'But my greatest error, and to which I mainly attribute the disastrous result which has brought me so painfully before the public, was the introduction of the Liturgy of the Church of England into a system of worship which ought to have been marked by a definite and decisive character. My motive in doing this, was to conciliate the great majority of the residents around me, who were attached to the forms of the Episcopal Establishment; I acted under the advice of others, in whose judgment I had confidence. But fallibility is the character of all human decisions; what might have been reasonable and expedient fifty years ago, the spirit of the times no longer required. I thus placed myself in a false position with Churchmen and Dissenters, and especially with my dissenting brethren. Churchmen to whom an evangelical ministry was indispensable, could enjoy the privilege within the pale of their own Establishment; and Dissenters, though they attended a chapel where the Liturgy was used, declined uniting themselves in very close fellowship with a minister whom their prejudices represented as so far departing from the simple worship of their fathers. By some I have been accused of a dereliction of principle; but I was not less a Dissenter because I adopted the Liturgy, nor was my practice in this respect really at variance with my writings. Of this I could not convince my assailants, and, therefore, permitted them, unmolested, to reiterate their censures. I may, however, be allowed to say, that I have been misunderstood—I will not add misrepresented, for that would impugn the motives of some whom I know to be conscientious, and for whom I entertain the profoundest respect. The expedient has failed, and I trust it will never be repeated. The Liturgy is a noble composition—it breathes the spirit of genuine piety, but Dissenters do not need it; and by introducing it into their public services, they encroach upon that mode which is peculiarly their own, and which is their appropriate distinction. Perhaps, as another reason why my ministry at Holland Chapel has failed to attract many who might have cordially availed themselves of it, the calumnies to which I have more than once referred, may not have been without their influence. Character is usefulness; and the good and virtuous portion of the community should be more on their guard against slander, especially as it affects the reputation of ministers, than against any other vice.'

We have transcribed this explanation, not merely as an act of justice to a calumniated man, but because we deem it important that these facts should be placed in their true light, as they bear upon the general questions which at present are agitating the public mind. A mean and ungenerous triumph has been expressed at the alienation of this Chapel from the Dissenters; and its late minister has been made the butt of gross personal attacks from party writers in whose eyes his nonconformity is his real and only offence. We decline, for obvious reasons, going into the prudential question; but surely no small consideration is

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due to a man who can make the following appeal to the religious public.

'I have been a minister of the gospel thirty-four years, and am now in my fifty-fourth year. Four places of worship have been built under my auspices, and as many congregations raised by my labours. For two of these places, West Cowes and Brighton, I collected above a thousand pounds from the religious public. The fourth, Holland Chapel, by its entire unproductiveness, has cost me £3800, and twelve years' unwearied, but, as far as regards the retaining that chapel, unsuccessful exertions; yet have the moral benefits conferred upon the neighbourhood been many and signal, nor are they yet lost. The elements of a large and prosperous religious interest, to be established on congregational principles, are silently but powerfully working. During the whole of my public life, I have adhered strictly and earnestly to the doctrines of evangelical truth. The London Missionary and other Societies, have received all the support that my little influence could obtain for them. I have published many volumes, and my leisure hours have been devoted to advancing the influence of true religion through the medium of our literature; while all the pecuniary advantages I have derived from these various undertakings have been consecrated to the same cause. I could add much more. Let my calumniators and traducers say half as much. What I have written, I trust will be understood to have been dictated by the same spirit which influenced an apostle, when he was provoked, to say, "I am a fool in glorying;" and with him I trust I can add, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of Christ Jesus my Lord, by whom the world is crucified to me, and I unto the world."

'While I thus fearlessly vindicate my cause before men, I humble myself before God. Afflictions arise not out of the dust; a calamity such as has befallen me, must be intended by an infinitely wise and gracious Being to teach some salutary lesson, and to accomplish some important object; what that lesson is, I trust I shall be able to learn; and whatever are the designs of an inscrutable providence with regard to my future destination, it is my comfort to know that I am in the hands of God,—that in his dispensations he is most kind when most severe—that the mercy which inflicts the wound will, in due time, heal it—and that upon those who trust in him, in the darkest hour he will cause light to rise.'

We shall not add a word, except to express our satisfaction at hearing, that a new chapel of less costly dimensions and architecture is now rising in the immediate neighbourhood, the expense of erecting which is already in great measure provided for.

ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

TRAVELS.

Letters from Brussels, in the Summer of 1835. By Mrs. Arthur Thorold. In one vol. post 8vo, price 10s. 6d.

A Twelve Months' Residence in the West Indies. By Dr. Madden, Author of "Travels in the East," &c. In 2 vols. post 8vo, with a Plate of "Negro Emancipation," after Rippingille, price 21s. cloth lettered.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1835.

Art. I. *Slavery in America:* or an Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Colonization and the American Anti-Slavery Societies. By William Jay. With an Introduction to this Edition by S. H. Cox, D.D., late of New York, and now Professor of Sacred Literature in Auburn College. Edited by John Morison, D.D. 12mo. pp. xxiv., 198. London, 1835.

JUDGE JAY, the Author of this exposure of the true character of American Slavery and Anti-negroism, is well known in the Atlantic States as an accomplished jurist, an elegant scholar, and a man of the highest character. He inherits no mean name, being the son of the late Hon. John Jay, LL.D., the second president of the American Bible Society, a statesman of great celebrity, and one of the fathers of American independence. His son, the judge, is a pious Episcopalian; a sect which in America, as with us, is not very apt to take the lead in violent movements. A work proceeding from an individual occupying this high standing could not fail to produce an immediate and powerful impression. Accordingly, Dr. Cox states, that it circulates in America with a rapidity that is extraordinary. 'Even 'hostile booksellers are beginning to like it for the sake of trade.' It has opened the eyes of not a few; and will, on this side of the great water, remove every remaining vestige of delusion upon the subject. Dr. Cox, who has transmitted it for publication in this country, speaking officially as the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence of the American Anti-Slavery Society, assigns among other reasons for wishing it to be widely circulated here, 'that the sympathies and prayers of British Europe may be di-'rected wisely and engaged steadily in behalf of the suffering and 'the dumb;' and 'that the mother country may be encouraged 'in still further achievements in the cause of universal freedom

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'and the moral elevation of the species, by the evidence afforded 'that her noble example is talismanic and electric in its influence 'on the daughter country, though following in her path too 'tardily, *haud passibus æquis.*' Dr. Cox is himself well known and affectionately remembered in this country. No visiter from his native shores, since Dr. Mason, has, we believe, left a stronger impression of his intellectual endowments, catholic spirit, and fervent piety. We believe we may date from his visit to England a very important advance, however, in his self-emancipation from the prejudices of caste in which he had been educated. Since his return, he has stood forward apostolically and heroically in defence of the claims of his coloured Christian brethren; and has suffered much, as the Apostle of the Gentiles did before him, for daring to assail the national prejudices of his countrymen. We are rejoiced to find that he has been called to fill so honourable and important an office in one of the most valuable collegiate institutions in America. Dr. Morison, the English Editor, announces his intention to devote the proceeds of the sale of the Volume to founding a scholarship in Auburn College for the professional education of coloured candidates for the sacred office. We cordially wish that the sale may be sufficient to afford profits applicable to so appropriate a purpose.

All this is by way of introduction; but what need we say more? It is a book which can stand in need of no further recommendation, and the contents of which we are anxious that our readers should make themselves acquainted with by actual perusal. Having recently gone so fully into the subject, in reviewing Mr. Abdy's Journal, (whose statements, by the way, are fully sustained by the more compact evidence comprised in this volume,) we feel in some danger, in pursuing the discussion, of falling into a repetition of former remarks.

Our object, in that article, however, it may be recollected, was not so much to portray American Slavery in its true colours, as to expose the criminality and absurdity of that malignant antipathy which is cherished by the whites, and fostered by the Colonization Society, against all Americans of mixed breed. This we must still regard as the worst feature of the American character. It is a more gratuitous insult to human nature and its Creator, than the holding of man in bondage; it is a more direct contravention of the fundamental principle of political equality upon which the American Republic was based; and it is the principal support of Slavery itself. We unfeignedly rejoice to find Dr. Cox speaking out thus nobly upon this point in his Introduction to the present work.

'It is wonderful to consider how the whole system of oppression, as

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organized and established every where, but especially in my own country—and America,

"——— With all thy faults
I love thee still, my country!"—

depends, for the pivot of its support and its movements, on the cardinal point of—COLOUR! Although our own cadaverous white, the vaunted albescence of the European or Caucasian race, is the distinction of a small minority, and certainly not the original or standard complexion of the species, yet we make it the criterion and the paragon of all that humanity ought to be, and deny almost the identity of the species, when its millions and its hundreds of millions vary on a graduated scale of imperceptible changes,

"Shade unperceived so softening into shade,"

from the European *white* to the Asiatic *brown;* the Australian *tawny*, the American *red*, and the African *black*. But still all are *men*, and *of one blood*. And do we hate our brother for being WHAT GOD MADE HIM? Diabolical impiety! Witness, all Nature and all reason, that this is hating God himself!—hating HIM in the works of his hand! oppressing a fellow-creature for the act of the Creator; piling cruelty and privation on his devoted body and soul, because God made him of a hue different from our own! Is it credible that if they were all white, all blanched by an act of God, *in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye*, that they could be retained *slaves* any longer? that their rights should be wholly annihilated? their dignity as God's image and his immortal offspring utterly denied? ARE THEY MEN?—This is the question for men to answer. If they are, there is no other question. If they are, who cares for the height of their stature or the hue of their skin, or the number of degrees, on the average, in their national facial angle, or the quality of their hair, or the form of their features, or their lineage from Cush and Ham, instead of Shem or Japhet? or even for the fact that their stolen, and abused, and infinitely-injured ancestors once lived in hither Africa? I fear that millions of white men will *actually lose their souls*, by reason of the deviliishness of their antipathy to a coloured brother of the species; since without loving him *whom he hath seen*, with an affection precisely identical, *how can one love God whom he hath not seen?* There is nothing in the universe more impossible—nothing more tremendous! —Repent, O Earth!' pp. xviii, xix.

The intensity and violence of this malignant feeling towards the free coloured population are of comparatively recent date in America. Lafayette, Judge Jay tells us, 'remarked, in his last 'visit, with astonishment, the aggravation of the prejudices against 'the blacks; and stated that, in the revolutionary war, the black 'and white soldiers messed together without hesitation.' As it is of recent growth, so it sprang up, and is still found operating in full force only in the Northern States. This is a very remarkable

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circumstance, though susceptible of easy explanation. In the slave-holding States, the imaginary physical barriers between the two races are levelled by a tyrannical licentiousness; and the prejudices of the white-skinned Yankees are laughed at. Fear dictates, in the South, those sanguinary laws enacted against the coloured population, bond and free; while in the North, no such plea of political expediency or personal safety can palliate the insolence of legislation. The fact is, that the Colonization Society itself, if not the originator of this feeling against the coloured population, has contributed, more than anything else, to foster and aggravate it; both by excusing and justifying the oppression of the free negroes, upon the ground of the prejudice which it has worked upon, and by giving birth to fresh enactments of the most intolerant description. Judge Jay expressly states, and adduces ample evidence to prove, that the persecution of the free blacks is mainly inflicted by Colonizationists themselves, and by those State legislatures that have adopted the views and supported the policy of that Society. 'The Colonizationists are themselves 'mainly the cause of the oppression and degradation of the free 'blacks.'

'In no instance, perhaps,' he proceeds to say, 'has colonization had so direct and obvious an influence in augmenting the injuries and oppression of this unhappy race as in Connecticut. To that State have good men long rejoiced to look as to a bright pattern of a Christian republic. There they beheld political liberty in its highest perfection, and so divested, by the influence of religion, of those irregularities of conduct which too often attend it, that the State was proverbially distinguished as "the land of steady habits." In no part of the world were the blessings of education more highly valued or more generally diffused. The Colonization Society had there taken a strong hold on the affections of the people, and had found in Connecticut divines and politicians, and in the religious periodicals of New-Haven, zealous and able champions.

'The city of New-Haven had been long alike distinguished for its literary institutions, and for the sobriety and piety of its inhabitants. It is not, therefore, surprising, that some of the most intelligent and influential of our coloured citizens were led to believe that New-Haven would be a proper site for a school for their children, and that *such* a school would *there* find generous patrons. In 1831, a convention was held in Philadelphia of delegates from the free coloured people in other States, and it was determined that an effort should be made to raise funds for "a Collegiate school, on the manual-labour system." A committee was appointed to carry the plan into execution. This committee published in Philadelphia "an appeal to the benevolent;" in which they stated the necessity of the proposed school, on account of the difficulty which coloured children experienced in gaining admission into ordinary seminaries, or mechanical establishments; and that the proposed seminary would be located at New-Haven, and

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"established on the self-supporting system, so that the student may cultivate habits of industry, and obtain a useful *mechanical* or *agricultural* profession, while pursuing classical studies."

'The education of coloured youth was publicly countenanced by several distinguished divines of Philadelphia; and Bishops White and Onderdonk, and the Rev. Doctors M'Auley, Bedell, and Ely, gave the committee written certificates of their approbation. Little, alas, did these gentlemen anticipate the feeling this effort would excite among the Christians of New-Haven. No sooner had intelligence of the intended school reached that city, than the mayor summoned a town-meeting, "to take into consideration a scheme, said to be in progress, for the establishment in this city of a college for the education of coloured youth." The meeting was held on the 8th September, 1831; and it was "resolved by the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Freemen of the city of New-Haven, in city-meeting assembled, that we will *resist* the establishment of the proposed college in this place by every lawful means." This resolution was preceded by a preamble, stating that, "in connection with this establishment, the immediate abolition of slavery in the United States is not only recommended and encouraged by the advocates of the proposed college, but demanded as a right," and "that the propagation of sentiments favourable to the immediate emancipation of slaves, *in disregard* of the civil institutions of the States to which they belong, and, as auxiliary thereto, the contemporaneous founding of colleges for educating coloured people, is an unwarrantable and dangerous interference with the internal concerns of other States, and ought to be discouraged."

'That the education of coloured citizens in Connecticut is an unwarrantable interference with the internal concerns of other States, and that the friends of the proposed college ever recommended the immediate emancipation of slaves *in disregard* of the civil institutions of the States to which they belong, are assertions which the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Freemen of the city of New-Haven, prudently permitted to rest on their own authority, without adducing any other evidence of their truth.

'But surely the pious and excellent Colonizationists of New-Haven, who are so anxious to civilize the natives of Africa, must have been indignant at this attempt to keep Americans in ignorance. Alas, in that crowded assembly, there was but one voice raised against its unholy resolution, and that was the voice of a decided Anti-Colonizationist, the Rev. S. S. Jocelin; while one of the public advocates of the resolution was the secretary of the New-Haven Committee of Correspondence of the American Colonization Society.

'It is not very reputable to our republicanism and religion, that there should be any necessity for seminaries for the *exclusive* use of such of our fellow-countrymen as happen to have darker complexions than our own; but still less reputable is it, that the very persons who would make the loudest outcry against the admission of coloured youth into our colleges should thus object to their having colleges of their own. The Colonization party in New-Haven could have prevented this high-handed oppression, but their influence was exerted

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not for, but *against*, the improvement and elevation of their coloured brethren.

'Unhappily for the character of Connecticut, for that of our common country, and even of Christianity itself, the proceedings in New-Haven were but the commencement of a series of outrages on justice, humanity, and the rights of freemen.' pp. 22—24.

The case of the persecution of Miss Crandall has already been brought before the British public by Mr. Abdy. That lady had for some time been at the head of a female boarding-school at Canterbury, Connecticut, when a pious young person of colour applied for admission into the school, with a view to qualify herself for teaching coloured children. After some hesitation, Miss Crandall consented to receive her, but soon found that the intruder must be dismissed, or her school be broken up; and she then resolved to open a school exclusively for coloured girls. The notice of this intention excited a prodigious commotion in the town. A meeting of the inhabitants was called, to avert the impending calamity; and a Mr. Judson, who acted as clerk to the meeting, declared, that, 'should the school go into operation, their 'sons and daughters would be for ever ruined, and property no 'longer safe'!! Such were the consequences which were to result from the collecting of fifteen or twenty 'young misses of colour' in a boarding-school! Miss Crandall refused to retreat from the ground she had taken; and what was now to be done? Her opponents, 'the civil authority and select-men of Canterbury', appealed to the American Colonization Society; and, backed by its influence, they at length induced the State legislature to pass a law suppressing the school, and all others of a similar character, on the pretext, as alleged in the preamble, that such 'literary 'institutions for the instruction of coloured persons' would tend to attract them from other States, 'to the *injury* of the people' of Connecticut. Well may Judge Jay stigmatize this law, which has obtained the appropriate title of 'the Connecticut Black Act', as 'an Act alien to the habits, the character, the religion of 'Connecticut; an Act which neither policy nor duty can vin-'dicate'; an Act 'which will afford its authors no consolation in 'the prospect of their final account, and which their children will 'blush to remember.'

'No sooner was the passing of the Black Act known in Canterbury, than this triumph over justice, humanity, and constitutional liberty, was celebrated by a *feu de joie*, and the ringing of bells. Nor was the act permitted to remain a dead letter. Miss Crandall was prosecuted under it, and, being unable to procure bail, was committed to PRISON. The next day bail was obtained; and she returned to her school. Well, indeed, might the public press, with some memorable exceptions,

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execrate the Black Act; and well, indeed, might Mr. Judson feel impatient under the obloquy that was falling upon him, as the chief instigator and manager of the persecution. "A friend in need is a friend indeed." And *now* was the time when he needed and received that countenance for which he had appealed to the Colonization Society. It was not, probably, expected that the managers of the parent Society would officially notice the appeal; but a mode was devised, on the part of Connecticut Colonizationists, of publicly expressing their approbation of Mr. Judson's conduct. On the anniversary of the declaration that "all men are created equal," and a few days after Miss Crandall's imprisonment, the Windham County Colonization Society convened, and appointed Mr. Judson their orator and agent, thus proclaiming that HE was the man they delighted to honour. Another response to the appeal was in a few days heard from New York. The chairman of the executive committee of the New York City Colonization Society is the editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser, and its columns were loaded with criminations of Miss Crandall, and vindications of the Black Act. "The inhabitants of Canterbury" were declared to be "as quiet, peaceable, humane, and inoffensive people as can be named in the United States." The constitutionality of the Black Act was broadly maintained, and it was averred to be "just such a law in its spirit, if not in its provisions, as we are in the constant practice of enforcing in this city, to prevent our charitable institutions from being filled to overflowing with black paupers from the South, and white paupers from Europe." Of the gentleman who drafted the Black Act, the public were assured, "a warmer heart than his throbs in few bosoms, and the *African race* has no firmer friend than him."

'On the 23d of August, Miss Crandall was brought to trial. The *crime* with which she was charged was fully proved. One of the witnesses testified: "The school is usually opened and closed with prayer; the Scriptures are read and explained in the school daily; portions are committed to memory by the pupils, and considered part of their education."

'The orator and agent of the Windham Colonization Society opened the case on the part of the prosecution; and to this gentleman, it is believed, belongs the distinction of having been the first man in New England to propound publicly the doctrine, that free *coloured* persons are not citizens. This doctrine was essential to the validity of the Black Act, since, by the federal Constitution, citizens of one State are entitled to all the privileges of citizenship in all the States; and the Black Act prohibited coloured persons from other States from going to school in Connecticut—a prohibition palpably unconstitutional, if free blacks are citizens. The presiding judge submitted the cause to the jury without comment; and some of them, having scruples about Mr. Judson's new doctrine, refused to agree in a verdict of guilty, and a new trial was consequently ordered. In the ensuing October, Miss Crandall was again placed at the bar, while the vice-president of the New-Haven Colonization Society, Judge Dagget, took his seat on the bench. The cause against the defendant was again argued by the Windham Colonization orator and agent; and Judge Dagget, warned

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by the result of the preceding trial, of the necessity of enlightening the consciences of the jury, delivered an elaborate charge. Rarely has any judge enjoyed such an opportunity of defending the poor and fatherless, of doing justice to the afflicted and needy, of delivering the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor. The merits of the cause turned on the simple question whether free blacks are citizens or not. We might have presumed that a judge, aware of his solemn responsibilities, would have prepared himself for the decision of this momentous question by the most patient and thorough research. On the opinion he might pronounce would perhaps rest the future education, comfort, freedom, and, not unlikely, everlasting happiness of multitudes of his fellow men. Under such circumstances, the public had a right to expect that he would resort to every source of information; that he would consult the opinions of eminent statesmen and jurists; investigate the constitutional history of the rights of these people; study the proceedings of Congress in relation to them; and bring together such a mass of facts, such an array of arguments, as would prove that his decision, whatever it might be, was the result of conscientious inquiry, and that the bench was elevated far above the prejudices and passions which had brought to the bar an innocent and benevolent female.

'The judge in his charge expresses himself in the following words: "Are the free people of colour citizens? I answer, no!"' pp. 31—34.

The grounds upon which this infamous decision was given from the seat of judgement, it is scarcely necessary to state. If such were the fact, the Constitution of the United States would be the most hateful and iniquitous that was ever adopted by a free people; and it would be a righteous retribution that should subjugate these haughty whites to some dark-skinned conqueror. But the statement was a base calumny upon the fathers of American freedom. The Constitution of the United States is not the federative lie which this wicked judge would represent it. The Colonizationists are the liars. The proof that the free people of colour are citizens by the constitution, is ample and indubitable. The following facts are opposed by Judge Jay to the negative allegation.

1. The fourth of the Articles of Confederation provides, that the free inhabitants of these States shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States. While these Articles were under consideration in Congress, on the 25th of June, 1778, the delegates from South Carolina moved, as an amendment, in behalf of their State, that, in Article 4, between the words 'free inhabitants,' *white* should be inserted. *Which amendment was negatived by the decision of eight States against two.* Ten years after this memorable decision, when the new Constitution was formed, this clause respecting citizenship in the several States was transferred to it from the Articles of Confederation, without any alteration affecting the rights of coloured citizens.

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2. The Act of Congress of 1792, for organizing the militia, provides for the enrolment of free *white* male citizens.

3. An Act of Congress of 1803 forbids the importation of any negro, mulatto, or other person of colour, not being a native, a *citizen*, or registered seaman of the United States, &c.

4. On the 4th of September, 1826, Governor Clinton, of New York, addressed a letter to the President of the United States, demanding the immediate liberation of Gilbert Horton, a coloured man, as '*a citizen* of the State, he having been imprisoned in 'Washington as a fugitive slave.'

5. Impressed coloured sailors have been claimed by the National Government as 'citizens of the United States'; and coloured men going to Europe have received passports from the department of state, certifying that they were citizens of the United States.

6. The proposed constitution of the new State of Missouri, when submitted to Congress, being found to contain an article excluding coloured citizens from coming to settle in that State, such article was deemed by the House of Representatives a violation of the national compact, and that body refused to receive Missouri into the Union. A compromise was at last agreed to; and the Congress admitted Missouri on the express condition, that the offensive clause in her constitution should never authorize a law by which any *citizens* of any of the States should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities secured to them by the Federal Constitution.

7. In every State of the Union, a native free-born negro may legally take, hold, and convey real estate. In eight or ten States, free negroes have the right of suffrage: in others, this privilege is denied to them; but this cannot affect the question of their citizenship as established by the paramount authority of the Federal Constitution, of which such restrictive laws are a contravention and infringement. In the debates of the New York Convention of 1821, on the question of admitting the free blacks to the right of suffrage, no hesitation was made in recognizing them to be citizens; and Rufus King ('no mean authority') concluded an argument in their behalf with these words: 'As certainly as 'the children of any white man are citizens, so certainly the 'children of the black man are citizens.' Further, in the Constitution of this State, the Article on the elective franchise contains a clause declaring, that no man of colour, 'unless he shall 'have been for three years a citizen of this State,' shall be entitled to the privilege of voting. And in the statute-book of the State, a particular oath is provided, to be tendered to the *coloured* voter. The election laws of other States limit the right of suffrage to 'free *white* male citizens'.

8. Among the laws of Massachusetts, there is one prohibiting

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any negro, 'other than a *citizen* of the United States,' or a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, from tarrying in the Commonwealth longer than two months.

Such is the decisive evidence, in the face of which Judge Dagget, to his everlasting infamy, declared that free negroes were 'not styled citizens either in the laws of Congress or in 'those of any of the States.' Under his direction, a verdict was given against Miss Crandall. The cause was then removed to the Connecticut Court of Errors, where all the proceedings were set aside on technical grounds. Tired of the law's delay, the good people of Canterbury determined upon ejecting the school by a summary process; they accordingly mobbed the house by night, and smashed-in the windows. Such was the treatment which an inoffensive female received at the hands of these enlightened republicans! The school was of course abandoned; and the efforts of the admirers of the 'benevolent system of Coloniz-'ation' were crowned with success.

Judge Jay does not conceal the fact, that many good men belong to the Colonization Society; and had there not been something specious in the idea of facilitating the emigration of the Pariars of the Republic, it would not have imposed upon so many philanthropic individuals, both in America and this country. Although the motives of the colonizationists have now become so transparent,—although the forcible expulsion of the coloured freemen to the pestilential shores of Guinea is now openly advocated,—still the farce is carried on by certain parties, of pretending a regard for the interests of that very class who are the victims of the cruel and senseless prejudice fostered by the promoters of the scheme. The Colonization Herald, issued from Elliott Cresson's head-quarters at Philadelphia, bears as a motto, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so 'to them.' This is scarcely hypocrisy; it is sheer effrontery. In a Number of this journal now before us, there is a letter from a Dr. Proudfit to Arthur Tappan, Esq., President of the Anti-Slavery Society, in which, addressing him with the salutation of 'Respected Friend,' the Doctor attempts to prove that the Colonization Society and the Abolitionists have the same object in view; nor can he discover 'any cause for collision between the 'two Institutions.'

'We all,' he says, 'profess to be equally impressed with the horrors of slavery, which deprives a fellow-being of that liberty which is his "birth-right," and to which he is unalienably entitled by the Author of his nature; we equally deplore its existence in our own country, as an evil, civil, political, and moral, and calling loudly and imperiously for redress. The friends of each Society profess to regard in the same light the character of the coloured man; that he is the offspring of the same Father with ourselves; that he is ranked by his Creator on the

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same scale of intellectual being; that he is endowed with similar capacities for felicity in the favour of God, or misery under the expressions of his wrath; and the professed design of each association is to "improve the condition of the coloured race." Our diversity of sentiment consists principally in the manner and time of effecting this desirable object. You suppose that his situation is to be improved by immediate and unconditional emancipation; it is our opinion, on the other hand, that a gradual process is preferable, and that this end, so devoutly to be desired, may be better accomplished by colonizing; by placing him in a situation, where he will enjoy, without any abridgement, the rights of the man and the Christian, and where the colour of his complexion will be no obstacle in his path to promotion. It is also our opinion, that as the coloured man is an exotic on our soil, that as the "boundaries of his habitations" were fixed originally by his own choice on the continent of Africa, there is perhaps no region on the globe more congenial to his habits, more adapted to his physical nature, or where, by the native buoyancy of his mind, he might attain, intellectually and morally, that degree of elevation to which he is entitled. It is also our opinion, that there is no other medium through which we may with more facility, or greater prospects of success, undertake to diffuse the blessings of civilization and Christianity through the barbarous tribes of Africa, than by the instrumentality of her own children, converted and restored to her bosom.'

Can such flimsy cant as this impose upon any one? Dr. Proudfit well knows that there is not the remotest possibility of transporting the slave population of the United States to Africa; no, nor the least wish to *diminish* the slave population: the object is simply to export the redundant increase, so as to keep up the value of the slave. The operation of the Colonization scheme is to perpetuate slavery, and to get rid of all coloured persons that are not slaves. If the climate of the Southern States is not 'adapted to the 'physical nature' of the negroes, why should not white labourers be employed there? The very pretext for slave labour is derived from the climate; and yet we are told that the continent of Africa is the only region congenial to the habits of the black man,—aye, and of the mulatto, whose relationship to the European family is attested by every feature! Is not the white man as much an exotic as the black man upon the shores of the Atlantic? Might it not be fairly retorted upon those who are for sending their coloured countrymen and fellow-citizens *home* to Africa,—Go home yourselves to Europe—or Botany Bay.

In this same letter we have a description of Liberia, which represents that colony as more than Utopia realized. 'Where,' asks Dr. Proudfit, 'among all the millions of the human family, 'will we find a population more pure; a moral atmosphere more 'uncontaminated and healthful? In what settlement, or village, 'or city of our own country, civilized and Christianized as we 'regard ourselves, shall we see a larger proportion of the inhabit-

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'ants appearing openly under the standard of the Cross, and 'throwing around them, in their daily intercourse with each other, '*the splendour of every grace*, by living soberly, and righteously, 'and godly?' Dr. Proudfit does not perceive that his grossly exaggerated account tells as much against him as for him; that it affords, indeed, a much stronger reason for sending to Liberia for black missionaries to teach the Americans, who come so far behind them in the splendour of every grace, than for depriving the United States of the elements of so pure, and virtuous, and industrious, and godly a population? But then, in America,—no, not in America, but in a certain section of the United States, 'Nature appears to have interposed a barrier to the amalgamation 'of the two castes, of itself insuperable.' That is to say, *Nature* forbids the tuition of coloured young ladies, the offspring of intercourse between these same irreconcileable castes. It was Nature that mobbed Miss Crandall's house, and smashed her windows. Nature,—and a most devilish Nature it is,—dictates the violation of the most sacred rights of humanity, and the wanton persecution of those whose only offence is the colour of their skin. This same American Nature, after having thrown down the barriers of God's law, has raised up the 'insuperable barrier' of political caste, for which the Colonizationists contend. *Political* amalgamation is what is dreaded, and, because dreaded as all but inevitable, declared to be impossible. Taking the word in any other sense, the living witnesses of amalgamation are so numerous as to render the falsehood too transparent. Will Elliott Cresson have the goodness to inform us how many mulatto children are born every year in the United States, and who are their fathers? Is no amalgamation of blood betrayed by the dubious tinge which renders it difficult to pronounce upon the parentage? Will the Dr. Reese who has undertaken a reply to Judge Jay*, deny the following facts?

'Slavery is not confined to *colour*. Mr. Paxton, a Virginia writer, declares that "the best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of slaves." In the description lately given of a fugitive slave, in the public papers, it was stated, "he has sometimes been mistaken for a white man."

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* We learn from this No. of the Colonization Herald, (Aug. 15, 1835,) that a Dr. Reese has addressed some 'Letters to the Hon. Wm. Jay, in reply to his attack upon the American Colonization Society'; but we have not seen the work. Dr. Reese, according to Elliott Cresson, has 'brought into view so many cases of contradiction, misrepresentation, and sophistry, as entirely to destroy the confidence of any candid reader in Mr. Jay's statements. He has entered into no elaborate argument to shew the unsoundness of the Judge's conclusions,—for none was necessary'!!

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The following, from a Missouri paper, proves that a white man may, without a *mistake*, be adjudged a slave:—

'"A case of a slave suing for his freedom was tried a few days since in Lincoln County, of which the following is a brief statement of the particulars:—A youth of about ten years of age sued for his freedom on the ground that he was a free white person. The court granted his petition to sue as a pauper upon inspection of his person. Upon his trial before the jury, he was examined by the jury and by two learned physicians, all of whom concurred in the opinion that very little if any trace of negro blood could be discovered by any of the external appearances. All the physiological marks of distinctions which characterize the African descent had disappeared.

'"His skin was fair, his hair soft, straight, fine and white, his eyes blue, but rather disposed to the hazle-nut colour; nose prominent, the lips small and completely covering the teeth, his head round and well formed, forehead high and prominent, the ears large, the tibia of the leg straight, the feet hollow. Notwithstanding these evidences of his claims, he was proven to be the descendant of a mulatto woman, and that his progenitors on his mother's side had been and still were slaves; consequently he was found to be a SLAVE."

'The laws of South-Carolina and Virginia expressly recognise *Indian* slaves.

'Not only do the laws acknowledge and protect existing slavery, but they provide for reducing free persons to *hereditary* bondage. In South-Carolina, *fines* are imposed on free negroes for certain offences, and in default of payment they are made slaves. If a coloured citizen of any other State enters Georgia, he is fined; and if he cannot raise the money, he is sentenced to perpetual slavery, and his children after him. In Maryland, if a free negro marries a white, the negro becomes a slave. In almost every slave State, if a free negro cannot *prove* that he is free, he is by law sold at public auction as a slave for life. This is both law and practice in the district of Columbia, and with the sanction of the Congress of the United States. In no civilized country but the slave States are children punished for the crimes of their parents; but in these, the children of free blacks, to the latest posterity, are condemned to servitude for the trivial offences, and often for the most innocent acts, of their ancestors.' pp. 119, 120.

Behold the barriers which Nature has interposed between the castes! We shall now give a few specimens of this same Nature's legislation.

'The master has, in point of *fact*, the same power over his slave that he has over his horse. Some few laws there may be, forbidding the master to treat his slave with cruelty, and so the common law every where forbids cruelty to beasts; but it is far easier to enforce the latter than the former. Any spectator of cruelty to a beast may ordinarily be a witness against the offender; but a slave may be mutilated or murdered with impunity in the presence of hundreds, provided their complexions are coloured: and even should the crime be proved by competent testimony, the master is to be tried by a court and jury who

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are all interested in maintaining the supreme authority of slave-holders. But although no laws can in fact restrain the power of the master, yet laws to a certain degree indicate what kind of treatment is tolerated by public opinion. Thus, when we find the laws of South-Carolina *limiting* the time which slaves may be compelled to labour to fifteen hours a day, we may form some opinion of the amount of toil which Southern masters think it right to inflict upon the slaves; and when we recollect, that the laws of Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia forbid that the criminals in their penitentiaries shall be made to labour more than ten hours a day, we discover the relative place which white felons and unoffending slaves occupy in the sympathies of slave-holders.

'The slave is at all times liable to be punished at the pleasure of his master; and although the law does not warrant him in *murdering* the slave, it expressly justifies him in *killing* him, if he dare to resist:—that is, if the slave do not submit to any chastisement which a brutal master may of his sovereign pleasure choose to inflict, he may legally be shot through the head.

'In South-Carolina, if a slave be killed "on a sudden heat or passion, or *by undue correction*," the murderer is to pay a fine, and be imprisoned six months. What would be thought of such a punishment for the murder of a white apprentice?

'In Missouri, a master is by law expressly authorized to imprison his slave during pleasure; and thus may a human being be legally incarcerated for life, without trial, or even the allegation of a crime. The despotism of the slave-holder is a negotiable despotism; it is daily and hourly bought and sold, and may at any moment be delegated to the most brutal of the species.

'The slave, being himself property, can own no property. He may labour fifteen hours a day, but he acquires nothing by his labour. In South-Carolina, a slave is not *permitted* to keep a boat, or to raise and breed for his own benefit any horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs, under pain of forfeiture, and *any person* may take such articles from him.

'In Georgia, the master is fined thirty dollars for *suffering* his slave to hire himself to another for his own benefit. In Maryland, the master forfeits thirteen dollars for each month that his slave is permitted to receive wages on his own account.

'In Virginia, every master is finable who *permits* a slave to work for himself at wages. In North-Carolina, "all horses, cattle, hogs, or sheep, that shall belong to any slave, or bear any slave's mark in this State, shall be seized and sold by the county wardens."

'In Mississippi, the master is forbidden, under the penalty of fifty dollars, to let a slave raise cotton for himself, "or to keep stock of any description."

'Such is the anxiety of the slave laws to repress every benevolent desire of the master to promote in the slightest degree the independence of the slave.

'Slaves, being property, are, like cattle, liable to be leased and mortgaged by their owners, or sold on execution for debt.

'A slave, having no rights, cannot appear in a court of justice to ask for redress of injuries. So far as he is the subject of injury, the

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law regards him only as a brute, and redress can only be demanded and received by the owner.

'The slave may be beaten, (robbed he cannot be,) his wife and children may be insulted and abused in his presence, and he can no more institute an action for damages than his master's horse. But cannot he be protected by his master's right of action? No. The master must prove *special* injury to his property to recover damages. Any man may, with perfect impunity, whip another's slave, unless he so injure him as to occasion "a loss of service, or at least a diminution of the faculty of the slave for bodily labour." Such is the decision of the Supreme Court of Maryland. In Louisiana, if a third person maim a slave so that he is "for ever rendered unable to work," the offender pays to the owner the value of the slave, and is also to be at the expense of his maintenance; but the unfortunate slave, mutilated or crippled for life, receives not the slightest compensation. The master's right of action is a protection to his *property*, not to the comfort or security of the slave: indeed, it tends to degrade the latter to the level of the other live stock on his master's farm.

'A necessary consequence of slavery is the absence of the marriage relation. No slave can commit bigamy, because the law knows no more of the marriage of slaves than it does of the marriage of brutes. A slave may indeed be formally married; but so far as legal rights and obligations are concerned, it is an idle ceremony. His wife may at any moment be legally taken from him, and sold in the market. The slave laws utterly *nullify* the injunction of the Supreme Lawgiver —"What God hath joined, let not man put asunder."

'Of course these laws recognize not the parental relation as belonging to slaves. A slave has no more legal authority over his child than a cow over her calf.

'The Legislatures of the slave States, when legislating respecting slaves, seem regardless alike of the claims and the affections of our common nature. No right is more sacred, or more universally admitted, than that of self-preservation; but the wretched slave, whether male or female, is denied the right of self-defence against the brutality of any person whomsoever having a white skin. Thus the law of Georgia declares,—"if any slave shall presume to strike any *white* person, upon trial or conviction before the justice or justices, according to the directions of this act, he shall, for the first offence, suffer such punishment as the said justice or justices shall in their discretion think fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the second offence suffer DEATH."

'The same law prevails in South-Carolina, except that death is the penalty for the third offence.

'In Maryland, the justice may order the offender's ears to be cropped. In Kentucky, "any negro, mulatto, or *Indian*, bond or *free*," who "shall at any time *lift his hand* in opposition to *any* white person, shall receive thirty lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on, by order of the justice."

'In South-Carolina, "if any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slaves shall live or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slaves, shall

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refuse to submit to undergo the examination of *any* white person, it shall be lawful for *any* white person to pursue, apprehend, and *moderately correct* such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be LAWFULLY KILLED."'

pp. 120—123.

* * * * * *

'In Georgia, *any* person may inflict twenty lashes on the bare back of a slave found without license off the plantation, or without the limits of the town to which he belongs. So also in Mississippi, Virginia, and Kentucky, at the discretion of a justice.

'In South-Carolina and Georgia, *any* person finding more than seven slaves together in the highway without a white person may give each one twenty lashes.

'In Kentucky, Virginia, and Missouri, a slave, for keeping a gun, powder, shot, a *club*, or other weapon whatsoever, offensive or defensive, may be whipped thirty-nine lashes by order of a justice.

'In North-Carolina and Tennessee, a slave travelling without a pass, or being found in another person's negro quarters or *kitchen*, may be whipped forty lashes; and *every* slave in whose company the visitor is found, twenty lashes.

'In Louisiana, a slave for being on *horseback*, without the written permission of his master, incurs twenty-five lashes; *for keeping a dog*, the like punishment.

'By the law of Maryland, for "rambling, riding, or going abroad in the night, or riding horses in the day-time, without leave, a slave may be whipt, *cropt*, or *branded* on the cheek with the letter R, or otherwise punished, not extending to life, or so *as to render him unfit for labour*."

'Such are a *few* specimens only of the punishments inflicted on slaves for acts not criminal, and which it is utterly impossible they should generally know are forbidden by law.' pp. 124, 5.

'The slave being considered a brute in all cases, except where such a consideration might operate to his advantage, care is taken to prevent all such mental illumination as might assist him in recovering any portion of his rights. However much we may pride ourselves as a nation, on the general diffusion of the blessings of education, it ought to be recollected, that these blessings are forcibly withheld from two millions of our inhabitants; or that one-sixth of our whole population is doomed by law to the grossest ignorance.

'A law of South-Carolina, passed in 1800, authorises the infliction of twenty lashes on every slave found in an assembly convened for the purpose of "mental instruction," held in a confined or secret place, although in the presence of a white. Another law imposes a fine of £100 on any person who may teach a slave to write. An act of Virginia, of 1829, declares every meeting of slaves at any school by day or night, for instruction in reading or writing, an unlawful assembly; and any justice may inflict twenty lashes on each slave found in such school.

'In North-Carolina, to teach a slave to read or write, or to sell or give him *any* book (Bible not excepted) or pamphlet, is punished with thirty-nine lashes, or imprisonment, if the offender be a free

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negro, but if a white, then with a fine of 200 dollars. The reason for this law, assigned in its preamble, is, that "teaching slaves to read and write tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion."

'In Georgia, if a white teach a free negro or slave to read or write, he is fined 500 dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court; if the offender be a coloured man, bond or free, he is to be fined or whipped at the discretion of the court. Of course a father may be flogged for teaching his own child. This barbarous law was enacted in 1829.

'In Louisiana, the penalty for teaching slaves to read or write is one year's imprisonment.

'These are specimens of the efforts made by slave legislatures to enslave the *minds* of their victims; and we have surely no reason to hope that their *souls* are regarded with more compassion.

'In vain has the Redeemer of the world given the command to preach the gospel to every creature; his professed disciples in the slave States have issued a counter order; and, as we have already seen, have by their laws incapacitated 2,000,000 of their fellow men from complying with the injunction, "search the Scriptures." Not only are the slaves debarred from reading the wonderful things of God; they are practically prevented, with a few exceptions, from even *hearing* of them.

'In Georgia, any justice of the peace may, at his discretion, break up any religious assembly of slaves, and may order *each slave present* to be "corrected without trial, by receiving on the bare back twenty-five stripes with a whip, switch, or cow-skin."

'In South-Carolina, slaves may not meet together for the purpose of "religious worship" before sunrise, or after sunset, unless the *majority* of the meeting be composed of white persons, under the penalty of twenty lashes "well laid on." As it will be rather difficult for the slave to divine before he goes to the meeting how many blacks and how many whites will be present, and of course which colour will have the "majority," a due regard for his back will keep him from the meeting.

'In Virginia, all evening meetings of slaves at any meeting-house are unequivocally forbidden.

'In Mississippi, the law *permits* the master to suffer his slave to attend the preaching of a *white* minister.

'It is very evident that when public opinion tolerates such laws, it will not tolerate the general religious instruction of the slaves.'

* * * * *

'In 1831, the Rev. Charles C. Jones preached a sermon before two associations of planters in Georgia, one of Liberty County, and the other of M'Intosh County. This sermon is before us, and we quote from it.

'"Generally speaking, they (the slaves) appear to us to be without God and without hope in the world, a NATION OF HEATHENS in our very midst. We cannot cry out against the Papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and keeping them in ignorance of the way of life; for we *withhold* the Bible from our servants, and

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keep them in ignorance of it, while we *will* not use the means to have it read and explained to them. The cry of our perishing servants comes up to us from the sultry plains as they bend at their toil—it comes up to us from their humble cottages when they return at evening to rest their weary limbs—it comes up to us from the midst of their ignorance and superstition, and adultery and lewdness. We have manifested no emotions of horror at abandoning the souls of our servants to the adversary—the roaring lion that walketh about seeking whom he may devour."

'On the 5th December, 1833, a committee of the Synod of South-Carolina and Georgia, to whom was referred the subject of the religious instruction of the coloured population, made a report, which has been published, and in which this language is used:

'"Who would credit it, that in these years of revival and benevolent effort, in this Christian republic, there are over TWO MILLIONS of human beings in the condition of HEATHEN, and in some respects in a worse condition. From long continued and close observation, we believe that their moral and religious condition is such that they may justly be considered the HEATHEN of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The negroes are destitute of the Gospel, and *ever will be, under the present state of things.* In the vast field extending from an entire State beyond the Potomac to the Sabine river, and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not *twelve* men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes. In the present state of feeling in the South, a ministry of their own colour could neither be obtained NOR TOLERATED.

'"But do not the negroes have access to the Gospel through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer, NO; the negroes have no regular and efficient ministry; as a matter of course, no churches; neither is there sufficient room in white churches for their accommodation. We know of but *five* churches in the slave-holding States built expressly for their use; these are all in the State of Georgia. We may now inquire if they enjoy the privileges of the Gospel in their own houses and on our plantation? Again we return a negative answer. They have no Bibles to read by their own firesides—they have no family altars; and when in affliction, sickness, or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolations of the Gospel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services."

'In a late number of the *Charleston* (*S. C.*) *Observer*, a correspondent remarked: "Let us establish missionaries among our own negroes, who, in view of religious knowledge, are as debasingly ignorant as any one on the coast of Africa; for I hazard the assertion, that throughout the bounds of our synod there are at least one hundred thousand slaves, speaking the same language as ourselves, who never *heard* of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer."

'The editor, instead of contradicting this broad assertion, adds: "We fully concur with what our correspondent has said respecting the benighted heathen among ourselves."

'Such is American slavery—a system which classes with the beasts of the field, over whom dominion has been given to man, an intelligent

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and accountable being, the instant his Creator has breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Over this infant heir of immortality no mother has a right to watch—no father may guide his feeble steps, check his wayward appetites, and train him for future usefulness, happiness, and glory. Torn from his parents, and sold in the market, he soon finds himself labouring among strangers under the whip of a driver, and his task augmenting with his ripening strength. Day after day, and year after year, is he driven to the cotton or sugar-field, as the ox to the furrow. No hope of reward lightens his toil—the subject of insult, the victim of brutality, the laws of his country afford him no redress—his wife, such only in name, may at any moment be dragged from his side—his children, heirs only of his misery and degradation, are but articles of merchandize—his mind, stupified by his oppressors, is wrapped in darkness—his soul, no man careth for it—his body, worn with stripes and toil, is at length committed to the earth, like the brute that perisheth.

'This is the system which the American Anti-slavery Society declares to be sinful, and ought therefore to be immediately abolished; and this is the system which the American Colonization Society excuses, and which, it contends, ought to be perpetual, rather than its victims should enjoy their rights in "the white man's land."'

pp. 126—130.

Such is American slavery. We must now lay before our readers a sample or two of the laws against the free blacks.

'In South-Carolina, if a free negro "entertains" a run-away slave, he forfeits ten pounds, and if unable to pay the fine, which must be the case ninety-nine times in a hundred, he is to be sold as a slave for life. In 1827, a *free woman and her three children* were thus sold, for harbouring two slave children.

'In Mississippi, every negro or mulatto, not being able to *prove* himself free, may be sold as a slave. Should the certificate of his manumission, or the evidence of his parent's freedom, be lost or stolen, he is reduced to hopeless bondage. This provision extends to most of the slave States, and is in full operation in the district of Columbia.

'In South-Carolina, any assembly of free negroes, even in the presence of white persons, "in a confined or secret place for the purpose of *mental instruction*," is an unlawful assembly, and may be dispersed by a magistrate, who is authorized to inflict twenty lashes on each free negro attending the meeting.

'In the city of Savannah, *any person* who teaches a free negro to read or write incurs a penalty of thirty dollars. Of course a father may not instruct his own children.

'In Maryland, a justice of the peace may order a free negro's ears to be cut off for striking a *white* man. In Kentucky, for the same offence, he is to receive thirty lashes, "well laid on." The law of Louisiana declares "free people of colour ought never to insult or strike *white* people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but, on the contrary, *they ought to yield to them on every occasion*, and never speak or answer them but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment according to the nature of the case."

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'The corporation of Georgetown, in the district of Columbia, passed an ordinance making it penal for any free negro *to receive from the post-office, have in his possession,* or circulate, any publication or writing whatsoever of a *sedilious* character.

'In North-Carolina, the law prohibits a free coloured man, whatever may be his attainments or ecclesiastical authority, to preach the Gospel.

'In Georgia, a white man is liable to a fine of *five hundred dollars* for teaching a free negro to read or write. If one free negro teach another, he is to be *fined* and *whipped* at the discretion of the court! Should a free negro presume to preach to or exhort his companions, he may be seized without warrant, and whipped thirty-nine lashes, and the same number of lashes may be applied to each one of his congregation.

'In Virginia, should free negroes or their children assemble at a school to learn reading and writing, any justice of the peace may dismiss the school with twenty stripes on the back of each pupil.

'In some States, free negroes may not assemble together for any purpose, to a greater number than *seven*. In North-Carolina, free negroes may not trade, buy, or sell, out of the cities or towns in which they reside, under the penalty of forfeiting their goods, and receiving in lieu thereof thirty-nine lashes.

'The laws of Ohio against the free blacks are peculiarly detestable, because not originating from the fears and prejudices of slave-holders. Not only are the blacks excluded in that State from the benefit of public schools, but, with a refinement of cruelty unparalleled, they are doomed to idleness and poverty, by a law which renders a white man, who employs a coloured one to labour for him one hour, liable for his support through life!

'By a late law of Maryland, a free negro coming into the State, is liable to a fine of fifty dollars for every week he remains in it. If he cannot pay the fine, he is SOLD.

'In Louisiana, the penalty for instructing a free black in a *Sunday School*, is, for the first offence, five hundred dollars; for the second offence, DEATH!

'Such, in a greater or less degree, is the situation of three hundred thousand of our fellow-citizens; and the only comfort, the only consolation, the only mitigation of their sufferings, which a Society, said to be "full of benevolence and the hallowed impulses of Heaven's own mercy," proposes, or even *wishes* for them, is their transportation to Africa!' pp. 15—17.

Some of these atrocious facts will not be new to our readers, since, in our review of Mr. Abdy's volumes, we had occasion to introduce a portion of this evidence in illustration of the cruel and anti-christian antipathy which, in that Article, we endeavoured to analyse*. Referring our readers to the lengthened observations we

* Eclectic Rev. for August, 1835. Art. I.

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then felt it our duty to submit, we shall now take leave of the revolting subject with a few general reflections.

In the first place, we renew our protest against those indiscriminate and unqualified invectives levelled at our American brethren, as a people, which certain parties in this country are apt to indulge in, who have not heretofore been distinguished by their zeal in the cause of abolition. We will not soften down our language in stigmatizing the atrocious guilt of the system of American slavery; but we cannot forget how small was the band of philanthropists who stood forward in this country, as Jay, and Cox, and Tappan are now doing in their own, as abolitionists of slavery and the slave-trade, when, as now in America, the Court, the Church, the Government, the Press, and the great mercantile interests were all arrayed against them. In 1776, as Judge Jay reminds us, the British House of Commons *rejected* a resolution, that the slave-trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man. Yet that trade is now piracy by Act of Parliament. In 1788, on a bill being introduced into the House of Lords to mitigate the horrors of the trade, Lord Chancellor Thurlow ridiculed the sudden fit of philanthropy that had given it birth. In 1791, Colonel Tarleton, in the House of Commons, speaking of the proposed abolition of the slave-trade, declared that the measure was fit only for the bigotry and superstition of the twelfth century. Nor were these the sentiments of solitary individuals: the majority of both Houses were with them.

'In 1793, the Duke of Clarence, now William IV., in his place in the House of Lords, declared the Abolitionists to be fanatics and hypocrites, and so far violated parliamentary decorum as to apply these epithets to Mr. Wilberforce by name. Yet has he lived to crown the labour, and fulfil the hopes of Wilberforce, by giving his assent to the bill abolishing slavery in the British dominions.

'Ten times did Mr. Wilberforce bring the subject of the abolition of the traffic before parliament, and ten times was he doomed to witness the failure of his efforts; nor was this detestable commerce suppressed till *thirty* years after the first motion of it had been made in the House of Commons.'

When the Abolitionists of the United States think of these facts, and recollect the reproaches heaped upon Wilberforce and his colleagues by a chancellor and dignified senators, well may they, says Judge Jay, 'thank God and take courage.' And surely, when we recollect these facts, it becomes us neither to despair of witnessing a similar revolution of public feeling in the American republic, nor to glory in the assumed superiority of our national character or institutions. The country which has given birth, in these days of its political degeneracy, to such men as Judge Jay, Professor Cox, and their colleagues, must still be

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regarded as a land which, for the sake of the righteous within it, Heaven will spare, and British Christians ought to intercede for with affectionate sympathy.

In the next place, if the 'democracy,' the republican institutions, the 'voluntary principle,' the non-Establishment polity of the United States are to be held responsible for the crime of slavery, with all its demoralizing consequences, how can we escape from the inference, that the aristocracy, the monarchical institutions, the Church and State system, the Tory ascendancy of the reign of George III., must be tried by the same test, and denounced as the parent source of the moral and political evils connected with the slave-trade and slavery,—the Lynch law of the Colonial Church Unionists, the persecution of the missionaries, and all the atrocities of the penal codes of the slave colonies. It may be very convenient to forget that the Church of England was, till very recently, a slave-holder; that the aristocracy of England, with a few illustrious exceptions, were the chief upholders of slavery; that the communication of instruction to the negroes in our colonies was discountenanced and opposed, when undertaken by the despised voluntaries. All this must be forgotten before we can with decency inveigh against American republicans and voluntaries for acting in the same way as English nobles, merchants, and churchmen did a few short years ago. But the Americans have not quite such short memories; and they will not fail to retort with justifiable severity upon the flippant hypocrisy of their present Tory rebukers*.

We must confess, however, that, as we do not think that the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles had much to do with the English slave-trade, so we imagine that the American Constitution, the fundamental principle of which entitles all the free inhabitants of the States to all the privileges and immunities of citizenship, is not the cause of conduct in direct violation of that principle; nor is Republicanism the origin of that system of slavery which existed in America, under the fostering protection of the British crown, before the Colonies separated from the mother country. We admit that the conduct of the American slave-holders and black-haters is rendered the more flagrant by their vaunts about their own political freedom; but Mr. Burke remarked long ago, that, in countries where slaves exist, those that are free, are by far the most proud and jealous of

* See the Record Paper of Nov. 19, a journal infamous for the part it took during the struggle for the abolition of slavery, in defending the lawfulness of slavery in precisely the tone and spirit of the Colonizationists, and which now hypocritically turns round and reproaches the politicians and churches of the United States for not taking part with the Abolitionists!

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their freedom,—the haughtiness of domination there combining with the spirit of liberty. It is undeniable, however, that a very marked departure has taken place in America from the fundamental principles of the Constitutional Republicanism; and if we can no longer refer with satisfaction to the United States as the land of the free, the asylum of the persecuted,—it is because there has taken place, to an alarming extent, an apostasy from the principles of the Fathers of American Independence, the founders of the social structure. What would Washington, what would Jefferson think, could they rise from the dead, of the present aspect of the Republic?—Jefferson, who, speaking of a contest with insurgent slaves, said, 'The Almighty has no attribute 'which can take sides with *us* in such a contest.' Washington, whose unsullied name has been desecrated by being bestowed upon the central slave-mart of the Union—the most infamous metropolis in Christendom, the American Algiers!

But how has this disastrous change been superinduced? Can it be traced to any defect in American institutions—to any excess of popular liberty, any feebleness in the powers of government, any deficiency of the means of religious instruction, any retrogression of the public mind in intelligence? Nothing of the kind can be alleged; or, at least, no such explanation can be rendered even plausible by the shadow of evidence. The root of the whole mass of evil is single; and it is adequate to account for all that is anomalous and threatening in the present position of affairs. Slavery, says Mr. Abbott, 'is the fruitful source of 'nearly all our national difficulties. Slavery is the origin of the 'Tariff strife, and the parent of Nullification.' Slavery is the national crime which threatens, if not repented of, to draw down the exemplary punishment of Heaven. Slavery has entailed upon that which calls itself the freest Republic in the world, that hideous mass of legislative enactments which are a mockery of law, and which render the Turkish despotism mild by comparison. It has placed in the heart of the country a servile foe, more to be dreaded than any foreign enemy; an element of danger which may at any time burst forth with exterminating fury. It has created new States which have brought to the Federal Union a dowry of political mischief and moral corruption, and which are to the Old States of the Federacy, what a dead carcase would be, tied to the living. It has rendered every American who talks of the rights of man a hypocrite, and made the braggart of liberty a secret coward. And, worse than all, it has polluted the waters of the sanctuary, mingled unhallowed fire on the national altar, set the ministers of religion at variance, brother against brother, darkened the fairest prospects of the Church, and given occasion to the enemies of our Zion to insult and triumph over those who exhibit this palpable inconsistency. Slavery has induced that

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moral blindness which has perverted the minds and hearts of the more respectable abettors of the Colonization scheme,—the iniquities of which we have but half unravelled as a monstrous fraud *. Slavery has produced that moral conflict which is now agitating the States, and shaking the very frame-work of the social system; a conflict which, by its issue, will determine the future destinies of this great Republic.

One thing only can save America from political ruin. Judge Jay has boldly proclaimed the truth to his deluded countrymen. The remedy is, the immediate annihilation of slavery—'immediate, total, unqualified emancipation,' such as has been peaceably effected in Mexico, Bermuda, and Antigua. Let all who wish well to the United States unite in strengthening, by their best efforts and fervent intercessions, the hands of those true patriots, the Anti-Slavery Society of America. They have the strongest claims upon our sympathy; nor can Britain be considered as wholly discharged from responsibility, and purged from the guilt and stain of her former iniquities as the great Mandealer, till not only her present dominions, but her ancient colonies, where she planted this upas-tree, shall no longer contain a slave.

Art. II. *The Great Teacher:* Characteristics of Our Lord's Ministry. By the Rev. John Harris. 12mo. pp. lvi, 397. London, 1835.

WE have seldom met with a work on Theology, which has afforded us more gratification than the present, which displays more judgement in the selection of its materials, or more ingenuity in combining with its principal subject the various parts of the entire Christian system, without perplexing the argument or diminishing its power. But for a somewhat lengthy preface, in which are treated certain points which, we think, might have been placed with advantage in the body of the Work, together with a few violations of taste in the style and diction, and an occasional reverting to topics which should have been discussed and dismissed under their proper heads, we should pronounce "The Great Teacher" one of the best specimens of theological writing which the press has for many years produced. This, however, is not its highest excellence. The fundamental truths of the

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* It may be sufficient to state here, that the annual increase of the slave population in the United States is 54,000. The Colonization Society has exported since 1816, 809 manumitted slaves to Africa, being equal to the increase of the slave population for five days and a half. In 1834, it exported none. And this is the Society which is to produce the *gradual* extinction of slavery!!

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great scheme of infinite grace, which it so clearly states and beautifully illustrates, will be its strongest recommendation to intelligent and enquiring Christians; while the purposes to which they are applied, and the manner in which they are enforced, cannot fail to awaken the conscience and impress the heart. Mr. Harris's theology, as exhibited in these pages, is at once dogmatic, experimental, and practical. It is divine philosophy, propounded by no mean proficient in the science; by one who has learned of the Master himself, by whom he has been imbued with a measure of his spirit.

The leading object of the volume is to shew, that Jesus Christ was the best teacher of his own religion; that his personal ministry, as recorded in the evangelical history, dwelt on all the essential doctrines which were afterwards expanded and more fully explained in the Apostolic Writings; that, on some most important points, he was even more copious and comprehensive than his inspired followers; and that the style and character of his teaching, place him, as an instructor, on an unapproachable eminence.

In his Preface, Mr. Harris adverts to the fact of Our Lord's discourses containing less of the peculiar doctrines of grace than the teaching of the Apostles. On this point he has, perhaps, conceded too much. What distinguishing doctrine of the gospel has the ministry of Christ substantially omitted? The obscurity which some persons imagine Our Lord to have purposely assumed, in order to veil certain truths which his disciples were not prepared to receive, does not in fact exist. There was obtuseness in their minds, but no obscurity in his teaching. Their eyes were not opened; yet the sun shone with unclouded lustre, though not at his meridian. If, as Mr. Harris states, 'whatever is essential to 'the Christian system, is to be found *in semine* in Our Lord's 'teaching,' we may well believe that he did that perfectly, for which he especially received the unction of the Spirit: "He anointed me to preach the Gospel". And we may certainly infer, not only from the premises on which Mr. Harris rests his conclusion, but from the entire Work, which confirms it, 'that the whole 'evangelical system, as developed by the Apostles, lies in its germ 'in the teaching of Christ; but that such is the fulness, the semi-'nal character of his teaching, that even their epistles do not ex-'haust it.' The observations which follow are too pertinent and too important not to be introduced as a preliminary to our further notice of the contents of this masterly performance.

'That they (the Apostles) have put us in possession of every essential truth, we admit; that any fundamental doctrine remains to be discovered, cannot for a moment be imagined; but it may be suggested, that even with their inspired epistles in our hand, and regarding those epistles in the light of commentaries on the sayings of our Lord, there

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yet remain to be discovered in his teaching new aspects of some truths, the immeasurable compass of others, and harmonies subsisting between them all, beyond the perception of ordinary vision; and the development of which is reserved to reward the pious industry of the devout and vigorous mind.

'The church of God has been too generally content with the great surface-truths of revelation,—those which we have only to stoop for in order to possess,—but which are made so obvious and placed so near, not as a premium to indolence, but in accommodation to our moral incuriousness and necessities; not as a dispensation from diligent investigation, but as an allurement to it where it can be made, and to render it unnecessary where it cannot. "The kingdom of heaven"—in the sense of celestial truth—"is like treasure hid in a field; the which when a man hath found, he hideth; and, for joy thereof, goeth, and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field;" and buyeth it in order that he may ransack, and turn up every part of it, and make himself master of all its treasures. And further, it is as if the same man, while digging for coins and concealed jewels, should unexpectedly happen on a vein of precious ore. Hitherto, we have done little more than collect, estimate, and classify the more accessible treasures. But let the shaft which is already begun, be sunk deep enough, and the labours of the mine be properly conducted, and the discovery of many a rich and precious lode will demonstrate that the great globe itself is not more interlaced with golden veins, and filled with precious things, than the field of revelation: the storehouse of the unsearchable riches of Christ.' pp. xx, xxi.

The Work consists of five Essays. The first treats of the Authority; the second, which comprehends a very large portion of the Volume, illustrates the Originality; and the third, fourth, and fifth, are dedicated to a consideration of the Spirituality, Tenderness, Benevolence, and Practicalness of Our Lord's teaching. Under each of these general heads, are embraced a great variety of topics, all tending to establish the main scope of the proposition in aid of which they are introduced. The whole is full and satisfactory. After first glancing at what is familiar to the minds of the most superficial inquirers into the truth of Christ's mission, namely, that at the time of his appearance, a Divine Teacher was needed, desired, and might have been expected, and that his advent, in all its circumstances, had been foreshewn by the prophets,—the Author proceeds to the first characteristic of his teaching, and proves, that it was the authority of goodness, of greatness, of solemnity; and that it was legislative. The last point is managed with considerable ability.

'To disturb the majestic repose of the divine law, argues, on the part of him who attempts it, either the final stage of insane impiety, or an authority clothed with the prerogatives of the original lawgiver. In this latter exalted predicament the Saviour claimed to stand; "As the Father," said he, "hath life in himself; so hath he given to the

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Son, to have life in himself; and hath given him authority to execute judgement also, because he is the son of man." "All things are delivered unto me of my Father." In the exercise of his legal supremacy, he may be said to have revised the laws of heaven. Not only did he put on them his own authoritative interpretation, from which he permits no appeal, and by which he greatly extended the sphere of their jurisdiction, in bestowing forgiveness, he even controlled and suspended their operation; he pronounced what part of the divine code was of perpetual, and what of temporary obligation; he repealed its positive enactments, and enjoined others; while, by laying open the scenes of the final judgement, and speaking as from the mysterious cross, he placed it on another basis, infused into it a new vigour, and augmented its force in the highest degree.

'When the sanctimonious pharisees, impatient to accuse him, but despairing of a charge, alleged against him the trivial act of his hungry disciples, in plucking the ears of corn on the sabbath day, he not only established the innocence of the deed, but with what an air of inimitable dignity did he cast over it the ample shield of his own prerogative; "The Son of man," said he, "is Lord even of the sabbath day." On another occasion, when the same unappeasable intolerance, and cloaked hypocrisy, construed an act of healing into a breach of the sabbath, he again asserted his superiority to the law. But, beyond this, he expounded his right to that superiority; he declared, that as the operations of the Father knew no intermission, so neither did his; that as the machinery of Providence does not pause in deference to the sabbatic law, but continues, through every moment of time, to fill the universe with its agency, so he acknowledged no restraint, but claimed the same unlimited scope, and infinite freedom of activity for his beneficence: thus clearly placing his own miraculous works on a level with the works of God; demanding the same consideration for their character; and assuming an equality, or rather an identity, with the Supreme, in will, and right, and power. "My Father worketh until now, and I work. Whatsoever things the Father doeth, those things the Son also doeth in like manner." But his dispensation with the law of the sabbath was only a specimen of his supreme authority. By issuing the final and sovereign mandate to his disciples, "Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," he virtually annulled the Jewish ritual, and repealed a whole economy, casting it back among the things that were; while, by replacing it with ordinances of his own enactment, and sacred to his worship, he proclaimed himself the founder and legislator of a new religion.

'The exercise of his supremacy, in the instances we have cited, was accompanied by the most illustrious displays of authority, in developing and enforcing the eternal and unchangeable laws of morality. The morality of the Mosaic code was of divine dictation; but, in revising its statutes and giving it perfection, he introduces his new prescriptions with this preamble, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time—but I say unto you;" thus placing his own legislation on a footing with the authority of Sinai; and, if not actually effacing the original tables, to make room for his own statutes, yet inserting and incorporating these statutes at pleasure, and publishing them as a part

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of the eternal law. How tender, yet inconcealable, the tone of authority in which he said to his disciples, when he was only a step from the cross, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another." To regard this as a mere republication, seems to impugn the modesty which distinguished his character, for it represents him as claiming originality and novelty for that which is only the revival of an obsolete law. But with that ancient precept which enjoined love to our neighbour, this new command has no affinity except in appearance; it differs in its nature, its objects, and in the peculiar considerations by which it is enforced. *That* prescribes the love of benevolence; *this* requires the love of complacency: *that* enjoins loving kindness, the love of the kind, of man as man; *this* enjoins the love of character, of virtue, of man as Christian; while its claim to novelty is completed by the divine Legislator proposing his own example, as the model and motive to obedience. But that which displays his superiority to all human, all merely delegated authority, and which places him on a level with the Supreme Power is, that having enacted laws, he can ensure obedience. The highest praise of an earthly lawgiver, is to adapt his laws as nearly as possible to the claims of abstract right, on the one hand; and to the peculiar state of the people receiving them, on the other. He can do little more to promote obedience to them, than by publicly chastising the refractory and disobedient. But the great Prophet and Lawgiver of the Christian Church, having consulted our nature in the requirements he makes, can then conform our nature to his authority; having authoritatively announced his will, he can carry it into all the recesses of the soul, and, in perfect harmony with our free volitions, can so identify it with our thoughts and aims, so blend it with the stream and current of our consciousness, that in yielding obedience to his word, we are only obeying the actings and impulses of our own minds.' pp. 24—28.

Under this branch of the subject, we think the Author might have introduced the fine observations in the Preface, on the peculiarity which distinguished the teaching of Our Lord from that of all the prophets who had preceded him. 'Preceding prophets,' he remarks, (page 29,) 'jealous for the Divine honour, had scrupu-'lously guarded against the remotest suspicion that they spake in 'their own name;' while Our Lord, the Great Prophet of Israel, he tells us, in the Preface, was 'emphatically his own subject.' The paragraph thus commencing, we should like to see transferred to this its proper place.

Of the Essay on the Originality of Our Lord's teaching, we have not space for a complete analysis, which it richly deserves, for it is by far the most valuable portion of the Work. This Essay is divided into seven sections, and exhibits the originality of Our Lord's teaching, concerning God the Father—Himself—the Holy Spirit—the Doctrine of the Trinity and a Spiritual Church—Satanic Agency—the Immortality of the Soul—the Resurrection of the Body—the Final Judgement.

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In the Preface, an objection is anticipated regarding the originality of Christ as a teacher, which ought to have been preliminary to these sections, because, more or less, it applies to them all. We quote it on account of its general importance.

'The reader is probably aware that, during the interval which elapsed between the cessation of the Old Testament oracle and the advent of Christ, many new terms came into use; especially new epithets for designating the expected Messiah and the Holy Spirit;—such, for instance, as the names, Logos and Paraclete: and, also, that various theological opinions prevailed; which, while they pleaded an Old Testament origin, were taught, if taught there at all, only by inference and suggestion. Now when a person first becomes aware of this fact, and discovers also that some of these terms and opinions were adopted by Christ, and incorporated by him into his New Testament record, he may be tempted to depreciate in thought the divinity and originality of these particular parts of our Lord's teaching.

'But let him reflect, first, that, *as to the divine origin of these particular truths*,—the persons who first announced them, no doubt, derived the idea of them from the ancient scriptures, and could have pointed to the precise passage or passages which, in their opinion, warranted the idea. And, secondly, *as to our Lord's claim to originality in teaching these particular truths*—this becomes a question of mere words. For though originality was no longer possible, in the sense of novelty, still his office was original—he was the first to announce these truths as divine.

'Suppose, for example, an inspired prophet were now to appear in the church, to add a supplement to the canonical books,—what a Babel of opinions would he find existing on almost every theological subject! —and how highly probable is it that his ministry would consist, or seem to consist, in the mere selection and ratification of such of these opinions as accorded with the mind of God. Absolute originality would seem to be almost impossible. The inventive mind of man has already bodied forth speculative opinions in almost every conceivable form; forestalling and robbing the future of its fair proportion of novelties; and leaving little more, even to a divine messenger, than the office of taking some of these opinions, and impressing them with the seal of heaven. Imagine him to choose for his theme—that *vinum dæmonum* of the church in every age—the subject of a millennium; and may it not be confidently affirmed, that whatever his divine doctrine might be, an anticipation of it, if not the identical doctrine itself, has appeared already among the thousand theories which the church has heard on the subject? Yet how important the office which would still devolve on him, in evoking the one truth, and dispersing the multiplied attendant errors; and how worthy of a teacher sent from God. Humanly speaking, the task of the aged seer, in selecting from the eleven sons of Jesse the future king of Israel, was easy, compared with the task of him who has to choose from a multitude of speculative opinions, all of which are specious, and popular, and possessed of an apparent likeness, the one heaven-born truth, and anoint it for the Lord.

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'Now such was the relation in which Our Lord may be said to have stood to some of the doctrines of the New Testament. Originality, in the sense of novelty, was, on these particular subjects, impossible: for the teeming mind of man, quickened to activity by some hint of scripture, had already occupied the ground with theories of every grade of merit, and opinions adapted to every taste. With these, hypothetically speaking, the Saviour might be acquainted, or he might not. On the supposition that he did not know them, the doctrine he taught on either of these subjects, however familiar it might already have been to human ears, was unborrowed, original, and emphatically his own; it had no other channel in its descent from the celestial throne to the human heart, but his own inspired lips. On the supposition that he knew them,—his office, at least, was original, and equally dignified; for still he proclaimed the particular truth, not because man had patronized it, but because he knew it to be the true saying of God. And more than that, he redeemed it from the base companionship of error, and made it free of the universe. He not merely rescued it from the gloomy region of doubt, but enabled it to shine in its own light, and to illuminate the surrounding darkness. If he found it one of the multitude, he raised it to the throne. If he found it a guess, he left it a doctrine—a living and incorporated member of the immortal body of truth. If he found it an outcast, he took it within the pale and royalty of truth, and surrounded it with the awful sanctions of the God of truth. He proved himself to be the Word and the Wisdom of God.' pp. xxxi—xxxv.

These views are followed up at page 42, in the beginning of this Essay, where we think they ought to be placed. Before he distributes the first section, which treats of God the Father, into its distinct and separate parts, the Author briefly shews, that besides the circumstantial originality of the Saviour's teaching, his claims to this quality are to be referred to merits peculiarly his own, derived from additional revelations and momentous disclosures of Divine Truth.

'Had he only commented on the volume of nature, had he even read from the book of the universe the names and titles of its author, our advantage, comparatively, would have been small indeed. That volume was originally meant only for the eye of sinless humanity. It uttered no prediction, awoke no presentiment of the fall; in no part of its hallowed contents could a line be found foretokening woe. The morning of the day of transgression dawned on the world, unconscious of the impending change. The sun poured forth as full a flood of living light; the air was as rich in fragrance and song; earth and heaven appeared to live in each other's smiles; nature lay open at as fair and bright a page, as at the moment when God complacently pronounced it to be very good. The tremendous catastrophe of that day took it by surprise. So far from furnishing man with resources for the event, it was itself involved in the calamity; it was "cursed for his sake." So far from being able to utter a consolatory truth in human ears, it required itself to be solaced and sustained, for it lay

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prostrate and panting under its Maker's frown. Wounded by the stroke, and cumbered with the weight of sin, it sent forth a cry, in which all its natural harmonies were drowned; a cry of helplessness and of suffering, which has never from that moment ceased, but which has gone on, from age to age, waxing louder and louder, till the whole creation has become vocal with woe, 'and groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now," labouring in its pangs, and struggling to be free.

'So far from shewing commiseration, and whispering hope, there is a sense in which all nature stands ready to avenge the quarrel of God with man. Take, as examples, the histories of Pharaoh and Herod. When the former refused to obey the mandates of heaven, all nature expressed its sympathy with its injured Maker; armed in his behalf, and put itself in motion to avenge the insult. The latter affected to be thought a god, forthwith an angel, jealous of Jehovah's honour, descends and smites him; and, at the same moment, the meanest insects begin to devour him: the highest order of created intelligence, and the lowest form of animal existence, the two extremes in the scale of creation, unite to prostrate and punish his impiety. It will be found, in the history of the divine justice, that every element of nature has taken its turn, as a minister of wrath, to assert the quarrel of God with rebellious man. And, be it remembered, that one of these elements is held in reserve for the destruction of the world: he has only to speak, and it will wrap the globe in living flames. Meanwhile, he may be said to have laid all nature under a solemn interdict, not to minister to our most pressing wants: he has laid it under an eternal ban. Let there be no peace to the wicked, saith my God; let every thing be at war with him. If he will be the enemy of God, let him live and die amidst a universe of frowns: let every thing in heaven, earth, and hell, be armed, and ready to assail him: *let there be no peace to the wicked;* and universal nature responds, *there shall be none;* and the universal experience of sinners, as it sends up its reply from the bottomless pit, declares, in accents of terrible despair, *there is none.* Could the sinner but open his eyes to the dreadful reality of his condition, were he endowed with a power of vision like the servant of the prophet, he would find himself surrounded, not indeed with horses and chariots of fire to guard him, but with terrible forms of anger and destruction, waiting to dart on him, and make him their prey. He would find himself standing in the great theatre of the universe, with every eye that it contains fixed and frowning upon him; with every weapon in the infinite armoury of God, ready, and levelled against him. And the hour arrives when he finds that sin has arrayed against him, not only all the universe without, but all the powers and passions within him; that it has armed him against himself; that it has given a sting to every thought, and turned his conscience into a worm that dieth not, and his depraved and ungoverned passions into fires never to be quenched.

'O how unparalleled the infatuation of the man who pretends, that, from the doubtful and scattered intimations of nature, he can collect the materials of a sufficient creed; when, at the same time, they are so obviously intermixed with the fragments of a violated law. Nature,

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indeed, is still an oracle on one point; and when consulted on that point, which relates to the great remedy for sin, her spontaneous response is, *it is not in me:* it is not until man has examined her by torture, that he extorts some doubtful reply, which—his vanity being made the interpreter—is found to coincide with his wishes, and to flatter his pride. On the fact of the divine existence, indeed, the protestations of nature, are positive, loud, and unceasing: this is a truth of which she is never making less than solemn affirmation and oath, with all her myriad voices: the unintermitting response of the living creatures heard by John, is only the echo of her voice in the sanctuary above, proclaiming to the universe his eternal power and Godhead. But, however able and ready to enlighten the inquiring mind on the fact of his existence, she could do nothing to dissipate the clouds of doubt and gloom which had gathered and settled into thick darkness round about his throne: on the anxious subject of his character, and his possible conduct towards the guilty, she has received no instructions, and is silent. By the introduction of sin, our condition has become preternatural, and the wisdom that prescribes for us, therefore, must be supernatural, or it will prove a physician of no value.'

pp. 44—47.

This section has eight subdivisions, the subjects of which are, the Paternal Character and Universal Benevolence of God—his Universal Dominion and Providence—his Love to Man, exemplified in the Mission of Christ—the only Means of Mercy—the Free Gift of Eternal Life—Universality of Invitation—Character of Christ the Character of the Father—God our Father, the name by which we are taught to invoke Him.

The most striking part of this portion of the Work, is that in which the Author describes the Character of Christ as the Character of the Father. We make no apology for quoting it.

'As long as we remain immersed in sense, we must be indebted for all our conceptions to sensible objects: hence the purest and most abstract of human sciences has its diagrams; and Christianity, the most spiritual form of religion, employs its symbols. The same necessity has, in every age, expressed itself in ardent desires for sensible manifestations of the Divine Being. The entreaty of Moses, "I beseech thee shew me thy glory," was again repeated by Philip, when he said, "Shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us;" and both requests were only the echo of a universal desire; a desire of the mind for something to sustain it in its most etherial of efforts, its endeavours to think of God.

'Another necessity requiring to be met, was the exaggerated fears of the penitent sinner, when interpreting the rectoral office of the Father in the covenant of grace, into a proof of his avenging inexorableness. In the ministry of the gospel, the constant reference which is necessarily made to his just requirements in maintaining the rights of Deity, is extremely liable to produce on a mind, perturbed with guilt, an impression of dread, which no mere abstract descriptions of

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the love of God can effectually remove; which makes it impossible to speak of that love in terms of excess. Now, of both these necessities, the Saviour took special cognizance; against each of them he fully provided, when, standing forth before the eye of the world, he proclaimed himself the perfect representative of the Father; and, in that capacity, challenged for the Father, the confidence, and affection, and cordial allegiance of mankind. "I am in the Father," said he, "and the Father is in me:" . . . . "From henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. Philip saith unto him, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? . . . . the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works. Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake." "I and my Father are one."

'Instead of leaving our faith to apprehend an infinite abstraction, he has, in his own person, invested the Deity with that power over our minds which a definite object alone can exercise. Instead of claiming our affections merely for the invisible and impalpable cause of mercy, he wrestles with our fears, and challenges our embracing affections, by protesting that there is no feature to be loved in himself, which is not equally to be loved in the character of God; that if we admire the tenderness and compassion of his character, we are admiring the very same qualities in the Father; that we do injustice to his representative character, if we do not receive it entire as a perfect reduplication of the mind of God. He would have us to believe, and to act on the belief, that so far from attempting to bribe and beguile our affections for God, by expressing for us a kindness to which the heart of God does not respond, he could not have omitted a single expression of that kindness without giving us a defective idea of the divine benevolence; that so utterly impossible would it be for him to give us an exaggerated conception of that benevolence, that could we by any process collect and concentrate all the varied expressions of his grace to a focal point, and receive the effect of the whole entire, and at once, that effect, after all, would be a bare and inadequate impression of the love of God to man. Whatever doctrine of grace he propounds, whatever promise he gives, whatever deed of love he performs, whatever divine attractions he exhibits,—every such attraction in him is to be regarded as an index to the same quality indefinitely greater in the character of God. The conduct of Christ is a copy, a living map of the immense expanse of the divine perfections, reduced from its infinite dimensions, and subdued to a scale studiously adapted to the feeble vision of man. The character of God, so infinitely reduced, is to be seen in the life of Christ; the excellences of Christ, if infinitely magnified and restored to their original proportions, are to be found in the perfections of God. The character of Christ is the conception of a being of infinite amiableness, seeking to engage the heart of a world that reasons by analogy, and to enamour it of divine excellence. How often did he authenticate the life of Jesus, and give it currency as a copy of his own. Had the Almighty Father veiled his glories, and dwelt among us, the

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history which now belongs to Christ would have related, word for word, his own condescending grace; so that, in every word and act of Jesus, we are to recognise, in effect, the voice and movements of paternal love.' pp. 66–69.

For the remaining sections, we must refer to the Work itself,—except that we wish to introduce under the head 'Of the Holy 'Spirit,' the valuable and practical remarks on the subject contained in the Preface; especially as we agree with the Author, that if there be one part of Our Lord's teaching more emphatically entitled than another to the character of inexhaustible fulness, and which distinguishes Him above all other inspired instructors, it is what he taught on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

'"He shall not speak of himself," said Christ; and, as if to supply the deficiency, to reward and provide for that disinterested and emphatic silence of the Divine Spirit concerning himself, our Lord made him the great theme of his own last discourses and promises. And when was he more original and explicit than when dwelling on this subject? What a vast tract of new truth did he add to the domains of faith, all fertilized and enriched with the effluence of the Spirit! On what topic was he more evangelical than on this?—even antedating the style of the epistles, and leaving little, if any thing, for them to add either in unction or in fulness. What subject did he equally rely on to console his disciples, and to fill them with expectation in the prospect of his own departure? He was in search of the strongest solace; and he had an infinite variety of subjects to choose from; but out of all that multitude the topic on which he chose chiefly to insist was the promise of the Holy Spirit. And what lofty things did he predicate concerning him? What names of greatness and goodness did he bestow on him! He made him the great promise of his new dispensation! And yet, what doctrine, what *leading* doctrine at least, is less insisted on in the church than the doctrine of divine influence? And, consequently, what promise is less fulfilled to the church than the promise of the Spirit? It is true, an occasional sermon is preached on the subject, just to satisfy the sense of duty: and an occasional restlessness is observable in parts of the church; but, alas! it is a starting *in* sleep, rather than an awaking out of it; like the spasmodic motions of a person who is visited in sleep by the reproachful remembrance of an important duty which he has consciously neglected; it is the involuntary agitations of the slumbering church, convulsively answering to the unwelcome reproaches of the unslumbering conscience. Other prophecies are considered; but the promise of the Spirit, the great unfulfilled prophecy of the gospel, is doomed, by general consent, to *stand over* for future consideration. Other blessings are desired; but this, which would bring all blessings in its train; which is offered in an abundance corresponding to its infinite plenitude, an abundance of which the capacity of the recipient is to be the only limit; of this we are satisfied with just so much as will save our sleep from deepening into death. Each falling shower—consecrated emblem

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of divine influence—the scantiest that moistens the thirsty earth, descends more copiously than the offered influences of the Holy Spirit, and reproaches us with the spiritual drought of the church. And so long have we accustomed ourselves to be content with little things, that we have gone far in disqualifying ourselves for the reception of great things; the *revivals* of the new world are still regarded by many "as idle tales."

'The church itself requires conversion. We pray for the conversion of the world; but the church itself, though in another, yet in a sober and substantial sense, needs a similar blessing. The object of conversion is two-fold; personal, and relative; to bless us, and to make us blessings. Individual conversion accomplishes the first object, by placing us in a personal and evangelical relation to Christ; the second can only be scripturally effected by the collection and organization of those who are so related to Christ into a church, and by that church advancing forwards and placing itself in an evangelical relation to the Holy Spirit. Now the prevailing sin of Christians is, that they are inclined to stop short at the first of these stages. They are, perhaps, sufficiently alive to the importance of preaching Christ as the author of redemption; for they have their own personal experience in evidence of its necessity; but they are not proportionally alive to the necessity of divine influence as the means of usefulness; for of that they have not the same evidence. Their conversion to Christ, as individuals, was scarcely more necessary to answer the first aim of the gospel, in their own salvation, than their conversion to the Spirit, in their collective capacity, is necessary to answer the second, in the salvation of others. I say their *conversion* to the Spirit;—for the change necessary has all the characteristics of conversion;—conviction of guilt in neglecting his agency, a perception of his necessity and suitableness, and earnest applications for his heavenly influence.' pp. xxii—xxv.

The Essays on the Spirituality, Benevolence, and Practicalness of Christ as the Great Teacher, display an exuberance of illustration. The Work proceeds with a sustained earnestness. The spirituality of Christ's kingdom, its total non-resemblance to worldly governments, and the spiritual nature of the Christian vocation, are pressed upon us with the cogency of reason, the tenderness of persuasion, and the ardour of a zeal, kindled at the altar of devout benevolence. What a portrait of the Divine Teacher is delineated in the fourth Essay! The tears wept over Jerusalem seem to have opened the fountain of tenderness in the Author's benevolent heart, and we cordially sympathize with him as he exclaims:—

'Pitiable, indeed, must be the state of that mind which can find itself at ease to debate a question of metaphysical divinity in the presence of the Redeemer's tears. Yet there are men whose creed has no place even for his sacred grief; who are actually annoyed at these tears wept over perishing sinners, as at heterodox variance with the Divine decrees; who frown at this precious distilment of infinite love as inconsistent with their views of divine inflexibility. There are those who would rather these tears had never been shed, or that the record

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of this burst of divine compassion should be expunged from the sacred page, than that it should remain as an obstacle to their logical views of the divine purposes. But we linger over it with delight; we love to remain within the softening influence, the hallowed contagion of the Redeemer's tears; we bless him for them; we regard the melting scene as only inferior in pathos, in tender and solemn grandeur, to Calvary itself.' pp. 326—7.

Practicalness is an ugly word. We do not think the Author always happy in his terminology. But, though we dislike the word, we acknowledge that it conveys a more definite meaning than any other which occurs to us. It stands for the moral results which it is the direct aim and tendency of the Saviour's teaching to produce; and expanded into a proposition, it is powerfully sustained by a beautiful and unbroken chain of eloquent argumentation. But again we must allow the Writer to speak for himself; nor can he or the public justly complain of us, that we have made him his own reviewer. We thus take leave of him, merely observing, that the wine he has furnished is of an excellent vintage, and of the best quality. All that it wants is—age.

'Of every other system it may be said, that it only actuates a part of our nature, leaving the rest like a palsied member of the body, unnoticed and unused; to Christianity alone belongs the high prerogative of calling every latent principle of our complex nature into action, giving appropriate exercise to every function, and proportion to every part; of animating, and maturing, and circulating like an etherial fluid through the whole, and bringing it to the perfection of "a man in Christ Jesus." Wherever it comes, it creates a capacity for true enjoyment, and puts all the universe in motion to gratify that capacity. It makes us feel that we exist under an obligation to be happy. Perfect itself, it pants to behold perfection in every thing else, and, since it finds it not already existing, it puts forth all its efforts to produce it. Perfect from the beginning, it has remained unchanged, while the arts, and sciences, and systems of a dateless antiquity have yielded to the demand for improvement. It has seen every thing human, contemporaneous with its origin, renovated and changed again; but, like the Jewish legislator when he had survived his generation, its eye is not dim, nor its natural force abated. It maintains its post in the van of improvement, and points the way to enterprise and hope, as the anointed leader of mankind. And however untried the paths, and high the distinctions which await them in their onward course, it will still be seen in exemplary advance, beckoning them on to the goal of perfection. No living springs of good shall gush from their hidden depths in human nature, which have not been smitten into existence by this rod of heaven; no forms of excellence shall arise to bless the world, of which it is not the parent, and the perfect type. Only give the gospel room to plant its moral apparatus, and let it obtain the necessary fulcrum for its powers, and it will employ a lever which shall move the world from the dark vicinity of hell, and lift it into the sunlight and neighbourhood of heaven.

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'However incredible the statement may appear to those who are unacquainted with the chimeras of error, there is a class of persons who, under the presumptuous pretence of enjoying an intimate acquaintance with the mind of Christ, and of magnifying his grace, profess to glory in the gospel as a dispensation from holiness. That such a dispensation would be highly acceptable to the children of disobedience, we can easily imagine; but that its advent should be ascribed to him whom hell itself acknowledged to be the Holy One of God, must be regarded as a masterpiece of impiety which bids defiance to imitation, as the last triumph of infernal art. Compared with the advocates of this blasphemy, he who only charges on the gospel a defective morality is a mere venial trifler; *he* only alleges that it is wanting in some of the elements of a perfect excellence; *they* claim for it as a peculiar glory that it dispenses with all excellence. For, by affirming that it discharges them from the law as a rule of life, they virtually declare that it legalizes vice, that it grants them a patent to sin under its own broad seal, that it naturalizes the alien and eternal outlaw, sin, and makes it a denizen of the kingdom of God. *He*, by pretending dissatisfaction with its unfinished excellence, is guilty of abating the ardour and expectation of the thirsty enquirer after the water of life; *they*, by adulterating the vital element, by infusing their own poisonous distillation, turn the very chalice of salvation into the cup of perdition. He wears no mask, he bears the mark of his master visibly stamped on his forehead, and takes on himself, so far at least as the character of the gospel is concerned, the undivided responsibility of his sin; while they, under the treacherous guise of an alliance with Christ, affiliate their monstrous enormities on his holy gospel, and throw its hallowed skirt over the nakedness of their pollution.

'This, it must be confessed, is a "doctrine of devils;" it partakes of the infernal too palpably to be mistaken; like a stream of volcanic lava it may be traced directly to the mouth of the pit which disgorged it, to scorch and desolate the earth in its progress. If demons can rejoice, the successful introduction of this error into the church must have furnished them with an occasion for exultation not less triumphant than that of the first transgression; it taught them that the paradise of the new creation is as accessible as the original Eden, that the upas can be grafted on the tree of life, that they might confidently repose on the success of this experiment, and regard it as final, secure that, after this, there is nothing too monstrous to be believed, or too good to be perverted, when human credulity and depravity are the materials to be employed. If he of our race who lent himself to be the first vehicle of this deadly sentiment, had aspired to the bad pre-eminence of eclipsing the first sinner, of enacting another fall of man, he could not have adopted a more effectual expedient. Beyond all proportion of demerit, he has purchased for himself the first place in the classification of the heretics, and troublers, and monsters of the church. Judas betrayed his master to the cross; but *he* has betrayed the cross itself, and all its loaded blessings, into the hands of the enemy of God and man; his name, like that of the Iscariot traitor, deserves to be the synonyme of all that is exaggerated and enormous in guilt.' pp. 386–389.

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Art. III. *Lives of the most eminent Literary, and Scientific Men of Italy, Spain, and Portugal.* Vols. I. and II. (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, Numbers 63, and 71.) London, 1835.

THIS valuable series now comprises upwards of seventy volumes. To how many more it is to extend, we have no means of divining; but no symptoms of exhaustion are at present to be detected, either in the subjects of the volumes or in the authorship. Some of the later ones rank amongst the most useful and elegant contributions to modern literature; and in this portion of the biographical series, we recognize with satisfaction the contributions of Southey, Montgomery, and other able writers, whose names, though not affixed to the several articles, are announced in the advertisements. It is this circumstance which has drawn our attention more particularly to these volumes, added to their being of that class which comes under the head of elegant literature, and which is the most interesting to general readers. Before, however, we advert to their contents, we shall take the opportunity of offering a few critical remarks upon the series of which they form part.

And we cannot refrain from premising, that this Cyclopædia has not been hitherto subjected to that competent and discriminating notice and examination, which its pretensions, its merits, and its defects alike call for. We regret that our own arrangements have not enabled us to keep pace with the monthly issue; and it is now next to impossible to bring up the arrear; but we believe that we have devoted more attention to it, in the shape of extended articles, than the series has received from any other journal. The weekly journals, metropolitan and provincial, have given that sort of laudatory notice to sundry and many of the volumes, which sufficiently answers the purpose of a publisher; but we do not recollect to have seen in any publication of higher pretensions, a critique, either upon the plan and general conduct of the Cyclopædia, or upon any particular section. If the work consisted of mere jejune compilations, (which is the character, we admit, of a few of the volumes,) the Quarterly Reviewers might be pardoned for omitting to take notice of them. Many of the volumes, however, belonging to the classes of history, natural history, and natural philosophy, are not less deserving of critical analysis and discriminating commendation than any of the productions issued from the press.

It cannot be expected that the result of such examination, if honestly and competently conducted, would be uniformly favourable to the execution of the work. Speaking generally, the scientific portion promises to be the most valuable of the series. The preliminary discourse on Natural Philosophy, by Sir John Herschel, and the erudite Treatise on Astronomy, by the same distinguished philosopher; Professor Powell's compendious historical view of

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the progress of Natural Philosophy; Mr. Swainson's preliminary discourse on the study of Natural History, and his volume on Systematic Zoology, deserve to be particularized among the volumes distinguished by the higher qualities of authorship, and requiring at the same time, in order to their being properly appreciated, a laborious examination by a scientific critic. The Cabinet of Natural History is to contain about fourteen volumes devoted to Zoology, by Mr. Swainson; while Botany, Mineralogy, and Geology have each a single volume assigned to them. We cannot say that this distribution strikes us as altogether judicious. That Conchology should occupy as large a space as Geology; and that three volumes should be given to Entomology, and only one to either Quadrupeds or Birds; will appear to most persons not less capricious and unsuitable than the arrangement which gives us a History of Spain and Portugal in five volumes, a History of the Fall of the Roman Empire in two, and a History of the Italian Republics in *one*. The attempt to render the treatises equally attractive to the general reader and the philosophical zoologist, has produced in some cases an awkward compromise, which a little interferes with the uniform and sustained character of the work, and is itself unfavourable to compression. Mr. Swainson is a very pleasing writer, and his volumes are full of entertainment; but he sometimes branches out into a train of observations which, if not altogether irrelevant, are too desultory and rambling for such a work: for instance, in his observations upon the present state of Zoological science in England, which, though comprising some useful suggestions, would have been more suitable in a lecture or in the pages of a literary journal, than in a Cabinet Cyclopædia. His volume upon the geographical distribution of animals and systematic zoology, which is extremely curious and entertaining, supplies another instance. Having, in the first 300 pages, taken for granted that the reader has already acquired a knowledge of the actual state of the science, he adds a chapter or two, rather out of place, by way of familiar explanation of the first principles of practical and scientific zoology, and descends from the didactic style to the colloquial, in a conversational chapter on the plan of study, in the manner following. We give the specimen, because we think that our readers will be pleased with the useful hints and directions, with which we have no fault to find, but their want of keeping with the character of a scientific treatise.

'Honest scholar, as Izaak Walton says, I shall now throw aside the professor's gown, with which the critics have bedecked me, and appear in my every-day suit. Let us talk of science as of ordinary matters; and, although I cannot conduct you by a short cut to what I have been some thirty years in learning, I may still make the way smoother and easier than if you were left to pore over strange phrases and un-

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known circles. Think yourself fortunate, by the way, in having a master of any sort. When I first began to collect shells and catch insects, the only guides we then had were "Da Costa's Conchology," and "Yeates's Entomology," neither of these worthies having any more idea about analogy and affinity than I had myself. Times, you see, are strangely changed. Now you may choose out of twenty systems; and, if you believe a modern professor, become "a very good naturalist," after taking "two or three walks in the country." This, to be sure, is a most royal, or rather a *rail-road* way to knowledge; but who will believe it is the right one? Not *you*, at least if you think me worthy of being your master. Remember that knowledge implies study, and that both are requisite to make a good pin as well as a good naturalist. "Alphabets" are very useful, but of what service are letters if they do not teach us words? and what are words without sentences? So with natural history. To get a few Latin names by heart, is like learning a few letters; any body can do this. Get some knowledge, therefore, of *first principles;* and after reading the *last* chapter two or three times over, look upon this as a conversation between us.

'Whatever may be the department of nature you feel a predilection for studying, you will find that some acquaintance with the general arrangement of that class or division of which it forms a part, will not only be interesting, but highly useful. If, for instance, attracted by the beauty of their plumage, and by the interest which an observance of their manners gives to a country walk, you fix your choice upon birds, you should begin with understanding what relation they bear to other vertebrated animals; then, upon looking to the first great divisions of ornithology, you will perceive that the order of *Natatores*, or swimmers, by constantly living in the water, represent fishes; the *Grallatores*, or waders, whose habits lead them as much to the land as to the water, signify the frogs and other amphibia; while the gallinaceous birds, forming the order *Rasores*, and comprising the peacocks, fowls, pheasants, &c., all distinguished by an uncommon length of tail, find their prototypes among the lizards, crocodiles, and other groups of the order of reptiles. Eagles and vultures, by masticating or tearing their food, resemble quadrupeds; while the great order of *Insessores* or perchers, comprehending the most perfectly formed of the feathered creation, comprise, of course, the most perfectly formed birds. You thus gain, with very little trouble, a general acquaintance with the rank or relation of your favourites, without entering into the further details of those groups with which you compare it. There are indeed few of the large divisions of zoology wherein, at present, this can be done; but a general acquaintance with the more obvious analogies is all that we can be supposed to recommend.

'You may next proceed to acquire an insight into the primary groups, and so understand upon what leading characters they are chiefly founded. Should you be desirous of studying Entomology, a general acquaintance with the manner in which the class *Annulosa* is divided, will point out the distinction of mere insects from such as are destitute of wings; and you will be in no danger of referring an apterous moth, or female glow-worm, to a wrong order. Proceed in this manner, gradually entering into further details as you approach that particular por-

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tion which you intend to investigate. The study of any one of the great divisions of annulose animals is ample occupation for a life; and the more you restrict your attention to one department, the more will you ultimately rejoice at your forbearance, in not wandering over the tempting but boundless fields of nature.

'To discover the name of a species is the ultimate object which all amateurs, and many professed naturalists, have in view. To do this, by merely turning over the plates of a zoological work, is manifestly a short and easy road to knowledge; but the superficial acquaintance thus obtained, however convenient and useful upon many occasions, will not satisfy the true naturalist. Hence he will begin by studying the composition of groups, before he descends into further details; and this, indeed, is inevitable, whether the student willingly consents or not. He finds, for instance, a beetle, and he wishes to know its name. He must, therefore, first ascertain to which of the great divisions of insects it belongs; the winged (*Ptilota*), or the wingless (*Aptera*); but this is not enough; he finds there are several orders in each of these great divisions, and he is detained in his search till he discovers to which of these orders his insect belongs. He finds that all such as have had wing-covers come under the order *Coleoptera*. He may possibly think his search is now drawing to a conclusion, but he will be very much deceived. He has to compare his insect with the characters of all the different tribes, families, and genera of this order. If, in the present paucity of good elementary books, he succeeds so far as to discover the genus of his insect, he may consider himself very fortunate. One more trial, and he comes to the species. Now it is quite evident, that if he makes himself acquainted with the leading characters of the great or primary divisions of entomology, he will be at once prepared to commence his search among the families or the sub-families, and thus abridge a great part of his labour. The adage says, the longest way at first is the nearest at last; and so the beginner will find in the case we have just instanced. To learn names by rote is parrot-like; it further partakes of the *scansorial* nature, by teaching him to be climbing over the wall, instead of pursuing the regular road to knowledge.'

pp. 353—6.

The Cabinet of History is a portion of the work which, though admirable in parts, is less satisfactory upon the whole, both in its arrangement and execution, than any section of the Cyclopædia. We have already hinted at the want of due proportion in the space allotted to the several countries and periods; and objections of a more serious character lie against some of the volumes. Dr. Dunham is evidently a very favourite contributor—at least with the Editor. He is the author of no fewer than twelve volumes of the thirty-four which have been published relating to civil history, and has in fact assigned to him nearly the whole range of European modern history. To the talent, research, and learning which he has evinced, we have, on former occasions, borne a willing tes-

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timony*; but there are other qualifications of an impartial and trustworthy historian, in which this Writer is most lamentably deficient. His furious attack upon the Albigenses, his advocacy of the doctrine of religious persecution, his fondness for the worthless legends of monkish lore, as displayed in the History of the Middle Ages, had so far betrayed the bias of his opinions, and the strong influence which they exerted over his statements, that we were less surprised than indignant at finding him, in his History of the Germanic Empire, the open assailant of the Protestant Reformation. The press is free; and Dr. Dunham has as good a right as Dr. Lingard to write history after his own fashion; it is quite open to him to represent Luther as a dissembler, a drunkard, and a fanatic, and Calvin as somewhat more respectable, but still a dangerous, intolerant heresiarch; but we must protest, in the strongest terms, against entrusting to such hands the drawing up of a popular history of the Reformation for a general Cyclopædia. We cannot think that the respectable publishers of this work would have knowingly dealed thus with their subscribers. These volumes are an insult to every Protestant, whose faith is, by Dr. Dunham, misrepresented and maligned with all the polemical bitterness of a jesuit. Bayle, Bossuet, and Maimbourg, are his favourite historical authorities in this portion of his labours, as the Monk of Vaulx-Cernay is for his attack upon the Albigenses. The doctrine of Justification by Faith, he treats with as little ceremony as he does the character of the Reformers; and the flippancy with which he disposes of the cardinal article of the Protestant faith, is as discreditable to his feelings as the historical account is to his literary integrity. Ought Dr. Lardner to have allowed such a man to write an attack upon the religion of this country, under cover of a history of the Germanic Empire? That we may not be suspected of exaggerating the Author's delinquency, we shall cite a few paragraphs.

'No casuistry can here save Luther from the awful charge of deception, unless we suppose that he wrote the letter† when under the in-

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* Eclectic Review, 3rd Series, Vol. VII., p. 441. (*History of Spain and Portugal.*) *Ib.* Vol. XI., p. 199. (*Europe during the Middle Ages.*)

† The letter in question is that which Luther addressed to the Pontiff Leo X., in 1520; upon which Mr. Scott makes the following remarks, in his Memoirs of the Lutheran Reformation. 'It must be owned that it was no easy matter for the Saxon Reformer, in his present state of mind and circumstances, to devise an epistle to a haughty pontiff, which should exhibit a becoming sense of subordination, do justice to his own conscience and cause, and at the same time escape

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fluence of wine, at the request of his boon companion Miltitz. Unfortunately, however, it is not the only instance of duplicity that can be adduced against him from his writings and his correspondence.'

Vol. III., pp. 17, 18.

'By most protestant writers, Luther has been highly praised for his courage on these occasions. In our opinion, they are the acts of one whose passions were ungovernably fierce; who, to gratify his personal resentments, would have wrapped the world in flames. That he acted prudently in withdrawing from the Roman Catholic communion before he was expelled from it, is manifest; but surely he might have done so with modesty. Half of his propositions, as condemned in the bull, richly deserved the censure.' *Ib.* p. 40.

'The Bible he well knew to be the most mysterious book in the universe (!!)—that passages could be adduced to support any article of faith; and over an unlearned people, his interpretation would have as much influence as that of his adversaries. Yet, though there appears throughout to have been much of calculation in his conduct, let us by no means insinuate that he was not sincerely impressed with the truth of the doctrines he taught. Erroneous as many of them were, the cause lay in his limited range of reading, in his ignorance of the original languages of scripture—for of Hebrew he was ignorant, and was no critic in Greek—in his imperfect acquaintance with the great commentators, especially with the apostolic fathers. But, if his conviction was sincere, was that any proof of its truth? .... In his personal antipathy to Rome, while smarting under the lash of his opponents, his *only object was to proceed as far as possible* from the beaten track of divinity: in this view alone did he peruse the Scriptures. .... Of him it may be truly said, that, in the word of God, he looked for his own passions, and found them.' *Ib.* p. 47.

After these charges of duplicity, intemperance, reckless violence and selfishness, cunning, arrogance, and fanaticism, the language of affected candour in which Dr. Dunham commences his formal summing up of the character of Luther may excite some surprise, but the drift of the entire passage is quite in harmony.

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the animadversion and censure of his enemies. But the honest mind of Luther, his simplicity and plain dealing, often effected that which it would have puzzled an intriguing minister of state to compass by the most artful policy. He has not indeed, on this occasion, escaped the opposite charges of hypocritical courtesy and of audacious insolence; but *as these have been made only by bigoted and ill-informed zealots of the Romish religion*, we may dismiss the slander without further notice .... The truly excellent and judicious Seckendorf calls on all the bitterest enemies of the Reformation to lay aside their prejudices, to read over and over again Luther's last letter to the pontiff, and not to stifle the honest convictions of their judgment and conscience. They cannot, he thinks, but admit, how well-devised it was to stir up the mind of Leo to a serious investigation and correction of abuses.'

pp. 91, 2.

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'That he had many estimable qualities; that he had a burning zeal for religion, a rare disinterestedness, unimpeached morals, incorruptible integrity, an unshaken patriotism; that he was always courageous, averse to war, and anxious to promote the temporal no less than the spiritual well-being of the people; are facts which, *though many of his enemies have denied*, have been acknowledged by the more candid. That his passions were impetuous, his vanity unrivalled, his fanaticism extreme, his intolerance equal to that of the worst popes, his jealousy of all rivals intense, his hatred of all opponents immitigable, his ideas often coarse, his language offensively vulgar; that he had little of the mild spirit of true religion,—that religion which softens and sanctifies the heart; are facts equally indisputable .... No man ever laboured more successfully to diffuse this abominable spirit of persecution. Before his time, the Roman Catholics were, in this respect, bad enough; but *he made them a hundred times worse*.' *Ib.* pp. 146, 7; 153.

The calm effrontery of these statements is truly *Roman*. We must give one more extract, in which our Historian, assuming the polemic garb, thus flippantly disposes of the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

'*Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved!* is the frequent and solemn injunction of Scripture: it means, Believe in the character and mission of our Saviour, in the divine authority of the religion which he inculcates, in the efficacy of his merits, sufferings, and intercession; in other words, believe the doctrines which he taught, and practise the duties which he enjoined. The peculiar propriety of this command at a time when Judaism and idolatry divided the whole earth,—a command which simply implied, *Forsake your present religion and embrace Christianity!*—must be apparent to every one. That, in such circumstances, it should be earnestly and incessantly enforced, was inevitable. But this meaning of the word *faith*, though so actual, obvious, and so universally received from the origin of Christianity, did not satisfy the professor of Wittemberg. As we have seen, he assigned to it one equally novel, inexplicable, and incomprehensible; thereby transforming religion into a system which excluded not only philosophy, but common sense.' *Ib.* p. 21.

The whole account of Luther's doctrinal sentiments is a tissue of the vilest misrepresentation. Of Calvin's intellectual character and attainments, Dr. Dunham speaks with higher respect, than of the Saxon Reformer; but, with similar disregard of historic verity, he represents him as having 'prevailed on the magistrates of 'Geneva to consign Servetus to the flames': and his description of Calvinism reminds us of the dress in which the Holy Office arrayed the victims of an *auto-da-fe*. We must not omit to notice his attempt to fix the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or at least of Consubstantiation, on the Anglican formularies.

'Whether some such disingenuous artifice may not have been employed in regard to a similar passage of our own Catechism; whether

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the words, " the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," have not been explained so as to mean nothing; we leave to the reader's reflection.' *Ib.* p. 181.

The insidiousness of the language corresponds to the sinister aim of the Writer, who, we must repeat, has committed as gross an offence as a literary man can well be guilty of, in thus abusing the confidence of the subscribers to this Cyclopædia, by making it the vehicle of his Popish theology and his malign bigotry.

It is not a little remarkable, that while Dr. Lardner's arrangement has given us a history of the Protestant Reformation, one of the most important sections of Church history, under the title of a history of the Germanic empire; the 'History of the Christ-'ian Church, by the Rev. Henry Stebbing,' which forms another portion of this Historical Cabinet, (Nos. 41 and 52,) comes down only to the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome of Prague, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It would seem that Mr. Stebbing had been restricted to two volumes; (another instance of a somewhat Hibernian arrangement;) and he concludes his history with the following apology for breaking off in the middle.

'We have now brought our history down to that period when the preparations for a great and remarkable change became evident throughout Europe. The detail and examination of the events which tended to this approaching revolution may be most profitably given with the narrative of the revolution itself. The state and revival of learning; the conflicts between the monastic orders and the clergy; the condition of the people, struggling at the same time for civil liberty, for information on the subjects which intimately concern them in all their various degrees and ranks, and for the clear and definite sanctions to immortal hope, which a pure faith alone can give;—these are the subjects which intimately belong to the period immediately preceding the Reformation; and they are subjects sacred to careful investigation, and to full, as well as deliberate statement. They involve principles dear to every friend of humanity, to whatever church or party he belongs; and the Writer may fairly be charged with folly and presumption, who could venture to approach near the limits of such a theme, *without having sufficient space to give to every circumstance of importance its due place and expansion.*'

Mr. Stebbing is an elegant writer, an accomplished scholar, and an ornament, by his enlightened liberality and piety, to the Established Church, at whose altars he ministers. The manner in which he has executed his task, warrants the belief that a history of the Reformation from his pen would have been a trustworthy, impartial, and competent review of that interesting period. As it is, his 'Church History' is an incomplete fragment, such as the subscribers to the Cyclopædia cannot, for this reason, be satisfied with. We have seen, however, that he comes

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down far enough to clash with his Popish continuator, the historian of the Germanic empire; and in their several accounts of John Huss, we have a curious and instructive specimen of the different colouring which may be given to the same characters and events, such as we should not have expected to find in the same series of histories. The following is Dr. Dunham's estimate of this great Confessor.

'In the system of the Hussites, or of their descendants the Methodists, an illiterate artisan would dogmatize with confidence where the Christian Philosopher would be humbly silent: and the mischief was increased by the admixture with religious rashness of the same dangerous doctrines regarding temporal government and property, whether temporal or ecclesiastical, that had so unfortunately distinguished Wycliffe*. . . . . The bitterness with which Huss assailed the possessions of the Church, nay, even of laymen; for, like Wycliffe, he taught that all property was forfeited by sin; his absurd notion, that there required no peculiar vocation for the sacerdotal office; that any man, or even woman, might preach; that even the sacraments might be administered by any one in a state of grace; that the church consisted only of those predestined to everlasting life; with many others which we shall soon have occasion to mention, could not fail to produce alarm. The same year (1414) John XXIII. wrote an urgent letter to Wenceslas, whom he besought to extirpate a heresy which threatened such consequences to the stability of civil no less than of ecclesiastical institutions; but Wenceslas took no notice of the letter. Amidst these transactions, the council of Constance was convoked. Here Huss was cited to appear; nor did he shew any hesitation to obey. With the majority of Christian Europe, he looked to a general council with intense interest, as an assembly that would beyond doubt reform the discipline, if not the doctrines of the Church; which would not only end the shameful schism, but produce a salutary effect on the constitution and character of the ecclesiastical body. To secure himself against the malice of his enemies,—and no man had ever more,—he procured a safe conduct from the emperor Sigismund, and repaired to Constance.' *Dunham,* Vol. II. pp. 231; 237.

Dr. Dunham does not attempt to justify altogether the treacherous imprisonment of Huss; it was '*impolitic* and unjust'; but he palliates the atrocity of the act as far as he dares, by alleging that its original object was only 'to prevent him from 'disseminating his doctrines during his stay at Constance,' and that his confinement was 'for some days lenient.' And when the

* For a refutation of this infamous Popish calumny on our great Proto-reformer, see Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, Vol. II., pp. 268—274. Also Le Bas's Life of Wiclif, pp. 350—361. What must we think of the integrity of the Writer who, regardless of such refutation, revives the base slander?

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effect of this 'lenient' confinement brought on severe illness, 'the Pope is *said* to have sent him his own Physician'!! We restrain the indignation which these bold falsifications of history excite. The charges brought against Huss, we are afterwards told, 'all appear to have been fairly derived from his writings'; '*and most of them, however agreeable they might be to certain* '*classes of dissenters at the present day, have little in common* '*with Christianity.* The first eight, which regarded the pre-'destination of the elect, would not have been disapproved by a 'Calvin or a Knox'; but by a Dunham, they are stigmatized as heretical and absurd. Huss, we are further told, 'was willing 'to regard all dignitaries as eternally reprobate,'—an assertion for which there is not the shadow of a pretext. In short, that his doctrines were 'generally mischievous, must be conceded,' says Dr. D., 'by every rational Protestant.' Then, 'repeated 'and urgent were the efforts made by emperor and noble, by 'pope and cardinal, by doctor and monk, to procure his recanta-'tion'; and in the proceedings of this infamous council, up to the point of consigning him to the secular arm, including the farce of his degradation, (all but the cap of devils,) this Writer '*cannot see there is much to condemn,*' since 'no reasonable 'man will deny that every church has a right to expel a refrac-'tory member from its bosom.' We turn with disgust from this Calumniator of the Reformers, and Apologist for their persecutors, to the account which Mr. Stebbing gives of the martyrdom of the Apostle of Bohemia.

'To carry on the prosecution of Huss with proper formality, the patriarch of Constantinople and two bishops were nominated as commissioners to inquire into his heresy, and examine witnesses on the subject. It was while these persons were busily engaged in the business, that the council itself had come to the determination of deposing the rival popes; and John XXIII., who had opened it as the supreme head of the church, was in consequence obliged to flee precipitately from Constance, and take refuge in Schaffhausen. This circumstance rendered it necessary to transfer Huss to the care of a new keeper; and the bishop of Constance was charged with the office of guarding against his escape. This, it appears, he did with unnecessary severity, in the fortress of Gottleben; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that the deposed pope was himself, in a short time, brought to the same prison.

'In the month of April, 1415, the cardinals of Cambray and Saint Mark, together with the bishop of Dol and the abbot of Cisteaux, were directed to complete the process against Huss, and at the same time draw up a formal condemnation of the doctrines of Wickliffe. This had already been done more than once; and certainly, if few things can exceed the wickedness of punishing men for their opinions, nothing can possibly exceed the folly of attempts to disprove doctrines by this authoritative mode of judging them. The sentiments of Wickliffe,

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however, were exhibited under a certain number of propositions, and then formally condemned. After this ceremony had been gone through, the council found itself at liberty, and perhaps thought itself in a more favourable condition, to prosecute its intentions with regard to Huss. He was, therefore, brought from Gottleben, and placed (heavily chained) in the Franciscan monastery. On the 5th of June he was called before the assembly, in order to be examined; but he had no sooner begun to read the propositions contained in his works, than the court was thrown into confusion by the clamorous exclamations of the more bigoted of its members, and the inquiry was consequently postponed till the 7th of the month.

'At the renewal of the examination, which was carried on in the presence of the emperor, Huss was accused of having testified his approbation of Wickliffe's doctrine respecting the sacrament; but this he denied having done: he, however, acknowledged that he considered the archbishop of Prague had acted erroneously in condemning the reformer's works without bringing any argument from Scripture to prove that what they contained was erroneous, and that he had indeed said what he was accused of saying, that is, that he wished his soul were in the same place as Wickliffe's. The examination, which was continued for some time, ended with his being sent back to his dungeon loaded with chains as before. The next day he was again brought before his judges, and the trial was recommenced by the reading of thirty-nine propositions, said to have been drawn from his writings. On each of these he was allowed to make what observations he chose; and when pressed by the emperor and several of the prelates to recant, he requested another audience, when, if he could not prove his opinions to be founded on truth and right reason, he promised to submit himself to the judgement of the church. He was, therefore, again sent to his dungeon, and the following day, a paper containing a form of recantation was presented to him, with a request that he would sign it. But neither persuasion, nor the prospect of the dangers which threatened him, could induce him to unsay aught that he had uttered; and he constantly declared, that he would retract nothing, unless it could be proved false by the authority of Scripture.

'Having at length exhausted all their arts in the vain attempt to draw Huss into a denial of his principles, the council next ordered his books to be publicly burnt, and soon after sent another deputation to discover if this had had any effect on his resolution, and once more to urge upon him the policy of recanting. But this effort was as fruitless as those before made: he answered the questions put to him by presenting a paper containing a declaration of his opinions in almost the same terms as those he had formerly used; and when, five days after, the emperor sent four bishops and two noblemen, to enquire if any change had taken place in his resolution, he replied, that he adhered to the declaration he had already delivered.

'This was the last attempt made on the firmness of Huss. The next day he was led before the tribunal of the council, and the proceedings were commenced by a sermon from the bishop of Lodi, who chose for his text Romans vi. verse 6.—"That the body of sin might be destroyed," which words, he, either with wilful absurdity or gross

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ignorance, perverted into an apology for the burning of those who disbelieve the doctrines professed by himself and his church. When this discourse was finished, the proctor demanded that the process against the prisoner should be brought to a close. The heads of Wickliffe's doctrines were then again read and condemned; after which the same formalities were gone through with those of Huss. He earnestly requested permission to explain or defend the several propositions separately as they were read, but this was denied him; and finding that any appeal to justice upon earth was useless, he called upon Jesus Christ as witness to his innocence. This was instantly made a cause of fresh accusation; and lifting his hands towards Heaven, he exclaimed, "Behold, most gracious Saviour, how the council condemns as an error what thou hast prescribed and practised! for, when overborne by enemies, thou didst commit thy cause to God thy Father, leaving us this example,—that when we are oppressed we may have recourse to the judgment of God. Yes! I have maintained, and do still maintain, that an appeal made to Jesus Christ is most just and right, because he can neither be corrupted by bribes, nor be deceived by false witnesses, nor be over-reached by any artifices. I came voluntarily to this council under the public faith of the emperor here present." As he uttered the last words, he fixed his eyes, it is said, earnestly on the emperor, who acknowledged how keenly he felt the rebuke, by blushing deeply at this allusion to his shameful perfidy or weakness.

'The trial, if so his examinations may be called, being at length brought to a close, the bishop of Concordia read two sentences; the former of which condemned his works, which were numerous and highly popular, to the flames. The latter was couched in terms which purported that the council, having the fear of God before its eyes, declared John Huss to be a manifest heretic; that his errors had been long since condemned by the church; that he had taught and preached many scandalous, perilous, and seditious doctrines; that he had perverted the people of Bohemia; that, in consequence of these errors, he deserved to be degraded from the sacerdotal and all other orders; and that, therefore, the council directed the archbishop of Milan, and six bishops, to execute this sentence of degradation, according to the form prescribed by law; after which degradation the church of God would no further concern itself with him, but deliver him over to the judgement of the secular power.

'Every means were taken, at the punishment of a heretic, to impress the minds of those who witnessed it with an idea of his utter fall and hopeless abandonment to destruction. It has ever been a favourite maxim with the church of Rome, that men may be taught both to think and to feel aright by constant appeals to their external senses; and this principle has taught it, not only to adorn its places of public worship with the richest production of art, but to plan its autos da fé with as much regard to scenic effect as the pageants of a jubilee. Had it not been for this, it would, doubtless, have despatched its opponents in a more summary manner, and John Huss would have been at once resigned to the executioner. But, instead of being contented with having secured his speedy destruction, the members of the council

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amused themselves, and a concourse of spectators, with a ceremony as senseless as it was unnecessary. The bishop, who had been charged with executing the sentence of degradation, first ordered him to clothe himself with his priestly garments, and take a chalice in his hand; which having done, they exhorted him to retract his errors. The answer he gave was similar to those he had returned to persuasions of the same kind before his condemnation; and the bishops, proceeding with the ceremony, took the chalice from him, at the same time pronouncing him accursed. They next stripped him of his priestly garments, and cut his hair in the form of a cross, to destroy all appearance of its ever having had that of a crown. When they had done this, they placed a tall paper mitre upon his head, in the shape of a pyramid, and on which three devils were painted, together with the word "Heresiarch." This being done, he was pronounced a layman, and was immediately delivered to the secular power to be put to death.

'That which increases so greatly the absurdity of this solemn farce —sufficiently ridiculous in itself—is, the fact, that the church of Rome professes to regard the ordination of its clergy as a sacrament; and, surely, if marriage be considered as indissoluble, because the nuptial ceremony is ranked among the sacraments, he who is once a priest must be always a priest; and, if punished, must be punished as a priest, and not as a layman—the stripping him of his garments being surely of little avail to nullify a solemn sacrament. The ceremony, however, being completed, and the reformer placed in the hands of the magistrate, he was led, without delay, to the place of execution. In conducting him thither, the officers who had charge of his person took him past the episcopal palace, in order that he might see the burning of his books, which had just been placed on the fire: but this made little impression on his mind; he was well aware that the seeds of truth had already taken root in the hearts of many; and that, even were it in the power of his enemies to consume every work which either he or any other advocate of religious freedom had produced, the cause must still prevail, and be finally successful. As he walked along, he continued to exhort the people, to assure them that he was unjustly condemned on the charge of heresy, of which he was not guilty, and to sing psalms; calling, from time to time, on Jesus Christ, to bear testimony to his innocence, and the purity of his intentions. Even the multitude was moved at the resignation and cheerful devotion which beamed in his countenance, and characterised all the sentiments of the martyr; and, when he knelt down on approaching the stake, and prayed aloud, with the fervent faith of a man about to die for his religion, some of the persons near him exclaimed, "What this man has done before, we know not; but we hear him now offer up most excellent prayers to God."

'All being ready for his execution, he expressed a wish again to address the people, but this was denied him; and the elector palatine, to whom the emperor had committed him, ordered the officers immediately to do their duty. Huss was then placed on a scaffold prepared for the purpose, with his face turned towards the east; and the wood being piled around him, he was once more asked if he would retract his errors. "No," he replied; "what I have written and taught, I

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wrote and taught to rescue souls from the power of the devil, and to deliver them from the tyranny of sin; and I do gladly seal what I have so written and taught with my blood!" These words were no sooner uttered, than the fire was lit, and a strong wind blowing the flames in the martyr's face, his labours and his sufferings were at once terminated.'

Stebbing's History of the Christian Church, Vol. II., pp. 333—338.

The Biographical Cabinet at present comprises eleven volumes; viz., Lives of Statesmen, 2 vols.; Lives of British Lawyers, 1 vol.; Lives of eminent Literary Men of Italy, &c., 2 vols.; Lives of Military Commanders, 3 vols.; and Lives of British Admirals, with an Introductory 'naval history,' by Dr. Southey, 3 vols. Ecclesiastical Biography does not seem to enter into Dr. Lardner's plan. Yet he may possibly intend to give us a Life of Wycliffe, by Dr. Lingard, and of Latimer by Dr. Dunham! It is one result of that want of judicious arrangement which pervades, we regret to say, the distribution of the series, that we have some duplicate histories and duplicate biographies from the pens of different contributors. Who would have expected to find, under the head of Military Commanders, a Life of Oliver Cromwell? For this, however, an apology is offered; and another Life of the Protector will be found under the series of British Statesmen. Again, in Professor Powell's Historical View of the Physical Sciences, we have a Life of Galileo; while another and longer memoir of the same illustrious philosopher is given in the second volume of the Lives of Literary and Scientific Men; agreeing, of course, in the main facts, but containing some variations of detail. Of these two volumes, we now proceed to give a more particular account. Their contents are as follows.

Vol. I. Dante.—Petrarch.—Boccaccio.—Lorenzo de' Medici, &c.—Bojardo.—Berni.—Ariosto.—Machiavelli.

Vol. II. Galileo.—Guicciardini.—Vittoria Colonna.—Guarini.—Tasso.—Chiabrera.—Tassoni.—Marini.—Filicaja.—Metastasio.—Goldoni.—Alfieri.—Monti.—Ugo Foscolo.

The life of Dante is from the pen of Mr. Montgomery, the best biographer a poet could wish to have; and he has enriched a memoir which unites the rhythm of prose to the spirit of poetry, with some felicitous specimens of translation from this most difficult of modern authors. The Rev. Mr. Cary's translation of Dante has been pronounced to be the most faithful and successful transfusion of poetry from a foreign language that has ever been executed. Mr. Montgomery remarks, that it 'may be said to 'fail in nothing except the versification'; a very material exception. In spite of the high and just encomiums passed upon it, however, new Translators have ambitiously tried their skill upon the same difficult task; and Dante continues to seduce and

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baffle as many of his admirers as Goethe. Mr. Montgomery, in the few specimens he has given, will, we think, excite the wish of his readers that they had been more numerous: they are in blank verse, which, had Dante been an Englishman, he would have chosen: how musical may be its flow, will be seen in the following lines, in which Dante represents his ancestor Cacciaguida as prophesying his future banishment, with the miseries and mortifications he should suffer from the ingratitude of his countrymen.

> 'For thou must leave behind thee every thing
> Thine heart holds dearest. This will be the first
> Shaft which the bow of exile shoots against thee:
> And thou must prove how salt the bread that's eaten
> At others' tables, and how hard the path
> To climb and to go down a stranger's stairs.
> But what shall weigh the heaviest on thy shoulders,
> Will be the base and evil company
> With which thy lot hath cast thee in that valley;
> For every thankless, lawless, reckless wretch
> Shall turn against thee. Yet confusion, soon,
> Of face shall cover them, not thee, with blushes:
> Their brutishness will be so manifest,
> That to have stood alone will be thy glory.'

The remarks upon the genius of Dante and the character of his poetry, are a very admirable specimen of generous yet discriminate criticism. We regret that we can make room only for a portion of it.

'Though the first appearance of the "Divina Commedia," in any intelligible edition, is repulsive from the multitude of notes, and the text is not seldom difficult and dark with the oracular compression of strong ideas in few and pregnant words, yet will the toil and patience of any reader be well repaid, who perseveringly proceeds but a little way, quietly referring, as occasion may require, from the obscurity of the original, to the illustrations below; for when he returns from the latter to the former, (as though his own eye had been refreshed with new light, the darkness having been in it, and not in the verse,) what was colourless as a cloud is radiant with beauty, and what before was undefined in form becomes exquisitely precise and symmetrical, from comprehending in so small a compass so vast a variety of thought, feeling, or fact. Dante, in this respect, must be studied as an author in a dead language by a learner, or rather as one who employs a living language on forgotten themes; then will his style grow easier and clearer as the reader grows more and more acquainted with his subject, his manner, and his materials. For whatever be the corruptions of the text, (which perhaps has never been sufficiently collated,) the remoteness of the allusions, and our countrymen's want of that previous knowledge of almost every thing treated upon, which best prepares the mind

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for the perception and highest enjoyment of poetical beauty and poetical pleasure, Dante will be found, in reality, one of the most clear, minute, and accurate writers in sentiment, as he is one of the most perfectly natural and graphic painters to the life of persons, characters, and actions. His draughts have the freedom of etchings, and the sharpness of proof impressions. His poem is well worth all the pains which the most indolent reader may take to master it.

'Ordinary poetry is often striking and captivating at first view, but all its merit is at once elicited; and frequently that which charmed so much at first becomes less and less affecting, less and less defined, the more it is examined, till light turns to mist, and mist to shadow in the end; whereas the highest order of poetry—that which is *intellectual*—the longer it is dwelt upon, the lovelier, the nobler, the more delightful it appears, and when fully understood remains imperishable in its graces and effects; repetition a thousand times does not impair it; its creations, like those of nature,—familiar, indeed, as the sun and the stars,—are never less glorious and beautiful, though daily before us. Dante's poetry (extravagant and imaginative as he often may be) is thoroughly intellectual; there is no enthusiasm of feeling, but there is much of philosophical and theological subtlety, and of course much absurdity in some of his reveries; yet his passion is always pure and unaffected, his descriptions are daylight realities, and his heroes men of flesh and blood. Probably no other work of human genius so far exceeds in its development the expectation of prejudiced or unprepared readers, as the "Divina Commedia;" or performs, in fact, so much more than it seems to promise.' pp. 52—54.

'Dante was the very poet, and the "Divina Commedia" the very poem, to be expected from the influence of all existing circumstances in church and state at the time when he flourished. The poet and his age were homogeneous, and his song was as truly in season as that of the nightingale in spring; the winter of barbarism had broken up, the summer heat of refinement had not yet come on: a century earlier there would have been too much ignorance, a century later too much intelligence, to form such a theme and such a minstrel; for though Dante, in any age, must have been one of its greatest bards, yet the bard that he was he could not have been in any other than that in which he lived.' p. 55.

The life of Petrarch is not all that it should be. There is too much about Laura, and too little about the great scholar and his works, and the revival of learning, to which they contributed. This defect is partly made up in the life of his contemporary and friend, Boccaccio. Passing over the intermediate memoirs, we come to that of Ariosto, which we cannot be mistaken in referring to the same pen as has supplied the Life of Dante. In proof of this, we need but transcribe the concluding paragraph of the valuable critical remarks upon this poet's grand and strange *chef-d'œuvre*; the recent translation of which by Mr. Rose is pronounced to be 'elegant, spirited, and probably as true to the text

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'as any readable paraphrase can be,' under the peculiar difficulties of the task.

'Ariosto, in following the fashion of contemporaries, lighted upon a theme to which his wayward and versatile genius was peculiarly adapted, and which gave it an opportunity of displaying all its peculiarities to the utmost advantage. Of these, the most enviable and least imitable is that perfection of art, which he perhaps possessed beyond every other writer, to say things naturally. All his wonders and prodigies are made so easy and probable, that to the most fastidious reader, who does not resolutely resist the spell of the poet, and deprive himself of the pleasure of being beguiled by it, they appear as they would do if they were actual events, from the daylight effect of his truth-telling style; for whenever his delight in the extravagant carries him beyond the legitimately marvellous, he disarms resentment, and prevents the laugh against himself by a quiet pleasantry,—becoming himself the Cervantes of his own Quixotes. Satirists, however, have done little to improve mankind: they have condemned and promoted vice; they have ridiculed and recommended folly. Instead of being the most chaste, severe, and instructive, it is notorious that (with few exceptions) they have been the most profligate, pernicious, and corrupting of all writers. Many of the most illustrious deserve to be crowned and decapitated, and their laurelled heads fixed on poles round the heights of Parnassus, as warnings to others, while they affect to expose sin, not to betray virtue; and while they declaim against lewdness, not to become panders to debauch the young, the innocent, and the unsuspecting. To go no farther than the example before us. If ever man deserved poetical honours, Ariosto did; and if ever poet deserved the curse of posterity for the prostitution of high talents, Ariosto does. Without presuming to judge him, even for his worst offences, beyond the present world, it had been better for many of his readers,—why should we not say, at once, for all of them?—that he had never been born. Whatever be her beauty, his Muse has a cancerous sore upon her face, which cannot be looked upon without loathing by any eye, not wilfully blind, where it ought to be eagle-sighted.'

pp. 254, 55.

The Life of Tasso, by the same delightful biographer, occupies seventy pages of the second volume, but not one too many. It is a touching story, beautifully told; and we have only to regret that it does not comprise a critical estimate of the Poet's writings, which, it is pleaded, would have required a distinct essay of equal length. The lives of Galileo, Alfieri, Monte, and Ugo Foscolo, are, in different ways, very interesting pieces of biography; but we must refrain from further extracts. Upon the whole, these are two delightful volumes, and we give Dr. Lardner credit for having called in such competent aid. His task as editor, we are quite aware, must be one of considerable delicacy—sometimes of difficulty. The public are under no small obligations to him

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for the spirit with which the series has been hitherto carried on; and he must pardon us if we have spoken strongly—we confess that we feel very strongly—as to the impropriety of allowing so valuable a series of volumes to be deteriorated by the productions of incompetent writers, or of those whose literary competency renders more flagrant and *noxious* their insidious perversions of fact, and pernicious errors.

Art. IV. 1. *A Journey to St. Petersburgh and Moscow,* through Courland and Livonia. By Leitch Ritchie, Esq. (Picturesque Annual for 1836.) 8vo. 25 Engravings. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* in morocco.

2. *The Tourist in Spain.* Andalusia. By Thomas Roscoe. (Landscape Annual for 1836.) Price 1*l.* 1*s.* in morocco.

3. *The Oriental Annual,* or Scenes in India. The Descriptive Account by the Rev. Hobart Caunter, B.D.

4. *Forget me not;* a Christmas, New Year's, and Birthday Present for 1836. Edited by Frederick Shoberl.

5. *The Amulet* for 1836. Edited by S. C. Hall.

6. *Friendship's Offering* for 1836.

HAVING already noticed the decorations of this year's 'Annuals,' their most attractive feature, we shall now be expected to take some notice of their contents.

The Picturesque Annual, as we have already intimated, is devoted to the illustration of the ancient and modern capitals of Russia; the 'Tartarian Rome' and the Palmyra of the Baltic. Mr. Leitch Ritchie has presented to us, in this Volume, the result of his observations during a journey undertaken for the express purpose. Without indulging in theory or controversy, he 'has given a plain account of what he saw with his own eyes, and 'heard with his own ears;' and of these, it cannot be denied, that he has made the best use. He anticipates that his narrative will be condemned by former travellers and their admirers: why should it be? Intelligent travellers will not always receive the same impressions, or draw the same conclusions, from what they see, even if their opportunities of information are similar and equal; and in Russia, things do not absolutely stand still, so that the latest account stands a fair chance of being the truest. At the present moment, it is highly important that the internal condition and relative position of Russia should be well understood; and to this desirable object Mr. Ritchie's Volume will effectively contribute. He seems to be aware, indeed, that discrepancies will be observed in his own representations, quite as material as between his account of Russia, and that given by his predecessors. That is to say, Russia is itself full of the dis-

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crepancies and anomalies which result from the unequal advance and partial extent of civilization. 'I have,' he says, 'no system to uphold, and no design but to relate faithfully what I know. I honestly believe that the progress already made, and now making, by the Russians, in civilization, is without a parallel in the history of nations; but at the same time, that progress has by no means been equal throughout their institutions.'

Mr. Ritchie entered Russia from the Prussian frontier, by way of Mittau and Riga. Speaking of the peasantry of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia, he remarks, that hitherto, their emancipation has been an equivocal benefit: 'they are only progressing towards a state of freedom;' and their ignorance prevents their turning to account the degree of liberty which they possess. But, '*Slavery, the great barrier against civilization, has been overthrown;*' and our Author predicts that, fifty years hence, the traveller in the Baltic provinces of Russia will find a free and flourishing peasantry. The fall of the Narova, at first view, disappointed Mr. Ritchie; and he expresses reasonable surprise that Mr. Rae Wilson could have supposed it to be 1000 feet broad, and 473 feet high, when, at the only spot where the cataracts produce a fall, the river is just 100 paces broad, and the descent is but 12 feet! But Mr. Rae Wilson is given to committing very extraordinary blunders. He visited Lebanon, and tells us that the ancient cedars near Eden are about fifteen feet in height; that is, half their circumference!! The striking effect of the fall in question, when seen from the proper point, is derived from the rush and roar of the far-extending volume of water. It seems to be the only picturesque object to be seen between Memel and the Russian capital.

St. Petersburgh is so thoroughly picturesque, that it is all picture,—'like the scene of a theatre, which you must not by any means look behind, if you would not destroy the illusion.'

'The streets are wide, and the walls painted white or light yellow; and from one street opens another, and another, and another—all wide, and white, and light yellow. And then, here and there, there are columned façades, and churches, and domes, and tapering spires—all white too, that are not gilded or painted a sparkling green. And canals sweep away to the right and left almost at every turning; not straight and Dutch-like, but bending gracefully and losing themselves among the houses. And there is one vast and glorious river, as wide as the Thames at London, and a hundred times more beautiful, which rolls through the whole; and beyond it, from whichever side you look, you see a kindred mass of houses and palaces, white and yellow, and columned façades, and churches, and domes, and spires, gilded and green. The left bank of this river is a wall of granite, with a parapet and *trottoir* of the same material, extending for several miles; and this forms one of the most magnificent promenades in Europe. The houses on either side look like palaces, for all are white, and many

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have columns; and there are also absolute *de facto* palaces; for instance, the Admiralty, the Winter Palace, and the Marble Palace on one side, and the Academy of Arts on the other. The water in the middle is stirring with boats leaping and sweeping through the stream, with lofty old-fashioned sterns, painted and gilded within and without.'

The *Nevski Prospekt*, nearly two miles and a half in length, and averaging the width of Oxford street, is lined with trees, and has a magnificent scenic effect. 'If,' says Mr. Ritchie, 'you 'can imagine such a thing as a street of *gin-palaces*, just after 'the painting season, you may form an idea, scarcely exag-'gerated,' of this street. The lateral streets which diverge from it at right angles, are all of the same character, and appear to be inhabited by the same classes of society; and the view is terminated ever and anon by domes and spires. There are no lanes, no alleys. The whole is one splendid picture, gorgeous, gigantic, imposing, but without moral character, without historical associations; the architecture exhibiting a jumble of classical forms, often badly imitated and badly arranged. Only the churches within the city, and the log-huts without, are truly Russian, and have a national air. The streets are too wide to seem populous, even when a crowd is collected by some military spectacle; in general, a dead tranquillity reigns. No one is in a hurry; there is no bustle, no elbowing, or heel-treading; no disorder, owing 'partly to the natural mildness of the Russian character,' partly to a well-organized police; and the population seem scarcely to belong to the place in which they have been arbitrarily congregated. In fact, a large portion of the inhabitants are birds of passage. Of 128,000 peasants, between 50 and 60,000 reside in the capital only part of the year.

'The *mujik* (peasants) in St. Petersburgh, is a solitary animal, so far as the women are concerned, and perhaps to this may be owing his habitual gravity. In spring he comes from his village far in the interior,—perhaps many hundred miles, and in autumn returns to his family with his little earnings. Each class of labourers comes from a particular government; and hence in the city they appear to form so many distinct tribes. The finer sort of work, however, is always intrusted to foreigners. The joiners, for instance, may be natives, but the cabinet-makers are Germans. No nobleman would condescend to have his clothes made by a countryman of his own, or to eat of bread that was baked by native fingers. An exception, however, is made, in one respect, in favour of the fair sex. The wet nurses are taken from the peasantry, and are distinguished in the streets by a kind of lofty crown, generally covered with gold lace.

'In most other European cities, the upper and lower classes are but little distinguished from each other in dress, except by the quality of the materials; or in manners, except by the degrees of refinement or of vulgarity. Here they form, to all appearance, two separate and

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distinct races. Elsewhere the common people are partakers in the civilization of the gentry; they follow their steps at a greater or less distance, in education and knowledge; and are, to all intents and purposes, members of the same family of man. Here, on the contrary, there is hardly one idea in common between the two classes. This is the grand distinctive feature in St. Petersburgh. This is the peculiarity in the Russian empire which makes it the most curious, and, to the philosopher, the most interesting spectacle presented to-day in Europe.

'The cause of all the anomalies exhibited by the country may be traced to the suddenness with which civilization took its rise, and the celerity of its progress. The great majority of the nation were in that state of barbarous dependence from which England, for instance, only emerged after many centuries of struggles. The nobles were awakened all on a sudden to a consciousness of their situation with regard to the rest of Europe. A reaction in their feelings even took place; and from the extreme of barbarous pride and ignorant intolerance, they rushed at once to the opposite extreme of liberality. Strangers, who formerly travelled in their country with as much difficulty and danger as in China, were received with acclamations, and loaded with gifts and distinctions. They threw open their churches, which had hitherto been hermetically sealed against heretics; and even permitted temples of every possible religion, to flourish by the side of their own. They travelled abroad, for the first time, to see that world, which they had so long contemplated only through the mists of prejudice; and imitating or transplanting whatever struck their imaginations most, they began to build a new Rome among the snows of the north.

'The mass of the people in the meantime,—the cultivators of the fields, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water,—could not possibly remain uninfluenced by this spirit of revolution. A corresponding change took place among the peasantry. Ambition and pride were generated where nothing of the kind ever existed before; and to this moment, every day, every hour, some individuals are detaching themselves from the mass, and rising into the rights and privileges of freemen. This is provided for by the laws of the country; and this consummation, it is well known to all persons possessing information on the subject, is not only the earnest desire, but the obvious personal policy of the emperor. In a future chapter, I shall offer some remarks on the nature and extent of the change; but at present it will only be necessary to suggest, in reply to an anticipated question, that the *peasants* of Russia form a mass of about *fifty millions*, and that, setting every extraneous obstacle out of the question, the progress, both moral and political, of such a body, is necessarily much slower, than that of a body of a few hundred thousand. Supposing that a number of the peasantry equal to that of the whole body of nobility has been raised, in so short a space of time, to the benefits of civilization,—and the number is much greater,—still, in so vast a population, this must be imperceptible on a superficial view, and the distinction between the two classes of society must remain, to all appearance, as broad as ever.

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'But with regard to our immediate affairs, St. Petersburgh is a city of the nobles, built at their own cost, and according to their own taste. The common people either burrow in their shops under the dwellings of the great, or live, in the usual dirt and crowd, in the hollow squares formed by the houses,—for of course all the exterior must be clean, and showy, and glittering to the eye. As for the *mujiks* from the interior, who give so much of the foreign and picturesque to the show, they are only birds of passage, who come hither to pick up a few crumbs from the abundance generated by the wealth and wants of a great metropolis.' pp. 77—81.

St. Petersburgh is thirty-five versts (equal to two-thirds of a mile) in circumference, and from eight to nine in length; an immense area, to which the number of inhabitants is still far from proportioned. In 1725, the capital contained 75,000 inhabitants: in 1832, nearly 450,000, of whom 294,468 were male, and only 154,900 female. The clergy were 2188, the soldiers 39,437, the tradesmen 66,366!

Having given these specimens of Mr. Ritchie's Russian sketches, we must not proceed with him further south. A journey from St. Petersburgh to Moscow is no longer the formidable undertaking that Dr. E. D. Clarke found it; and our Traveller found the road excellent, the inns exceedingly comfortable, the living 'good or bad as he chose;' and he seems to insinuate a doubt whether there could be any occasion to caution travellers to provide themselves with the articles recommended by the learned Doctor, ten years ago. Of Moscow, he gives upon the whole a pleasing picture; and he represents the present autocrat in a more favourable light, both as a ruler and as a man, than his recent treatment of the Poles would prepare us to expect. By his Muscovite subjects, 'he is loved almost to idolatry.' The fact is, their loyalty *is* idolatrous; a part and parcel of their superstition.

We give the following anecdotes, though we marvel at the stress that has been laid upon them. Similar ones are recorded of Napoleon, who was beloved at Paris, at one time, as intelligently and devoutly as the Czar is by the mujiks of Moscow, or as was the late Emperor Francis by his Austrian children.

'On my arrival at Moscow, the whole of this variegated population were stirring like the inhabitants of a bee-hive. There seemed to be a "sensation" in the town, as if something prodigious had happened —as if another Alexandrine column was erecting itself in the Kremlin. "The Emperor is come!"—this was the cry; and the nobles were yoking their coaches and four, the droskis flying, double loaded, along the streets, and the mujiks, male and female, rushing like a whirlwind after. At St. Petersburgh, where the Emperor habitually resides, he is a man of—considerably upwards of six feet; but nothing more. He reviews his troops before the palace, goes out to walk with his wife and children, strolls along the English quay; and although

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every hat is moved that is in the way, very few come on purpose to move. And why?—because they can come at any time.

'In Moscow he is a rarity; in Moscow, which is a *Russian* city, he is loved almost to idolatry. "Our little father!" cry the mujiks, looking up into his face with devoted affection, as he struggles through them.

'"Come now, make a little room for me," says the Emperor, passing on with his hand raised to his hat; "do, brother, stand out of the way!" The occasion is like a fête through the whole town; and the Kremlin, to which every body has access, is like the scene of a great fair. The palace, defended from the people by no enclosure, is surrounded by a dense crowd of men, women, and children, from morning till night. Sometimes a beautiful little boy, one of the young princes, climbs up to the window to look out, and all heads are instantly uncovered, as if it was Nicholas himself.

'One day the imperial mother of this really fine family was sitting at the window, looking down upon the crowd, when the Emperor coming behind her, put his arm round her neck and kissed her. No one unacquainted with the Russian character can conceive the effect of this simple act. The general shout that came from the lips of the people arose from the holiest depths of their heart; and I venture to say, that there was no man of that vast concourse who would not have laid down his life for the Czar, and no woman who would not have urged her son or husband to do so.

'The Emperor, who is a very tall and a very handsome man, is naturally of a lively disposition. He is always dressed with great precision, and every one understands that it is necessary to appear before him both well-dressed and with a cheerful countenance. He is easy of access; and seems to think an appearance of state almost unnecessary. At St. Petersburgh, however, at each side of the door which leads to the imperial apartments, stands a black man dressed in gorgeous Eastern costume. There are twelve of these men, who relieve each other alternately in the duty of opening and shutting the door, and announcing the name of the visitor.

'After breakfast, the Emperor's first care is to go to the nursery to see his children, and ascertain how they have slept. He takes each of them up, kisses them, romps with them—for he is full of frolic, and glad to be a boy again when the cares of the world will let him.

'Their Majesties dine at three o'clock (the general hour for the upper classes in Russia) with perfect simplicity; and towards the conclusion of the meal, the Grand Duke Alexander and the younger children come in to kiss their parents. When they rise from table, the Emperor bestows upon his consort also some hearty kisses. He calls her "his wife;" but the Empress, who is a Prussian, never alludes to him but as "the Emperor." She speaks English extremely well, but Nicholas only indifferently.

'"The character of the Emperor and Empress," writes an English friend to me, "is such that it is difficult to speak of them without exciting in strangers a suspicion that the description is overcharged. It is no exaggeration to say that I never saw a family where *more* affection and harmony existed, and that I believe the examples to be

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very rare indeed where *so much* can be discovered. I have frequently seen these illustrious individuals surrounded by their children, and have partaken of the influence every one receives who witnesses the scene; and I can say, that in their domestic virtues they are worthy of being held forth as a pattern, not only to all sovereigns, but to all mankind."

'At St. Petersburg, Nicholas has frequently gone home in a droski when it rained; and once having no money in his pocket, the isvoschik, ignorant of his quality, detained his cloak till he sent down his fare.'

The Tourist in Spain transports us this year to proud Seville and the plains of Andalusia. Like the former volumes, it is extremely desultory, but presents an agreeable *mélange* of historical anecdote, romance, and descriptive narrative. For much of the information comprised in the notes descriptive of the plates and vignettes, the Editor acknowledges his obligetions to the personal observation of Mr. Roberts, whose pencil has been so elaborately and effectively employed upon the splendid subjects with which these provinces abound. We do not know that we can take a more pleasing specimen of the varied contents of the volume, than the account of Cadiz.

'Admirably adapted for commercial pursuits, this favoured site drew the attention of the oldest navigators. Centuries before the Christian era, the Phœnicians, from their colony at Carthage, pushed their dominion beyond the Pillars of Hercules even to Britain, and established themselves along the coast of Spain. Gades was the most important of these colonies.

'Among the singular antiquarian remains,—coins, inscriptions of the Greek, the Phœnician, and the Roman,—the following is said to have been found on one of the ancient tombs:—"Heliodorus, a Carthaginian madman, ordered, by his will, that he should be put into this sarcophagus, at this farthest extremity of the globe, that he might see whether any one more mad than himself would come as far as this place to see him."

'In more modern history, as in ancient times, Cadiz has been distinguished as the scene of extraordinary and stirring events. The memorable expedition commanded by Essex, in the days of Elizabeth, carried destruction in its train, taking ample vengeance on the threats and insults of the tyrant Philip, at the expense of the unfortunate inhabitants, the beauty and antique splendour of the then lordly and wealthy Cadiz. The flower of English bravery, led on by the Effinghams, the Raleighs, the Howards, the Cliffords, the Carews, the Veres, seemed to spring from its "home of the deep," and fell, sudden as a bird of prey, upon the startled city. No sooner had Effingham made signal to attack, than Essex, who had been enjoined by the queen to consult his safety, pressed forward from the centre, eager to be the first to enter the place. He had beheld Sir Walter bearing with all sail into the innor harbour, and forgetting his sovereign lady's love, he threw his hat overboard in the impulse of his gallantry, and made his

way, under a dreadful fire from the batteries, through the merchant ships of the port laden with bullion and precious stuffs. They were run on shore; but finding that they could not be preserved from falling a prey to the resistless valour of the English, the Spanish admiral caused them to be burnt. The conflagration was terrific; and Essex, sailing off, seized upon Puntalis. Then, pursuing the narrow causeway between Leon and Cadiz, in spite of the continued fire of the battery, he stormed the city, sword in hand, with his few veteran volunteers. They gained possession; but the garrison and inhabitants fought for every inch of ground, and from house to house. It was not till nearly five thousand were slain, that resistance ceased, and the place was given to plunder. The two commanders took up their quarters in the town hall, whither the authorities of Cadiz came, as it is emphatically expressed, *to kiss their feet*. Rapine was put a stop to, but not before many valuable evidences of its ancient power and splendour had perished, and the living beauty, as well as the past, become the prey of military rage and licentiousness. Private houses were rifled, churches sacked and desecrated, and many valuable public edifices and collections, throwing light on the history of the city, destroyed. It is difficult to convey an idea of the execrations of Spanish historians and monks, at that period nearly synonymous, when speaking of this fatal and humiliating event, while Philip still reigned in the plenitude of his power.

'Ancient Cadiz, in fact, perished with the statue of Alexander and a thousand interesting objects, which united her with the great cities of the past. The Spaniards beheld the horrors which the success of the Invincible Armada would have inflicted upon the towns and cities of England, and the gloomy monk-king must have trembled on his ensanguined throne, as he heard the terrible vengeance inflicted by a few gallant spirits from the land of heroism and freedom.' pp. 244—247.

Mr. Caunter's present volume completes the first series of the Oriental Annual. Commencing with Madras, he takes us thence to Tanjore, Madura, and, traversing the Mysore country, to Malabar. We are then transported to Maskat, in the Persian Gulf, and, after returning to Bombay, are treated with an appropriate romance of two chapters, the heroine of which is the daughter of a Parsee Friar Tuck. Elephanta and Salsette occupy the remainder of the volume. All this ground has been so well beaten that novelty is not to be looked for. Mr. Caunter has evidently been a little put to it for materials, some of which he has fetched from Arabia, and others from Caubul. But, viewed as a book of light reading, for the drawing-room table, it is respectably and pleasingly executed; and though, in our estimation, the scattered illustrations of natural history are by far the most interesting portions of the work, there are many readers to whom the story of the Guebre Priest will yield more amusement than all the rest of the volume. The following story will, however, better suit our pages.

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'In the jungles about the neighbourhood of Tillicherry, there is a large species of monkey, frequently tamed by the natives, and at a village a short distance from this celebrated seaport we had an evidence of the remarkable sagacity of this animal. A few yards from the house of the person to whom it belonged, a thick pole, at least thirty feet high, had been fixed into the earth, round which was an iron ring, and to this was attached a strong chain of considerable length, fastened to a collar round the monkey's neck. The ring being loose, it easily slid up the pole when he ascended or descended. He was in the habit of taking his station upon the top of the bamboo, where he seemed perched as if to enjoy the beauties of the prospect around him;—this was really striking. The crows, which in India are very abundant and singularly audacious, taking advantage of his elevated position, had been in the daily habit of robbing him of his food, which was placed every morning and evening at the foot of the pole. To this he had vainly expressed his dislike by chattering, and other indications of his displeasure equally ineffectual; nothing that he could do was of any avail to scare away these unwelcome intruders upon his repasts. He tried various modes to banish them, but they continued their periodical depredations. Finding that he was perfectly unheeded, he adopted a plan of retribution as effectual as it was ingenious.

'One morning when his tormentors had been particularly troublesome, he appeared as if seriously indisposed: he closed his eyes, drooped his head, and exhibited various symptoms of severe suffering. No sooner were his ordinary rations placed at the foot of the bamboo, than the crows, watching their opportunity, descended in great numbers, and, according to their usual practice, began to demolish his provisions. The monkey now began to slide down the pole by slow degrees, as if the effort were painful to him, and as if so overcome by indisposition that his remaining strength was scarcely equal to such exertion. When he reached the ground, he rolled about for some time, seeming in great agony, until he found himself close to the vessel employed to contain his food, which the crows had by this time well nigh devoured. There was still, however, some remaining, which a solitary bird, emboldened by the apparent indisposition of the monkey, advanced to seize. The wily creature was at this time lying in a state of apparent insensibility at the foot of the pole. The moment the crow stretched out its head, and ere it could secure a mouthful of the interdicted food, the watchful avenger seized the depredator by the neck with the rapidity of thought, and secured it from doing further mischief. He now began to chatter and grin with every expression of gratified triumph, while the crows flew around, cawing in boisterous chime, as if deprecating the chastisement about to be inflicted upon their captive companion. The monkey continued for a while to chatter and grin in triumphant mockery of their distress; he then deliberately placed the captive crow between his knees, and began to pluck it with the most humourous gravity. When he had completely stripped it, except the large feathers in the pinions and tail, he flung it into the air as high as his strength would permit: and

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after flapping its wings for a few seconds, it fell to the ground with a stunning shock. The other crows, which had been fortunate enough to escape a similar castigation, now surrounded it, and immediately pecked it to death.

'The expression of joy on the animal's countenance was altogether indescribable; and he had no sooner seen this ample retribution dealt to the purloiner of his repast, than he ascended the bamboo to enjoy a quiet repose. The next time his food was brought, not a single crow approached it, and I dare say that, thenceforward, he was never again molested by those voracious intruders. The scene was, in truth, well worth witnessing.' pp. 173—175.

The Forget-me-not we must pronounce to be not only one of the best of the series that has yet appeared, but it bears away the palm this year from all competitors of the same class. The embellishments are excellent, and appropriate; yet they do not form the chief attraction of this very pleasing volume, which does great credit to both publisher and editor. Our first specimen is from a very entertaining paper by W. L. Stone, Esq., entitled Life in the Woods.

'It happened that, on one occasion, Castor had been kept out rather later than usual at a winter dance, and was wending his way homewards just in the grey of the morning. While crossing an old "cleaving," near the edge of the woods, bounding which stood a deserted and dilapidated log hut, he was set upon by a large pack of wolves from all directions, like a swarm of Cossacks upon a straggling platoon of Napoleon's grenadiers. He rushed with all possible speed into the hovel, the door of which stood wide open to receive him, but positively refused to be shut to keep out the foe, who now pressed so closely upon him, filling the air with their howlings, that he was obliged to spring upon a beam to prevent being torn to pieces. But the wolves, sorely pressed for a breakfast, were not slow in climbing the logs after him, and he would most assuredly have formed their morning's banquet but for a bright thought. He had somewhere seen the hackneyed rhapsody of the poet,

"Music hath charms to soothe the savage beast;"

or perhaps he had heard repeated the passage from Prior's Solomon,—

'"Often our seers and poets have confest
That music's force can tame the furious breast;
Can make the wolf or foaming boar restrain
His rage—the lion drop his crested mane,
Attentive to the song."

'Thus beleagued, he determined to try the effect of the concord of sweet sounds upon their unsophisticated ears, whereupon he struck up the brisk tune of Yankee Doodle on his new Holland fiddle. The effect was magical. The party of Chateaubriand were no tmore success-

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ful in charming the rattle-snake with a flute at Niagara. The wolves were no longer bristling and barking with rage, and ready to devour him, but became as silent and attentive as so many Scotsmen at the ballad of Robin Adair. But, poor Castor! he would much rather have fiddled for forty country-dancers than a single party of wolves, since no sooner did he cease to play than they recommenced hostilities. The weather was cold, and his fingers were too much benumbed to allow him to traverse the strings. But, no matter; his unwelcome visitors were inexorable, and he was obliged either to allow himself to be eaten or to keep on fiddling. I have heard mention of the weariness of the fiddler's elbow, but never did elbow ache like John Castor's on that morning, and what added to his perplexity was, the giving way of his instrument; cat-gut and horse-hair will not last for ever, and string after string had snapped asunder, until the base was the last remaining, and the wolves began to manifest less satisfaction for the one grum note, "so long drawn out", but not in "linked sweetness." Just at this interesting crisis, however, my old friend Seymour, and his yet more athletic brother, appeared, being on their way to the saw-mill, and the wolves thereupon made a retreat—equally precipitate and welcome to their prisoner.

* * * * * *

'It was late in the summer when Bacon entered upon his new premises, so that he had only time to erect a log cabin, and cut down the timber of a few acres, before the commencement of winter. Contrary to the advice of the earlier settlers, he persisted in building his house upon the flats. He was admonished of the hazard he was running, in the event of a heavy freshet in the spring, but to no purpose. The alluvial soil of the interval was so much better adapted to the purposes of a garden than the upland, and the prospect of looking out upon a broad level so inviting, that he was not to be diverted from his design. And, besides, the site he had chosen was upwards of a mile from the river, and was moreover elevated like an island, some three or four feet above the general surface of the alluvial plain; so that he was quite sure so small a river could never rise so high, or spread so wide. "Never mind," said his neighbours, "you'll find it out in the spring, if the river don't run off t'other way."

'But the worthy emigrant had no idea of the quantity of snow which falls in that region, or of the magnitude of the flood which would follow its rapid dissolution in the spring. It so happened, that the snow fell to an extraordinary depth during the ensuing winter, and the month of March was so cold that the sun had but little power upon it. The consequence was, that, instead of gradually disappearing, the whole body of snow was left to melt suddenly beneath a warm April rain, by reason of which the river was swollen to an extent never before witnessed by the settlers. The snow had fallen so deep that but little intercourse was kept up among the scattered inhabitants during the winter, and Mr. Bacon had lived almost as secluded as a bear in a hollow tree,—perhaps his nearest neighbour.

'During the warm rain just mentioned, which poured like a deluge from the clouds upon the materials for another deluge below, the

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solitary had observed the rapid dissolution of the snow and the corresponding rise of the river, but he still thought himself secure, and retired to his lonely bed soon after sun-down, with his usual composure and unconcern. Before midnight, however, he was startled from his slumbers by the cracking of trees and the rush of waters. He sprang from his couch, and found himself leg-deep in water upon his own floor!

'There was no time for his toilet; it was evident that not a moment should be lost; and, what was still worse, it was too dark to make his escape, even if the flood would admit of it. His only course of safety, therefore, was to climb the tree nearest to his house, and await the dawn of the morning, yet many long and wearisome hours distant. Notwithstanding the depth and force of the water, he succeeded in reaching and ascending the tree, and seated himself with tolerable security among its branches. But it was a dismal night. The unseasonable cold bath he had taken was no addition to his comfort, while, from the roar of waters, and the occasional crash of trees, it was evident that the icy fetters of the river had been broken up, and that the freshet with increasing volume was sweeping onward with tremendous power and velocity. The next cake of ice, moreover, might, in its irresistible course, bear away the tree which was his own supporter! His mind was not very imaginative, otherwise his sufferings might have been a hundred fold greater than they were. Still his situation was sufficiently critical and painful. The longest night, however, must have an end, and day at length dawned upon the sleepless eyes of Roger Bacon. But the darkness disappeared only to show him the most cheerless and fearful prospect upon which his eyes had ever rested.

'One of the first objects discerned upon the approach of light, was the destruction of his house, which rose upon the waters, and was soon dashed to pieces on its furious current, the logs of which it was composed floating promiscuously away. He next saw the whole valley of the river a waste of waters, rushing onwards with a mighty impulse, and bearing upon their surface huge cakes of ice, with broken timber and decayed trunks of trees, now whirling in eddies, and now borne onward upon the maddened torrent, with tremendous force, cutting away and bearing down everything in their course. What was to be his own fate, or whether a rescue were possible, he could not tell.

'Nor was this all that was unpleasant in his situation. For an hour before daylight he heard a distant scream, which seemed approaching nearer at every repetition; and it had now become so distinct as to enable him to recognize the cry of a panther! Should the furious animal scent him in the air, his fate was too certain to be helped by insurance! Nor was he long in doubt upon this point. From its cries, the animal must be rapidly approaching him; and the flood which was sweeping below him afforded no protection in the emergency, since the panther could travel by springing from tree to tree, almost as well as upon the ground.

'At length he saw the shaking of the limbs of a tree at no great distance, and,—what a situation for a man of sensibility,—a mighty chaos of waters beneath, whirling yet more angrily along, from the

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huge masses of ice and fragments of timber borne upon their troubled current, and into which it was certain death to plunge, with the almost inevitable prospect of becoming the breakfast of a panther if he remained! Another scream close upon him: another tree was shaken, and yet another! Another moment of yet deeper interest passed; and he saw indistinctly the body of an animal. Again it sprang, and again. The dreadful crisis had now arrived; for at the distance of not more than forty yards, he saw in full view a huge panther, crouching upon an enormous limb with cat-like watch, and evidently measuring the distance to his intended prey, preparatory to the last bound. His large, green eyes, flashing with rage, glared hideously upon him, while, as he uttered a hoarse and frightful growl, his blood-red mouth disclosed a set of fangs anything but inviting to a poor mortal, expecting the next moment to be within them. Bacon grasped the limbs by which he was holding, with convulsive energy. The ferocious animal uttered another dreadful yell, his hairs bristled, he drew his back up into a curve, and commenced the rapid and tremulous shake of his tail, the unerring signal of the final leap,—his burning eye-balls glowing yet more fiercely. He made the leap with the swiftness and precision of an arrow; but, by a tremendous effort, Bacon succeeded in giving the branch, upon which the panther caught, such a sudden shaking, exactly at the right instant, as to prevent his making a secure lodgement of his talons. The monster attempted to recover, but could touch no branch of the tree with his hindmost feet; and he was thus suspended for a moment by his claws, and hung dangling in the air, at full length, over the wide abyss of waters. But Bacon continued shaking the limb, and it was evident by the giving way that the terrible animal could sustain himself by his talons but a few seconds longer. The panther himself now raised a piercing cry of terror, and the next instant the grasp of his claws gave way, and he fell with a howl of horror into the torrent, yet rushing onward with increasing velocity. The monster clung for a moment to a broken limb, upon which he struck; but he was soon drawn beneath the surge, and borne away among the ice and drift-wood, to trouble honest yeomen, living in single blessedness, alone in the woods,—no more.

'In the course of the day the neighbours began to remark the precarious condition in which the freshet had probably found their solitary neighbour; and after the ice and broken timber had so far passed away as to render it safe to put forth a canoe, he was relieved from his perilous situation.' pp. 60—62; 74—79.

Juliana is an admirable story, extremely well told. Miss Lawrance has furnished one of her inexhaustible legends of the olden time. James Montgomery, Mary Howitt, Charles Swain, Henry Chorley, T. K. Hervey, L. E. L., Delta, and Laman Blanchard, are among the poetical contributors; and the volume closes with some lines from the oaten reed of the Ettrick Shepherd, whose lips are now closed for ever in death. As we can make room for only one more extract, it must be the following elegiac stanzas.

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'THE DEATH OF THE RIGHTEOUS.

'IN MEMORY OF E. B.

'Her's was a soul of fire that burn'd,
Too soon for us, its earthly tent;
But not too soon for her return'd
To Him from whom it first was sent:
Grave! keep her ashes, till, reclaimed from thee,
This mortal puts on immortality.

'Her's was a frame so frail, so fine,
The soul was seen through every part—
A light that could not choose but shine
In eye and aspect, hand and heart;
That soul rests now, till God, in His great day,
Remoulds His image from this perish'd clay.

'Body and soul eternally,
No more conflicting nor estranged,
One saint made perfect *then* shall be,
From glory into glory changed:
This was *her* hope in life, in death, may *I*
Live like the righteous, like the righteous die!'

J. MONTGOMERY.

We regret that we cannot bestow either very high or quite unqualified praise upon our old favourite, the Amulet. The embellishments are not of that well chosen and highly finished character which we have been accustomed to find in this Annual; and as to the contents, though there are some good articles, there is one which we cannot pass over without an expression of both censure and regret. In the following paragraphs, taken from a tale entitled 'The Bengal Missionary,' by Captain M'Naghten, the reader will find a covert attack upon the Dissenting Missionaries, which, though rendered innoxious by the Writer's obvious ignorance of what he undertakes to write about, is not the less offensive and pernicious in its tendency.

'THE BENGAL MISSIONARY.

'From a superficial view of these differences of faith, and variety of rites, some unreflecting people have ridiculed the term "mild," as applied to the national character of the Hindoos, for, they ask, can the followers be "mild" of that religion which commands (here they assume the fact, or, at best, argue after a petitio principii) the destitute widow to immolate herself on the pyre of her husband—the miserable pilgrim to have himself crushed to death beneath the wheels of an idol's sacred car—and the ignorant fanatic to swing himself from iron hooks which perforate the muscular integuments of his shoulder.

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This with much more of a similar description, sounds well and forcibly enough in the ears of uninformed men, and in the tone of ignorant declamation; and by the mass of those before whom it is employed, the facts are shuddered at, and the inference is admitted. Yet the chief characteristic of the Hindoo is indubitably mildness.

'The Hindoo religion is essentially inoffensive, the Mosaic, the Mahometan, and the Catholic, essentially the reverse; and it may well be doubted whether Boodhism tends more to darken the human mind, which it induces to put forth in the efficacy of its few recommended (for it has no enjoined) sacrifices of the nature described, than do the two last-named faiths—the former by engendering and nourishing a firm belief in a sensual Heaven, to be gained by deeds of sanguinary persecution; and the latter, by compelling the blind and absolute credence of its professors in the sure efficaciousness of corporeal laceration, the certain benefit of posthumous expurgatorial masses for the soul, and the entire sufficiency of an earthly absolution and remission of their sins. We are too apt to condemn a religion with which we are not very familiarly acquainted, without taking the requisite pains to compare it with those which circumstances have enabled us more deeply to examine, and the ceremonies of which have no longer the power of novelty to startle or revolt us. It is thus that the Brahminical religion has frequently been condemned for incomparable superstition and cruelty of principle, when a very little reflection and comparison would convince the censurers that it yielded to several others in its most idolatrous and bloody traits, and greatly surpassed them in the amount of its humanity.

'Without setting myself up as a profound theologist, or a most exemplary and faultless Christian, I can yet judge with impartiality between the several religions that are best known to a commonly-informed person; and wholly free from persecuting bigotry, I am a sincere friend to the cause of heathen and other conversion to what I devoutly believe to be the least erroneous faith. But while I give willingly and unqualifiedly my entire assent to the pious and philanthropic sincerity of those who compose our Bible and other coadjutant associations for the dissemination of the gospel, I do not, and I never did, concur with them as to the mode in which they proceeded so recently as twelve years ago, of converting to Hindoos by the exertions of erratic and often illiterate missionaries, who madly began by reviling the religion they were sent gradually to subvert; and who deemed the stern and censuring style of the primitive apostles (they never reflected on the difference between their own unletteredness, and the inspiration of the Deity), the only model on which *their* preachings should be delivered. In that part of the system, I never could concur, nor can I say that I have ever been opposed by a sufficient defence of it, though this is neither the first nor the most public manner in which I have expressed my sincere conviction of its utter inefficiency. The natural mildness of the Hindoo character was never more forcibly exemplified, than by the forbearing manner in which these traducers of their ancient religion were received. They were uniformly listened to with the most urbane attention, and they neither exhausted the patience, nor excited the vengeance of their gentle auditory; but they would

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soon have succeeded in diffusing alarm, where they failed to spread conviction, had a notion been generally, as it certainly was partially, entertained, that the British government contemplated the use of force in the work of conversion. I need not say what the consequences would have been, nor how difficult the task of re-establishing confidence.

'In the year 1816 a most alarming rebellion was fostered and increased, if not actually commenced in the district of Bareilly, by the apprehension of such a procedure; and both Mussulman and Hindoo (the detesters of each other's faith) united in such formidable and determined numbers to frustrate the apprehended design of subverting both, that many lives were sacrificed, and much popularity lost, before the government authority could be fully re-established. In many instances (some of them within my personal knowledge) the supreme power has had to interfere, by ordering back to Calcutta, from the interior of the country, certain wandering missionaries, whose extreme indiscretion was producing the most dangerous consequences to the State, while, at the same time, it greatly injured the sacred cause with which they were entrusted. No wonder! the majority of these spiritual envoys were of low degree, and of little education.

'A learned and a pious divine, like the incomparable Bishop Heber, did, and will ever do, more spiritual good among the natives of India, than a myriad of such well-meaning but ignorant envoys as were formerly sent there.'

We find no fault with the Captain for not being 'a profound 'theologist,' but when he talks of the essential inoffensiveness of the Hindoo religion—that is of the worship of Kali and Seeva;—and of 'the natural mildness of the Hindoos,'—to wit, the Thugs, and Phansigars, and Pindarrees, and Decoits of Bengal and Hindostan, and the Rajpoots of Malwah and Marwar;—when he praises the tolerance of the Brahminical extirpators of the Buddhic tribes, while every part of India exhibits the monuments of the desolating wars carried on between the votaries of different deities,—he betrays an ignorance which is discreditable in any one who undertakes to write upon such subjects, but the more unpardonable in one who attempts to build ingenious inferences upon such premises. His account of the causes of the insurrection of 1816, is, however, worse still: it is a falsification of well attested facts. A eulogy upon the amiable Bishop Heber, coming from such a pen, is indeed cruel satire. Were the good Prelate still living, how deeply wounded and mortified would he feel at the disparaging encomiums which have been passed upon him, by worldly and indevout men who misunderstood his character!

Among the other contributors to the Amulet will be found the names of the Ettrick Shepherd; the Author of Corn-Law Rhymes; Viscount Strangford; Thomas Kerrick; the Author of Selwyn; Mrs. Godwin; Mrs. Hofland; Miss Landon;

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Mrs. S. C. Hall; Miss Mitford; Miss Pardoe; Charles Swain; Isabel Hill; Laman Blanchard; Horace Smith; the Author of Darnley; and Dr. Walsh. There is also a paper, entitled 'The Spirit of Philosophy,' which bears the name of William Hazlitt,—we presume a posthumous production. A splendid array of contributors; and there is a very fair display of talent; but we find nothing that we can conveniently extract, the longest communications being—which is not always the case—the best.

Friendship's Offering awakens solemn and painful recollections. The Editor of the previous volumes, our lamented friend Thomas Pringle, was to have been succeeded by Mr. Inglis, the Author of some popular sketches of Ireland and the Channel Islands; but he, too, has been suddenly cut off in the prime of life; and Mr. Harrison, well known to our readers by his 'Tales of a Physician,' has been called to supply his place. Under such circumstances, it would be unfair to criticise very narrowly the contents of a volume prepared under some disadvantages; but there will be found a very agreeable admixture of tale, essay, and poetry. From the latter we select the following elegant verses.

'HOPE.

'By T. K. Hervey.

'Again—again she comes!—methinks I hear
Her wild, sweet singing, and her rushing wings!
My heart goes forth to meet her with a tear,
And welcome sends from all its broken strings.
It was not thus—not *thus*—we met of yore,
When my plumed soul went half-way to the sky
To greet her; and the joyous song she bore
Was scarce more tuneful than *its* glad reply:—
The wings are fettered by the weight of years,
And grief has spoiled the music with her tears!

'She comes! I know her by her starry eyes,—
I know her by the rainbow in her hair,—
Her vesture of the light of summer skies;—
But gone the girdle which she used to wear
Of summer roses, and the sandal-flowers
That hung, enamoured, round her fairy feet,
When, in her youth, she haunted earthly bowers,
And culled from all their beautiful and sweet:—
No more she mocks me with the voice of *mirth*,
Nor offers, now, the garlands of the *earth!*

'Come back! come back!—thou hast been absent long;
Oh! welcome back the sibyl of the soul,—
Who comes, and comes again, with pleading strong,
To offer to the heart her mystic scroll;

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Though every year she wears a sadder look,
And sings a sadder song,—and every year,
Some further years are torn from out her book,
And fewer what she brings, and far more dear;—
As, *once*, she came, oh! might she come again,
With all the perished volumes offered *then*.

'But come!—thy coming is a gladness yet,—
Light from the present o'er the future cast,
That makes the *present* bright,—but oh! regret
Is *present* sorrow while it mourns the *past*,
And memory speaks, as speaks the curfew-bell,
To tell the daylight of the heart is done,—
Come like the seer of old, and with thy spell,
Put back the shadow of the setting sun
On my soul's dial; and with new-born light,
Hush the wild tolling of that voice of night!

'Bright spirit, come!—the mystic rod is thine
That shows the hidden fountain of the breast,
And turns, with point unerring, to divine
The places where its buried treasures rest,—
Its hoards of thought and feeling:—at that spell
Methinks I feel its long-lost wealth revealed,—
And ancient springs within my spirit well,
That grief had choked, and ruins had concealed,—
And sweetly spreading, where their waters play,
The tints and freshness of its early day!

'She comes! she comes! her voice is in mine ear,
Her wild, sweet voice, that sings, and sings for ever,
Whose stream of song, sweet thoughts awake to hear,
Like flowers that haunt the margin of a river,
Flowers that, like lovers, only speak in sighs.
She comes! I know her by her radiant eyes.
And if a darker shade *be* on her brow,—
And if her tones *be* sadder than of yore,—
And if she sings more solemn music now,
And bears another harp than erst she bore,—
And if around her form no longer glow
The *earthly* flowers, that in her youth she wore,—
That look is holier, and that song more sweet,
And *Heaven's* own flowers—the stars—are at her feet!'

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Art. V. *Travels in Ethiopia*, above the second Cataract of the Nile, exhibiting the state of that Country, and its various Inhabitants, under the dominion of Mohammed Ali; and illustrating the Antiquities, Arts, and History of the ancient Kingdom of Meroe. By G. A. Hoskins, Esq. Map and Plates, 4to., pp. xix. 367. London, 1835.

WHY is it that travellers are so perpetually losing sight of their proper vocation, and wandering into all sorts of theories and unprofitable imaginations? In proportion to the pleasure we derive from an unvarnished and straight-forward narrative of observation and adventure, is the annoyance inflicted by the intrusion of hypothesis, and the substitution of empty speculation for plain reasoning. 'Facts, not comments,'—would be our urgent advice to the tourist, unless he were prepared to enlighten the world by such an exhibition of evidence and inference as few men have the ability to collect or to combine. The simplification of mechanism applies, in its beneficial effects, to affairs of authorship, as well as to matters of handicraft; and, excepting in the rare instances to which we have just alluded, it might be well if the explorer of far countries would attend to one thing at a time, using his head simply as the regulator of his eyes and hands, and eschewing, as the most irredeemable of literary offences, the first whisper of temptation to make a book, or to interweave a thesis.

We are sorry to say that this slight interruption of our usually bland and imperturbable mood, has been occasioned by the volume before us. Mr. Hoskins evidently possesses many of the best qualifications of a thorough-bred traveller. Undismayed by danger, present or menaced; patient of the miseries and inconveniences of travelling, even amid the privations of an African desert; active and observant; such a man could not but make a clever and instructive book, and he has accordingly given us a work full of valuable information, and enriched with a profusion of most interesting illustrations, both picturesque and scientific. Views, plans, sections, elevations, with copies, both plain and coloured, of hieroglyphic sculpture and decorative painting, are even lavishly introduced, and we are quite sure that nothing short of an extensive sale can indemnify the Author for his actual expenditure. He has evidently looked upon the whole concern as one in which he was interested, not as a mere writer, but as an amateur and a discoverer. Now these, it is cheerfully admitted, are excellent things; and we are not disposed to make it cause of quarrel, that they are mixed up with ingredients less attractive and less trustworthy. The worth of a writer's positive information is not materially affected by the failure of the hypothesis to which it may please him to make his facts subservient.

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Still, it is not agreeable to be interrupted in a plain and easy course, by the intrusion of opinions essentially unsound, and, as usual, cherished with an affection strong in proportion to their unsoundness. Mr. Hoskins, in short, has a hobby which, as hobby-riders invariably do, he spurs through thick and thin; and this *monture* is an affair of no less magnitude than the Ethiopian origin of Egyptian and European science and art.

'Ethiopia, above the second cataract, including the metropolis of the ancient kingdom of Meroe, had been explained by very few Europeans, and only two Englishmen; yet it abounds with monuments rivalling those of Egypt in grandeur and beauty, and possessing, in some respects, a superior interest. According to Heeren, Champollion, Rosellini, and other eminent inquirers, whose judgement was confirmed by my own observations, this was the land whence the arts and learning of Egypt, and ultimately of Greece and Rome, derived their origin. In this remarkable country we behold the earliest efforts of human science and ingenuity.'

We have small disposition to examine the works of the *savans* here referred to, for the purpose of ascertaining in what terms they may have expressed the opinion assigned to them, since not even their authority could reconcile us to an hypothesis so completely destitute either of intrinsic plausibility, or of positive evidence. Nor does Mr. Hoskins adequately supply their absence, by a clear and extensive induction of ancient testimonies. We suspect, indeed, from the extremely defective and awkward way in which this branch of the inquiry is handled, as well as from sundry perilous stumbles in his Latinity, that he is not much skilled in these matters. He seems, in fact, himself somewhat aware of this, for he rests his decisions mainly on a subtler kind of knowledge, a faculty of discrimination which, how satisfactory soever it may be to his own feelings, will not, we fear, commend itself to the confidence of others. But more of this hereafter. Our further comments will find a fitter place when we reach the localities to which his criticisms refer.

Originally intending to pay a brief visit to the Valley of the Nile, Mr. Hoskins was tempted by the marvels of Thebes, to a much longer sojourn; and he ultimately determined, with an imagination kindled by the anticipated glories of Meroe, to encounter the privations and perils of a desert journey, that he might study, at the fountain-head, the first outbreaking of European civilization and refinement. One great inducement to this step offered itself in the actual presence of an Italian artist, much praised by Mr. H. for professional skill, and further recommended, not only by his own assurances of great personal valour, but by the contribution of a double-barrelled blunderbuss to the general system of defence. The Signor's resolution does not,

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however, seem to have been full proof: he exhibited frequent symptoms of retrogradation, and gave way to despair when the casualties of the road denied him his habitual soup. With this efficient ally, and with the further aid of a *camera lucida*, Mr. Hoskins was prepared to fill his portfolio with correct drawings of the antiquities of Upper Nubia and ancient Meroe. He was the more anxious to effect this purpose, in consequence of a well grounded suspicion that much of what had been given to the world as genuine illustrations of Ethiopian antiquity had very little pretension to accuracy: the drawings of Caillaud, in particular, appear to fail lamentably in this respect.

It was early in February, 1833, when Mr. Hoskins commenced his journey; and reaching Assuan on the 5th, he succeeded, after much delay, in procuring camels for his journey to Makkarif, the capital of Berber, including a harrassing and somewhat perilous *reach* of the great Nubian desert. Mr. H. was a good deal annoyed by the apprehensions of his attendants and the trepidations of the valorous Signor Bandoni, previously to starting: they had listened to the orientalisms of the Arab merchants until they had come to 'hold each strange tale devoutly true,' and to indulge a very natural dread of a territory where, to use the expressive language of the 'Rais of the Cataract,' *it rains fire.* The earlier part of the road lay along the banks of the Nile.

'The best way of seeing to advantage the scenery on the Nile, is, certainly, to ride on its banks; in a boat the effect is lost. The finest view we have had this morning, was in descending from the mountains opposite Tafey. The basalt and red, but exteriorly dark-coloured granite, contrasted with the light red sand of the desert, similar rocks and sands in the distance, in the midst the serpentine river, with its verdant banks, adorned with groves of palm trees and the interesting remains of temples, all illumined with the clearest blue sky and the most gorgeous sunset, formed often a scene to which few painters could do justice. Though not romantic nor strikingly picturesque, according to the original import of those terms, yet the extraordinary contrast and magical effect produced by this wonderful combination of brilliant colours, are magnificent, and present almost insuperable difficulties to the artist who attempts faithfully to delineate such a landscape.'

At Korosko, the travellers left the Nile, and entered on the desert. They had met, on their way, various parties who had just crossed the arid tract on which they were about to enter; and from all they had received the same friendly advice—*look to your water skins.* Yet were they put to much inconvenience by negligence in this important matter; and, strange to say, the fault lay with the Signor, to whose superintendence this department of the commissariat was entrusted. The skins provided were old, and their leakage became alarming at a very early period.

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The circumstances of their road were not such as to afford the party much consolation in this trouble, since they were traversing the *Bahr Bela Ma*, the 'Sea without water,' and they not unfrequently passed the dead bodies of men and camels, victims to the privations and exhaustion of these dreary regions. Mr. Hoskins seems rather inclined to question the perfect accuracy of Bruce's glowing descriptions of the sand-storm, with its moving meteoric columns, and gives a more simple, yet sufficiently impressive representation of the real scene.

'The wandering Arabs tell the women, children, and peasants of the Nile, fearful stories of the whirl*pool* of the desert, and the terrible simoom; but such tales, embellished by an oriental imagination, will rarely bear investigation. From what I have been able to ascertain, there are certain gusts of wind which occasionally sweep over these deserts, with clouds of sand, which prevent your distinguishing any object at all distant; but these are not very dangerous to caravans, except in those tracts where there are immense hills, or accumulations of light sand, such as I have seen near the Oasis Magna, in the Libyan desert. The custom of caravans, when they have the misfortune to meet with such blasts, is to pitch their tents and shelter themselves within them. Whatever may be the quantity of sand, they are always safe if they can reach the summit, or place themselves under covert of a hill. I will mention here an instance of this kind, which in returning from my first voyage up the Nile to the Second Cataract, along with Mr. Ponsonby, he and I witnessed, on the 14th of April, 1832. We were on the point of going that evening to the Isle of Elephantina, when, a violent storm, which, considering the season, though rather too early, I might almost call Khampseen, came on. The whole day had been unusally hazy, the air thick and exceedingly oppressive. The extreme heat of the thermometer was 86° in the shade.....the day following, the thermometer did not rise above 79°. About five o'clock an immense cloud of sand came sweeping along with a wind so violent, that a boat which was crossing the river to the island was driven back, and the air became so turbid and impregnated with sand, that it was impossible to distinguish any object ten yards from the bank of the river. We heard the peasants in the fields, seemingly wild with confusion and alarm, calling aloud to each other and for their children; and when the sand enveloped them from our sight, we still heard their cries. A scene so strange and impressive I shall never forget. The gale blew almost directly from the west, and seemed to be a specimen of those which have successively swept before them the hills of light loose sand, which, as the Egyptian traveller will recollect, have completely smothered the cultivated land on the western bank of the river opposite Assuan. We endeavoured to shelter ourselves from it as well as the old windows of our cangia would permit; but the sand penetrated every where, into my bed, arms, instruments, and linen; and even my watch was affected.'

At Makkarif, the provincial governor, Abbas Bey, gave them a most hospitable reception;—treating them with a liberality not

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very common in a Turk, and the more remarkable, because he was given expressly to understand that Mr. Hoskins was not prepared to make the usual returns. His Excellency was, however, somewhat given to mischievous jokes, and he exhibited a specimen of his humour very little to the taste of his visitors, by deceiving a lad of eighteen, who was detained as a hostage, into the belief that they were executioners sent from Cairo for the express purpose of striking off his head. The youth sat quietly during three quarters of an hour, while Bandoni was finishing his portrait, expecting every minute to be his last, and received with 'a look of bewildered delight,' the intimation that 'he might get up,' and the gratuity which Mr. Hoskins put into his hand.

The principal tribes of Arabs in this region are the Bisharеen, and the Ababdes. The former are the most numerous, and unmanageable; but they are kept under control by an unrelenting exercise of treachery and the strong hand. Such, indeed, is the terror which Mahommed Ali has, at an immense cost of life, impressed upon the natives, that a small frontier force of 400 cavalry suffices to keep in subjection a population of 30,000, and to hold in check the powerful and independent tribes of the neighbouring desert. March 2d.—Mr. Hoskins, refreshed by his sojourn at Makkarif, embarked on the Nile, and passing village after village with a flowing sheet, moored at evening opposite the *embouchure* of the Mugrum, the ancient Astaboras, which joins, at Unmatur, the River of Egypt, and appears to flow through a more verdant and picturesque country than the more noble stream. On the 4th, early in the morning, he reached 'the site of the ancient capital of Ethiopia,' marked by the striking appearance of groups of pyramids, the remains of an extensive burial-ground—a 'city of the dead.'

'Never', writes Mr. Hoskins, 'were my feelings more ardently excited, than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent Necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids, in the distance, announced their importance; but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations, when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Geezah are magnificent, wonderful from their stupendous magnitude; but for picturesque effect, and elegance of architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Merve. I expected to find few such remains here, and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting as these sepulchres, doubtless of the kings and queens of Ethiopia. I stood for some time lost in admiration. From every point of view I saw magnificent groups, pyramid rising behind pyramid, while the dilapidated state of many did not render them less interesting, though less beautiful as works of art. I easily restored them in my imagination; and these effects of the ravages of time carried back my thoughts to more distant ages.'

Yes, Mr. Hoskins's 'imagination' is apt at restoration, and

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plays him the same sort of trick that presents to the poet's 'ex-'cited' vision, 'Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt.' We say nothing against their picturesqueness; we can quite understand that they must have been 'interesting' in the extreme; and we may admit that, if so heterogeneous a member as an upright portico, must, in clear contradiction of the primitive idea, and in direct interference with its characteristic lines, be stuck in the pyramid, then these outworks may serve, as well as any other, to inflict mortal injury on the sublime simplicity of its form and bearing. But when Mr. H. goes on to claim, not merely on slight grounds, but absolutely without the shadow of evidence, for these every way questionable remains, and for a space of about 2000 feet in length covered with fragments of now undistinguishable structures, the importance due to the 'remains of 'the ancient capital of Ethiopia', the original seat and source of Egyptian and Grecian art,—we must be allowed to express our entire dissent from his opinions. We mean no disrespect to this gentleman, but we are bound to caution our readers against unauthenticated theories; and, while we allow him ample credit for talent and enterprise, we cannot dissemble our conviction, that he has cherished a favourite notion till he has become blind to its fallacy. He may think the slenderer forms of these pyramids finer than the more massive proportions of the Egyptian edifices; this is a mere affair of taste, in which, though we differ from him, we have no disposition to contest the point; but when he affirms that in their porticoes 'we can clearly trace the origin 'of the Egyptian propylons,' we must be permitted to say that we can trace no such origination. The combination of pyramid and porch appears to have been an after-thought,—the fancy of some inferior architect who, seeing that the two things were excellent apart, took it for granted that they must be superexcellent together. But that we may not incur the least hazard of misrepresenting Mr. Hoskins, he shall have the advantage of his own summary.

'A question which has long engaged the attention of literary men is, whether the Ethiopians derived their knowledge of the arts from the Egyptians, or the latter from the former. One of these hypotheses must be admitted, as the similarity of the style evidently denotes a common origin. These pyramids belong, without doubt, to the remotest age. No edifice, perhaps, is better calculated to resist the ravages of time or the destructive efforts of man, than the pyramid; particularly when constructed as these are, without any chambers in the interior. In a country where earthquakes are unknown, little rain falls, and the wind is seldom violent, ages must elapse before these vast masses of stone would be much dilapidated, unless buried by the desert, or carried away by man as materials for other buildings. The porticoes even of the pyramids that are standing, although adapted to

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their proportions, are almost all injured, and most of them destroyed. There are no symptoms of fanatical violence having been exercised on what remains. Their ruined and defaced condition must be entirely attributed to their great antiquity. The sculpture is in a very peculiar style, which can scarcely be called good; the large figures, in particular, display a certain rotundity of form which I never observed in any Egyptian sculpture. The smaller figures have also this peculiarity; but from their dimensions, it is not quite so perceptible, at least, not so striking. The hieroglyphics are very much defaced; indeed, those I have copied are almost all that remain. The Ethiopians did not group their hieroglyphics so well as the Egyptians; their striking deficiency in this respect, proves either a great corruption from the Egyptian style, or most probably a great improvement made by the latter on the Ethiopian invention. This is the more extraordinary, as Diodorus informs us that the knowledge of hieroglyphics was, in Egypt, confined to the priests; but that in Ethiopia, they were understood by all.

'To any one who, like me, has made a long study of Egyptian monuments, the style of the sculpture, even in the absence of any known name, is generally sufficient to determine its epoch. This fact, of which those travellers who have spent any length of time in Egypt will be fully aware, may give additional weight to my opinion of this sculpture. It is all executed in basso-relievo, with the exception of the hieroglyphics, which are in intaglio.'

Mr. Hoskins proceeds to characterize this sculpture as inferior to the 'best' that ornaments the temples and monuments of Thebes, and as bearing no resemblance to any of the various styles that are to be traced through the successive ages of Egyptian art. Neither is it to be taken as exhibiting signs of the decadence or corruption of an earlier and better school. It bears the stamp of originality; it may have communicated, but it is not derived: its decorations are peculiar 'to the country', as are its representations of rites and manners. 'I should say, there-'fore,' concludes Mr. Hoskins, 'that the Ethiopian style is 'antecedent to the others; that it is the earliest, though not the 'best.'

Now we must frankly confess our inability to deal with this sort of discussion. It makes no approach to reasoning, but claims to pass current, on the ground of an assumption which we feel no inclination to concede. We put no faith in the critical tact for which Mr. H. would take credit. In the course of a rather extensive experience in matters of art, we have had occasion, in not a few cases, to see similar pretensions brought to the test and found wanting. The faculty in which, in his own case, Mr. Hoskins is disposed to place such unhesitating confidence, requires so much study in its acquisition, and so much caution in its application; it is so liable to be thrown out by accidental circumstances, and to be influenced by preconceived hypothesis; that we reject it altogether as an element of controversy, though

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we have made proof of its value as an auxiliary in dubious and inferential investigations, where no motive existed for the exaggeration of collateral evidence into a decisive criterion. Before we pass from this part of our subject, it may be expedient to state that the porticoes to which we have made reference, are of considerable projection, with a perpendicular façade; that nearly every pyramid has one of these appendages; and that the largest of the pyramids does not measure more than sixty-three feet square at the base. As one specimen of the contradictions into which the love of theory has led Mr. Hoskins, it may be observed, that he ascribes the 'ruined and defaced condition' of these monuments 'entirely to their great antiquity;' yet, his own plates clearly show that the stone-work has been forcibly displaced; and his own statements admit, that 'attempts have been 'made to open many of the pyramids.' He denies that the dilapidations exhibit any 'symptoms of fanatical violence:' that they show symptoms of violence is very plain, and it signifies nothing to the fact, whether it were prompted by curiosity, avarice, or bigotry.

March 7, was the date of Mr. H.'s arrival at Shendy, the capital of the province, but still exhibiting the effects of the terrible vengeance inflicted for the murder of Ismael Pasha; an event, however, which seems to have been entirely owing to his own imprudence. Soon after leaving this town, considerable alarm was excited in the camp, by reports and by actual traces of lions, which had made their lair amid the extensive ruins of Wady Owataib. These remains are altogether of inferior character, and Mr. Hoskins appears to have decisively refuted the suggestions of Caillaud and Heeren: the first having made a plausible guess that, in their entire state, they might have been 'a college of priests'; and the German Professor venturing on the more magnificent supposition, that here stood the 'celebrated Ammonium.' Elaborate and instructive illustrations of these ruins are given among Mr. H.'s plates. Circumstances, of which not the least troublesome was the restiveness of Signor Bandoni, now compelled Mr. H. to turn homeward, when within a comparatively short distance of the junction of the two rivers, the 'White' and the 'Blue,' which in their union form the Nile. We shall take this opportunity of extracting his observations on the practicability of exploring the branch which was left unvisited by Bruce, and of which our knowledge is still so limited.

'As to the Bahr el Abiad, or White River, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to penetrate to any distance on its banks; and it is now more than ever impracticable to attempt the discovery of its source. The Governor at Kordofan has his *gazwah*, or hunt for slaves, on the banks of that river; there is, therefore, scarcely a

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family in that part that has not lost some relation,—fathers their sons, husbands their wives, brothers their sisters, children their parents,—and all would rejoice to avenge their loss on the first white man who should imprudently venture into their territory. The source of the Nile, could only, I conceive, be discovered by an armed force; and even that method would present great difficulties. It would require a large army to subdue the great extent of country through which the Bahr el Abiad probably passes. Not only the chiefs, but the whole population, instead of any of them joining the standard of the invader, or furnishing him with provisions, would resolutely oppose him. Each man would fight with desperation for the preservation of his property, family, and liberty. The Shillooks, Numrum, and other brave and warlike tribes on the White River, are not ignorant of the wretched lot of their brethren in Cairo. Many a fugitive slave has carried the intelligence to his tribe of the misery and hardships they endured after they were taken prisoners. . . . . The traveller being French or English, would be of no avail. They distinguish but two races, Pagan and Mahometan, and two colours, black and white, their friends and enemies.'

On his return, Mr. Hoskins preferred crossing the Bahiouda Desert to following the circuitous course of the Nile; and we find him, after an eight days' pilgrimage among sand and rocks, examining the ruined temples of Gibel el Birkel. These are well described, with such a liberal appropriation of views, plans, and details, as might almost render description superfluous. Here, too, is a Necropolis, with pyramids and their porches. Old and New Dongolah, the first nearly deserted, the latter flourishing, were then successively visited by the travellers, and many interesting particulars connected with native manners and local circumstances are given, but in too desultory a manner for convenient citation. In the island of Argo, Mr. H. found two curious, though rather rudely executed, colossal statues, with other sculptural remains. At Haffeer, April 20, the party was thrown into consternation by intelligence that their road homewards was interrupted by a formidable insurrection. A few weeks, however, and a little exertion, sufficed to disperse the insurgents; and early in June Mr. Hoskins was quietly sketching, on his homeward route, the ruins of Solib, of which the most interesting part is a temple, of the 'purest Egyptian architecture,' dating from the 'time of the warlike and victorious Amunoph III.' Our indefatigable Traveller, as yet but half escaped from marauding Arabs, has given his readers ample proof of his diligence here, in a valuable series of well executed lithographs from his own and his artist's sketches and measurements. It is curious to mark the difference of human motives. Actuated by the love of science and the spirit of enterprize, Mr. Hoskins was exploring the relics of high antiquity for illustrations of ancient times and usages, while his native attendants could conceive of no cause adequate

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to the effect, but the expectation of discovering among this wreck of old magnificence, the treasures of forgotten kings.

'It were endless to enumerate the ridiculous stories which the Arabs relate of these fancied discoveries. I will, however, mention one or two as characteristic. On our return from the colossal statues in the island of Argo, to the house of Melek Tumbol, one of his cash-keepers asked me if we had found any gold; and he stated, as a fact, to a crowd of Arabs in the room (swearing by his beard and the prophet), that at a ruin called Dendera, in Egypt, he accompanied two Englishmen, who obtained an immense treasure. The devil refused it, until they should give him a water-melon to allay his thirst. The Englishmen then sent him all the way to Kennah for the melon, and that as soon as the devil smelt the fine odour of the fruit, gold came down like rain. This the man declared he had seen with his own eyes, and all the Arabs implicitly believed him. At Gibel el Birkel, the natives conceived that my examinations were made only to find gold; and they supposed me less fortunate, or less clever, than the last European, a noble lord, who visited those ruins, who was stated to have found such a quantity, in the form of a granite lion, that he was obliged to have a boat from Dongolah to carry it down to Egypt.'

With the ruins of Solib, the more important novelties of the volume cease; though much that is valuable and interesting will be found in Mr. H.'s dissertations on his favourite theory, and in the beautiful coloured drawings which illustrate both ancient manners, and the existing monuments of antique art. Of that theory we have already given our opinion, and we shall not renew the subject here. One of the miscellaneous notes we shall, however, extract, as an emphatic exemplification of the mischievous working of a superstition which offers so high a premium to hypocrisy and craft.

'Our pilot afforded us a curious exhibition, although not, I believe, uncommon; but to us it was new. He pretended, or believed, that his saint, to whom he had been addressing his evening devotions, had entered his body, and he immediately fell into the most violent paroxysms, throwing his arms about, rolling his head, and twisting his body in a very outrageous manner: sometimes he held up his hands, and shook, as in the most dreadful convulsions, groaning most piteously, and gabbling forth all sorts of gibberish. The sailors made a circle round him, and continued making low obeisances, calling on Mahomet to assist him, for nearly two hours; they believe that unless they did this, the saint would never have left him, and he would probably have died. This man, in his madness, seemed to have a great jealousy for his honour; one of the mariners was sleeping on board the boat, while the others were on the banks praying for them; on a sudden he darted into the boat, and, had he not been detained, would have roughly used the drowsy mariner. After all the Mahometans near had joined the circle to pray for his recovery, he returned by degrees to his senses: when the fit was over, he lay for some time ap-

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parently quite exhausted. The man is remarkable at other times for the mildness of his manner, and is one of the finest looking Nubians I have seen, being above six feet high, with uncommonly handsome features. The people consider those who are thus possessed as peculiarly favoured. . . . . After death, they are generally considered as saints, and have tombs erected to them by the government.'

Among the distinctions which Mr. Hoskins assigns to his great originators of all the great discoveries in art, he claims for them the invention of the arch; and he has given various specimens of that great architectural feature, for which he claims Ethiopian parentage, and the very highest antiquity. We cannot now enter upon the inquiry; it must suffice here to say, that we place no reliance on his dates, and that his examples contain, in our view, palpable evidences of much more recent construction. It is, on the face of the matter, absurd to believe that so cardinal a discovery should be put to so little use as to afford no more than some half-dozen or half-score existing specimens; and that the long succession of Egyptian architecture would not supply decisive evidence of its extensive employment, had it been really known in the palmy days of Merve or Mizraim.

Art. V. 1. *A Memorial to his Majesty's Government on the danger of intermeddling with Church Rates.* By the Rev. Thomas Silver, D.C.L., Vicar of Charlbury, formerly Anglo-Saxon Professor, and Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. "To the Church-rate ought all the folc to contribute according to Law." Leges Canuti, A.D. 1016. Oxford: Parker, 1835.—pp. 71.

2. *The Law, Practice, and Principles of Church Rates;* (including Dr. Lushington's Opinion;) being a Report of the Proceedings of a numerous Vestry Meeting in Louth, Oct. 2d, 1834, when a Church rate was refused. Published under the Superintendence of the Committee for Opposing the Rate. 8vo., pp. 132. Price 1*s.* 6*d.* Louth.

IN these two pamphlets, our readers will find pretty nearly all that can be said upon the subject of the theory, the *jus divinum*, the law, civil and ecclesiastical, the practice, and the principle of the Church-rate. We should regret not having before drawn the attention of our readers to the second of the two, had we not now the opportunity of bringing the whole subject before them, with all the aid that Anglo-Saxon lore can supply, and of shewing upon what grounds the Church as by law established, rests its claim to this 'the oldest as well as the most 'universal payment in the empire!—the *Donum Deo* which 'binds all the social powers together.'

Oxford brings forth strange things, but this memorial—be it for ever known as *the Silver Memorial*—is, we must think, the

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most prodigious production of orthodox scholarship that ever saw the light. As a literary curiosity, it is not less worthy of preservation than an antediluvian fossil or a Babylonian brick. Nay, a contemporary journalist has gone so far as to affirm that 'no-'thing like it has appeared since Vishnu, in the form of a 'gudgeon dived into the sea of milk and fished up the four 'vedas.' The theory of Dr. Silver respecting property and the social powers, may indeed fairly vie with the cosmogony of the Hindoos. In his political system, the Church-rate is the tortoise which supports the elephant which supports the globe. His reasoning reminds us of that luminous and admirably connected chain of sequences, of which the cardinal proposition is, 'This 'is the House that Jack built.'

Reasoning indeed becomes superfluous, when a Writer has to deal with such incontrovertible facts or self-evident truths as the Divine origin of freehold property, established in the days of Peleg, and of the rights of primogeniture, about which Cain and Abel quarrelled *. 'Now with the right of primogeniture,' says the *Ancien* Anglo-Saxon Professor, 'or freehold property, the 'Church Rate is closely connected; for, without the baptism and 'the marriage, both religious contracts made in the Church, the 'primogeniture conveying the religious title also would never 'have existed. This is the reason why that species of property 'was alone considered real property; why, till lately, it alone 'was trusted with the legislative vote; and why, till within a 'century, freeholders alone were jurymen.' That Cain was the first heir to a freehold estate, cannot be denied; and he was moreover, it appears, the first hereditary clergyman; for, says Dr. Silver, 'primogeniture had another privilege joined to it by 'Divine appointment; it inherited the priesthood, and a right 'of superiority in consequence of both powers.' Abel would seem to have been the first Dissenter; and he was treated accordingly. 'The religion attached to this priesthood,' continues our learned Antediluvian antiquary, 'was an earlier, though more 'imperfect state of the Christian covenant, where ministers in-'deed are not formed by succession in families.

'Thus the foundations of government were laid, and the union of what we call Church and State began. A divine right was given to the occupation of the land by families, but that right was conveyed only through the first-born male who had the rule and the priesthood; and these three rights arose together, the right of appropriation of land,

* 'Jealousy concerning its possession,' says Dr. Silver, 'as it brought with it a superiority and command, occasioned the shedding of blood in the first family, and the contention concerning it will continue probably in the last that shall be formed'!!

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of primogeniture, and of the priesthood in the State. They are essentially connected with and support each other, and the whole frame of human order, from the very earliest times, was built upon them. To these was added, perhaps even before the flood, the institution of tithes, which was an ordinance of God, for the support of the Priest in the State as a public officer, that government might be rendered secure by religion, and by those particular powers which religion brought with it into the government. Abraham paid his tithes to Melchizedec as king as well as priest; and when the Israelites were settled in Judæa, God divided the priesthood from the primogeniture, maintaining them both as privileged orders in his State, uniting them still in the government, but separating the two offices, leaving the double inheritance in land to support the first-born son in his prerogative and superiority, and the tithe and a rich endowment of other possessions and advantages to maintain the public character of the priest. In this state the polity of the Jews remained at the coming of our Saviour, who clearly established the Christian priesthood in his native land in the State to take the place of the Levitical priesthood. The twelve Apostles corresponded with the state of the twelve tribes, and the Seventy to the ancient Sanhedrim or council of state; and no other part of the Jewish polity but the ceremonial law would have been changed. The very punishment of the Jews, as a nation, declares the intention of our Saviour. For there were many private churches in Judæa; but the Jews were ejected from their lands and dispersed, because as a nation they rejected him, and the State was in hostility with him. Yet this state of Christ's Church intended to have been established at Judæa, would have been the model of all other Churches, as that at Jerusalem really was whilst it continued. There was an express command to the Apostles to begin in Jerusalem and Judæa and in Samaria, (countries in which the Church and State formed one government,) before they went forth to the end of the earth; and St. Paul did not go forth to the Gentiles and their Kings, until he had been rejected of the rulers of the Jews. The Christian priesthood came and were received in this country, and in most of the Gothic kingdoms in Europe, by the public authorities and the people. They were embodied as an estate into their governments, having public rights; and it is to the existence of this body of privileged men, and the influence of their religion on the public mind, that our own constitution and those of other European states owe their freedom and security; and the Christian faith has indeed proved itself the friend of man, and brought peace on earth, by the effects it has produced on government.' pp. 10—12.

'Our Saviour sent his Apostles to teach nations, and by the nation the Clergy, their successors, were publicly received. And as St. Paul was sent to Gentiles and to Kings, to use the words of our Lord in revealing his mission; so the Clergy were received from the beginning by the existing authorities, were incorporated into the State, invested with landed property and vested rights, and with lands and rents for the support of the cathedrals and parish churches.' p. 5.

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'"I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," are the

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words of our Saviour's promise to the Apostles; and their successors, by being admitted as a state body into the law and land of the country, secure the community against a vacuum in the one, or a want of succession in the other. This body, from a fear of incurring the charge of being worldly minded, are afraid of defending their possessions on the most secure ground, and that which it is most proper for them to take; by this wrong notion they render all other property insecure, and all social institutions unstable. All kinds of public and private right combine to make their title good, but it is not probable that any one of them will be held legal, if the sacredness of the Donum Deo et Ecclesiæ is disregarded. Our Saviour has said his kingdom is not of this world, but he has not said in this expression, it is not of this earth. There is a temporal kingdom, so far as relates to the human means of supporting the spiritual kingdom on earth, which Christ has established when he told the Apostles that they should receive houses and lands, together with persecutions. This expression is a recognition of the right of the priests to take as a body landed property, when given them; and the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira by death for the robbery of the land when once given is a confirmation of this right. The clergy, therefore, are to take the lands, and, together with them, the persecutions to which the holding of these lands would expose them, and they are to undergo with Christian patience and fortitude such persecutions as will grow out of that property: and historic experience teaches us, that our Saviour was not without meaning when he coupled these expressions, for the priests receive these gifts both from public and private sources. When they receive them from the State, they accept them as ambassadors sent to nations and kings from their great Master and Lord, and the gift in its very nature recognizes the right of that power in the soil. By taking that gift, they execute part of their Master's work. The Donum Deo et Ecclesiæ calls into public notice the nature and intent of the gift, and the gift itself is a standing witness of the State recognition of the Deity as the Creator of the soil, and of the purposes for which he placed man upon it, and permits him to occupy it in his families; and the nation having owned this right, is less likely to take possession of it in full sovereignty, and of confounding every law, both divine and human, on entering on their own demesne. The Donum Deo et Ecclesiæ, when properly established, brings a full and immediate return to man from its establishment. It decides the disputed and dangerous question as to the origin of power, and disposes of it, so that its discussion is no longer a source of sedition, nor an instrument of revolution to the incendiary. The spring, the source of power, is in the religion of the State. Round this sacred fountain the pre-existing authorities of the kingdom are collected; they recieve from it additional strength and authority in points, where they were weak and incomplete before, and they can give clear and definite answers to all enquiries as to the origin of power. The Donum Deo guards the people from being misled by the delusion, that all power rests in them, and from the interminable confusion, ruin, and poverty, which must attend on their attempts to exercise it. The establishment of the Donum Deo is to the family hearth what the mark on the door-post was to each house in Israel. It turned the angel

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of destruction from them, and left their brains uncrazed by his power over them. In our generation

Fools rush in where angels fear to tread,

and remove the sacred enchantment, and expose the minds of those who listen to them to every mischievous impression. From these political day dreams our forefathers were preserved by the feelings which led them to pay their Church Rates. The evil spirit in consequence, that now misleads their children over mountain, fen, and brook, never tormented their fancies. By keeping the parish church entire, they in their simplicity thought that they shut out the foul fiends from the village; and experience has proved that their simplicity was wisdom, and their religious sense superior to political knowledge; for, wherever the Donum Deo has been disputed, doubts as to the nature of all other rights, and especially as to those that secure landed property, have shortly followed.' pp. 57—60.

But, to return to the Apostles, of whose character and mission the most erroneous notions have hitherto prevailed. It was 'as '*messengers of State*, they were sent to Jerusalem,' to set up the Church and State system there: 'they were rejected, and 'Jerusalem is not.' A fearful warning to all rulers who should intermeddle with tithe or church-rate. 'Our Saviour ordered 'his disciples to begin to form their churches in Jerusalem, in 'Judæa, and in Jamaica, where the state duties' of keeping the national festivals 'were admitted to be necessary.' And for what purpose was the Holy Spirit given at the feast of Pentecost, but with a view prophetically to confirm the 'Christian *tenures* which, 'before the end of the earth, should be made in its most distant 'regions.'

'Hence, and with great propriety and truth,' continues Dr. Silver, (we cannot but give his own words,) 'the baptism in which our Church asserts the Holy Ghost, is always given; and the tenure of land became connected, a connexion recognized in our freehold property, as an original part of the Anglo Saxon system, that can be traced in the Winchester laws for 1100 years.

'Had the nation of the Jews been converted, (and they were driven from their land because they were not converted,) the feast of the Passover must have become the feast of Easter, and that of Pentecost our Whitsuntide; and their circumcision, our baptism; it could not by possibility have been otherwise; these all must have been established as State ceremonies, as public, political, as well as religious institutions. As a proof of the dependence our mixed institutions of Church and State have on the divine law, a government such as ours may be deduced very consistently and logically from the fifth Commandment. It is allowed universally, that the Decalogue is binding on all mankind; now these Commandments were given on Mount Sinai intermediately between the Patriarchal and Jewish covenants, when Jehovah descended expressly to form the Jewish families into a nation under himself; and this Commandment is issued, "Honour

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thy father and thy mother." But the Jewish family had been from the time of Abraham so constituted, that this obedience included an observation of the political and religious duties attached to the family, to the birthright, the primogeniture, the blessing, and the priesthood; and to this obedience not long life simply is promised, but a prolonged inheritance in the land. These families were to inherit as a powerful nation a land, of which God gave them only the usufruct, the Dominium Utile, retaining for himself the Dominium Rectum, and recognitions of that right by ceremonies analogous to our own. Now the fifth Commandment and the Church Rates have common objects and expectations attached to them. For the Church is necessary to the marriage from which the family is formed, and baptism for the entrance into the Christian covenant. The latter is necessary for the legitimacy of an oath, which must be that of a Christian, and both the marriage and the baptism are requisite for the inheritance of the land, and the privileges of the first-born, to whose custody, or to whose representative, the defence of the State was chiefly entrusted. All these legitimate authorities were permanently supported through the Church Rate. Hitherto no man has attempted to make himself a Christian to claim his inheritance, without a legal entry into the Church; a title deed to his estate, without a Christian name; or the privilege of his oath on the Gospels, without a public proof of his faith. Men may assume these distinctions as they commit forgeries, but they can have no right either divine or human to them, but through the Church; and if the institutions that convey legitimacy are to be disturbed or overthrown, the nation will soon be blind to all law and order. Thus the fifth Commandment is binding on all Christian families; those families stand under circumstances similar to the Jews; their Christian obligation bind them to the baptism and the marriage, and consequently to the priesthood; and if they intend reaping the advantage of the lengthened inheritance in the land, they must continue to unite to the family the title and the blessing which is still attached to the primogeniture, because it is patriarchal, and universal, and perpetual. The Commandments are actually part of the laws of Alfred, as extracted from Exodus, and inserted in his Domboc.'

pp. 50—52.

We believe that we have now given a tolerably fair and complete view of the learned Doctor's theory of the Church and State system. Alas! for the Dissenters, if the redress of any of their grievances depends upon the concurrence of Dr. Silver. To any change in the system of registration, he is not less hostile than to the abolition of church-rates. 'A separation of the registers 'of the births and marriages from the parish church, could be 'proposed,' he says, 'only by those whose minds are pre-occupied 'with the intention of separating the Church and State.' 'The 'Register is that of the Church of Christ: its assistance to the 'State as to matters of property *are* secondary objects. It is the 'memorial and enrolment of *a sacrament;* and it is impossible 'that the parish Register can ever notice the birth, if separated 'from the sacrament of baptism.' But the priest 'cannot admit

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'any baptism which his Church does not admit as lawful,'—cannot register any Dissenter's baptism. And as 'Baptism and 'Christian marriage are connected by some secret affinity,' it is equally clear that 'the Church can never recognize marriage as a 'civil contract, without contradicting the order of Christ, who 'has made it a religious covenant,'—though, strange to say, Dr. Silver says, it is no sacrament. It is not clear, that the State Priest ought to be required to marry unbaptized persons, excommunicated persons, as all the Dissenters are; and accordingly, we have had two instances lately, of clergymen refusing to perform the rite under such circumstances. Of course, being unbaptized, and unmarried, in the eye of the Church, Dissenters cannot legitimately hold real property, freehold tenure being mysteriously dependent upon the regeneration imparted in baptism. Nor can their oath be legitimate, because such oath 'must be that 'of a Christian;' and persons not regenerated by 'the State 'Priest,' and not paying Church-rate, are not Christians. Our readers may smile at all this; but we can tell them that, had they lived five hundred years ago, they would have found that to dispute these positions was no laughing matter. The Church has been slumbering for ages over this doctrine of the *Dominium Rectum* tenure and the *Donum Deo et Ecclesiæ*, called by the ancient Jews, *Corban*; but, says Dr. Silver, 'the clamours of 'confiscation have roused us from our slumbers; and the revolu-'tionary fires glów so near us, that we may read by them our old 'statutes.' By the help of this fire-light, he has detected among the laws of King Canute the Dane, in the original Anglo-Saxon, this ordinance: 'To the Church-rate ought all the folc to con-'tribute according to law.'

But here a question arises, which, not having access at this moment to the *Leges Canuti*, we are unable to resolve, *viz.*, Who are the *folc* here spoken of? *Folc* means, in general, people; but it had evidently a specific meaning among our ancestors. *Folcland* is copyhold land; and *folcmote* seems to mean a parish meeting. If *folc* means here, as no doubt it does, parishioners belonging to the Church,—and there were no Dissenters in the days of Canute, except in the Welsh mountains,—then, the statute merely provides, that all people who go to church ought to contribute towards the support and decoration of the edifice, the ringing of bells, washing of surplices, burning of tapers, &c., according to law;—a very reasonable requirement. But, looking at the intention of the Danish legislator, we question whether such *folc* as the Dissenters, of whose birth, baptism, marriage, and burial the 'State priest' can lawfully take no cognizance, would either have been deemed parishioners in those days or have been expected to bring their offerings into the holy

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treasury. And that this is no gratuitous query of ours will presently appear.

Our readers may recollect that in "A Letter to the Members of both Houses of Parliament on the Dissenters' Petitions, by a late Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford," reviewed in our eleventh volume *, it was expressly stated that if the payment of Church-rates, Easter-dues, and other ecclesiastical demands were *voluntary* on the part of the Dissenters, it would be improper, not to say unlawful, to receive such offerings to the Church; since 'the primitive discipline forbade the clergy to receive into 'the treasury of God's house the offerings of excommunicated 'persons, which our Church in her canons plainly declares the 'Dissenters, as long as they continue such, to be.' This may serve to explain why, in many parishes, where a voluntary subscription has been tendered by the objectors to a compulsory rate, it has been haughtily spurned and rejected by the Church. But in an offering from the Dissenters, adds the Writer referred to, 'it clearly is not; as they only pay it upon compulsion. In 'what light is it to be regarded? Simply as an offering from 'the king, who is a communicant, or from the nation, of whom 'about nine-tenths' (we pass over this mis-statement) 'profess 'to worship God according to the true religion,' be taught by the Church of England. 'This consideration,' it is added, 'may serve 'at once to remove all *scruples*. All that we need look to is the 'character of the offerer.' Now, if such be the case, that it would be unlawful for the Church to receive the voluntary offerings of Dissenters, surely it must be admitted that Dissenters ought not voluntarily to concur in the granting of Church-rates. For the honour of the Church, and to remove all possible scruples on the part of its ministers, let them yield to compulsion only. Should it, however, appear that they have both a choice and a power in the matter, it is clear that they ought to resist the exaction; otherwise their *tribute*, lawful only when compelled, will become a *benevolence*. Now that they *have* a choice and a power of resistance, the Louth Case makes plain enough; and the public are under the highest obligations to Mr. Paddison, who has so ably argued the whole question in the pamphlet before us. We had intended to give an abstract of his very eloquent and argumentative speech; but our limits restrain us, and we must conclude with strongly recommending the tract to the attentive perusal of our readers.

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* March, 1834. Vol. XI. p. 169.

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Art. VII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press, Christian Consistency; or, the Connection between Experimental and Practical Religion, particularly designed for Young Christians. By the Rev. E. Mannering.

Early in December will be published, the Salvation and Death of a Christian. By William Davis, Hastings.

Preparing for publication, the History of Protestant Nonconformity in England, from the Reformation under Henry VIII. to the Accession of the House of Hanover. In 2 Vols. 8vo. By Thomas Price.

In the press, a Third and corrected Edition, in 3 Vols. small 8vo, with Portraits, of the Life of Wesley; and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey, Esq. This edition will contain Notes by the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Esq., written in the margin of his copy, bequeathed by him to the author; and Remarks on the character and conduct of Mr. Wesley, by the late Alexander Knox, Esq., written with reference to this work, and now, according to his permission, first published.

Mr. Grahame has just completed, in four 8vo. volumes, the History of the United States of North America, from the Plantation of the British Colonies, till their Revolt and Declaration of Independence, in 1776.

A very interesting History of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, its Establishment, Subversion, and Present State, has just been completed by John P. Lawson, M.A., Author of the Life of Archbishop Laud.

The Rev. John Aiton has now ready for publication, the Life and Times of the Rev. Alexander Henderson, giving a complete History of the Second Reformation of the Church of Scotland, and of the Covenanters during the reign of Charles the First.

Those interested in the Trade with China, will be pleased to hear that a British Merchant, resident in Canton, has a Work nearly ready, entitled "An Address to the People of Great Britain," explanatory of our Commercial Relations with the Empire of China, and of the means by which they may with facility be extended.

The Author of Sketches of Corfu has a Work in the press, under the title of Evenings Abroad; being Sketches of Manners and Scenery gleaned during a Continental Tour; with Historical Notices, Tales and Legends of the places visited.

In the press, History of the Condition of Women in all Ages and Nations. By Mrs. Child, Author of "Child's Own Book," "Mother's Book," &c., &c.

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In the press, the Prophetical Character and Inspiration of the Apocalypse considered. By George Pearson, B.D., Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge.

In the press, Paley's Evidences of Christianity Epitomized; intended to exhibit his Argument in as small a compass as is possible, without omitting or weakening any of its component points. To which is subjoined A Brief Summary of the Evidences contained in the First Two Parts of the same Work.

ART. VIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Conquest of Florida. By Hernando de Soto. Written under the superintendence of Washington Irving, Esq. By his nephew, Theodore Irving, Esq. In 2 vols. price 1*l.* 1*s.*

A History of Halley's Comet, with an account of its return in 1835, and a Chart showing its situation in the Heavens. Translated from the French of G. de Fontecoulant, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin. By Colonel Charles Gold, C.B., Translator of Arago's Work on Comets in general. Fcap. 8vo, sewed, 1*s* 6*d*.

Musical History, Biography, and Criticism. By George Hogarth, Esq. 7*s*. 6*d*.

The Psalmist, a Collection of New and approved Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to all the varieties of Metrical Psalmody. Part II., and a Second Edition of Part I., price 5*s*. each, newly harmonized for Four Voices. By Vincent Novello.

NATURAL HISTORY.

A Familiar History of Birds; their Nature, Habits, and Instincts. By the Rev. Edward Stanley, M.A., F.L.S., Rector of Alderley, Cheshire. 2 vols., with many Wood Cuts.

Minerals and Metals; their Natural History, and Uses in the Arts; with Incidental Accounts of Mines and Mining. In a Pocket Volume, with Engravings, 2*s*. 6*d*.

POLITICAL.

The Old and New Poor Law? Who Gains? and Who Loses? Explained by Conversations on Facts of Daily Occurrence. Price Sixpence.

THEOLOGY.

The Imagery and Poetical Ornaments of the Book of Psalms; its Prophetic Language and Apocalyptic Character; with the Modes of using the Psalter from the earliest to the present time. By the Rev. Henry Stoddart, A.M., of Queen's College, Oxford. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Christian Sympathy. By John Howard Hinton, M.A. 32mo.

The Parent's Gift to Baptized Children. In Letters to a Friend, containing Arguments, Anecdotes, and Dialogues on Christian Baptism and Early Piety. By the Rev. C. Dewhurst. 12mo, 4*s*.

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